This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

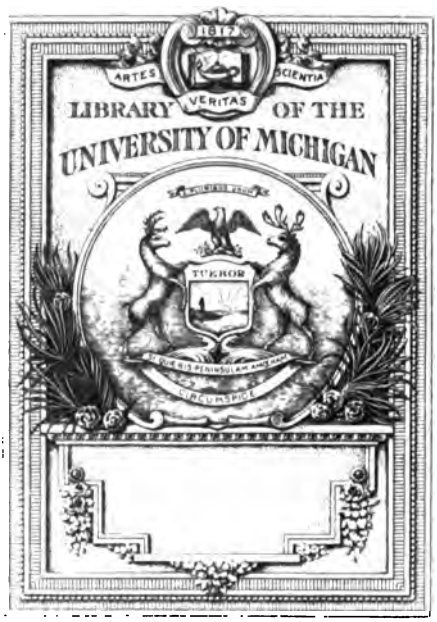
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

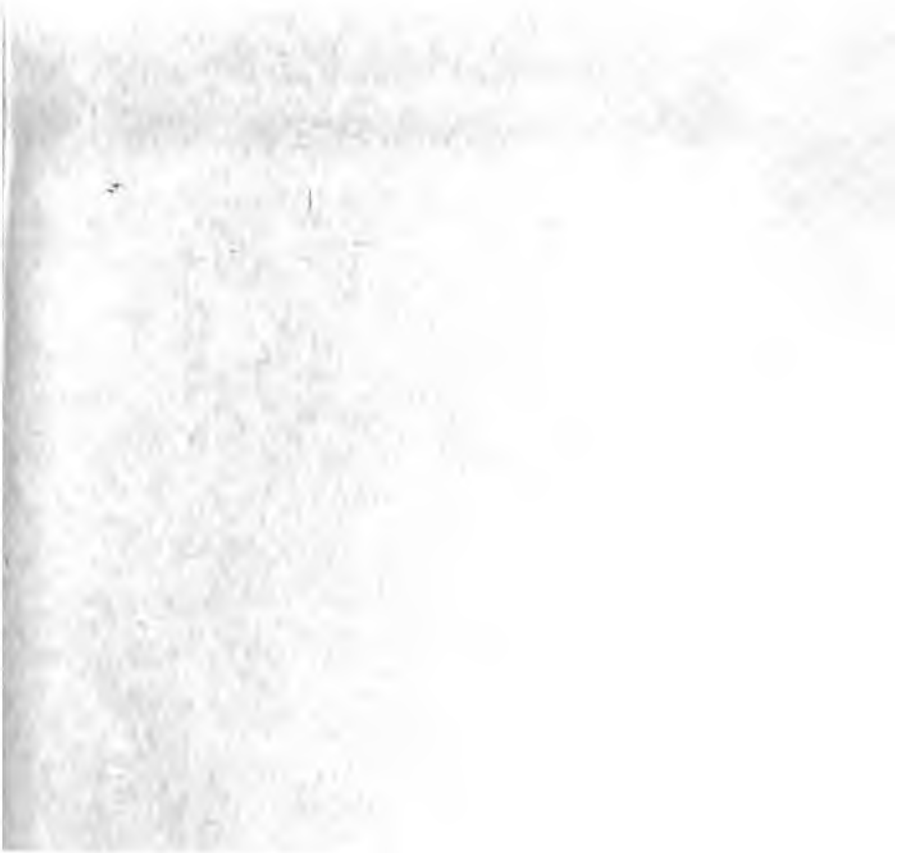
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

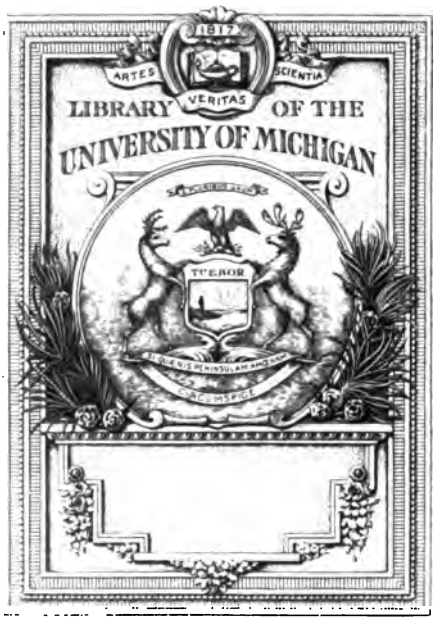
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

D 966,446


1817
ARTES
SCIENTIA
VERITAS
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
TUEBOR
CIRCUMSPICE




1817
ARTES
SCIENTIA
VERITAS
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
TUEBOR

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW.

MDCCCXLVI.

JULY—DECEMBER.

φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωϊκὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρείου τε καὶ Ἀριστοτελικήν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἑκάστῃ τῶν αἱρεσέων τούτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σύμπαν τὸ ΕΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φήμι. — CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* L. I.

NEW SERIES.

VOL. XX.

LONDON:

THOMAS WARD & CO., PATERNOSTER ROW.

W. OLIPHANT AND SON, EDINBURGH;

JAMES MACLEHOSE, GLASGOW.

1846.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW.

MDCCCXLVI.

JULY—DECEMBER.

Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρεῖον τε καὶ Ἀριστοτελικήν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἑκάστῃ τῶν αἱρεσέων τούτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετὰ εὐσεβοὺς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σύμπαν το ἘΚΛΕΈΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φῆμι. — CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* L. I.

NEW SERIES.

VOL. XX.

Whole No. 84

LONDON:

THOMAS WARD & CO., PATERNOSTER ROW.

W. OLIPHANT AND SON, EDINBURGH;

JAMES MACLEHOSE, GLASGOW.

1846.

LONDON:
Printed by WARD & GRIFFITH, 16, Bear Alley,
Farringdon Street.

D.3.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR JULY, 1846.

Art. I. *Passages in the Life of a Radical.* By Samuel Bamford. 2 vols. Fourth Edition London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co.

SAMUEL Bamford's evident and proper wish to make his literary labours profitable, would have been much more amply gratified had he learned, or been willing, to make suitable arrangements with the booksellers. His book was first introduced to us by the Quarterly Review; and we immediately determined to bring it without delay before the notice of our readers. But no copy could we anywhere procure; nor could we learn where one ought to be obtained. Other books demanded notice; and had not our good will towards Mr. Bamford, and, still more, our regard for his 'order', been too lively to require a remembrancer, we should most likely have dismissed the matter from our mind. But the extracts we had seen in the Quarterly Review had stirred up many thoughts within us, and we wanted to express them. After a few months' interval, therefore, we tried the London 'Trade' again, but with as little success as formerly. We sent to Lancashire, but the Manchester booksellers were as helpless as their London brethren. At last, through a friend, who happened to hear of our distress, a stationer in an isolated Lancashire village undertook to obtain a copy; but, after all, he got it viâ London, and through whom we know not. Mr. Bamford's book is worthy to be sold by thousands; and long before this time it might, with proper

management, have secured him an independent maintenance for life.

Had we written this article when it was first planned, we should have made it twice as long as at present. But as most of our readers, we apprehend, are by this time acquainted with the book, we shall say but little of its literary merits, and shall refrain from quoting to any great extent. In the hope, however, of yet assisting somewhat in the sale, we shall give as brief a sketch as possible of the numerous and various contents, and shall extract a page or two from a crowd of very striking and instructive passages. Dismissing then our author and his work with a few valedictory remarks, our remaining space will be devoted to some thoughts that glow within us, respecting the condition and the requirements of the artisans of Lancashire.

Mr. Bamford commences his book thus:—

'This work will be found to contain narratives of, and observations on, some of the most remarkable events which took place in the manufacturing districts of Lancashire, and other parts of England, during the years 1816 to 1821, inclusive. It will record the proceedings of the parliamentary reformers and their opponents; and will present personal and biographical notices of active and distinguished individuals in the ranks of reform, and elsewhere. The writer was a partaker in most of the scenes he will describe. They are vividly impressed on his memory; some of them are also interwoven with the feelings of his heart.'—p. 3.

He adds, pp. 5, 6,—

'The writer does not pretend to make his work a strict record, but a narrative only of events in most of which he was personally concerned. His course he conceives to be obvious, and untrammelled by the particularities of strict chronology. . . . . Some fervid and superior mind will in time arise, to give the history of a great nation careering through a long war; her princes, nobles, priests, and all the wealthy of her land, dazzled by glory, and intoxicated with triumph. Suddenly their pleasures are shaken by a portentous sound. It is her artisans and labourers, who, struggling through adversity, and directed by an extraordinary genius, are pealing the shouts of 'Liberty, liberty!' At such a period the author proceeds.'

And he first sketches the disturbed condition of the country through the years 1815 and 1816; mentions the influence of Cobbett's writings; and records the rise of 'Hampden Clubs,' of one of which in Middleton, near Manchester, he became secretary, 'having been instrumental in its formation, being a tolerable reader also, and rather an expert writer.' We present the following epitome of what succeeded, at least as recorded

by our author. Delegates from the surrounding districts, from the Hampden Clubs, we suppose, met frequently at Middleton. 'The leading reformers of Lancashire were generally seen together' at these meetings; among the names of which leaders, seventeen in number, we find 'William Ogden, of Manchester, letter-press printer, afterwards immortalized by Canning, as 'the revered and ruptured Ogden,' and Samuel Bamford, of Middleton, silk weaver.' Missionaries were now sent 'to other towns and villages, particularly to Yorkshire;' and resolutions were passed declaratory of the objects and demands of the reformers. A general meeting of delegates from Hampden clubs was then convened, under the auspices of Sir Francis Burdett, at the Crown and Anchor; and Bamford was chosen to represent the club in Middleton. He attended accordingly, not noticing 'the abuse which this small honour brought upon his shoulders.' In London, he saw Hunt, O'Leary, the secretary of the London Club, 'the worthy old Major Cartwright,' who, sir Francis being in the country, took the chair at the meeting; Cobbett, Lord Cochrane, and, at last, Sir Francis Burdett; and of each of these we are presented with a remarkably truthful and vivid description. One or two London adventures are recorded; and scenes at Trades' clubs, and in the House of Commons, graphically sketched. Soon after witnessing one of the latter, Mr. Bamford 'left the great Babylon, heartily tired of it, and returned to Middleton, where events rapidly pressed on his attention.' The Habeas Corpus Act was now suspended; the infatuated Blanket expedition was essayed; other schemes were broached, more mischievous, if less absurd; 'unity of action' among the reformers was relaxed; spies mingled with them; traitors appeared among themselves; and at last poor Bamford, with his most amusing friend, the famous 'Doctor' Healy, found it expedient to imitate the conduct of other 'leading reformers,' and 'to quit their homes, and seek concealment where they could obtain it.' The account of their adventures now succeeds, not omitting a description of their personal appearance; and rarely have we met, in equal compass, with a richer compound of drollery and pathos, of pleasant sense and decent nonsense, of spice for broad grins, and of food for mournful musing, than what is furnished by these forty pages. Soon after his return home, however, though with admirable prudence he had escaped the snares prepared for him by spies in the pay of the government, and with equally admirable sagacity and firmness had exposed and resisted the treasonable wishes of weak brethren, he was, after all, arrested on suspicion of high treason, and conveyed to the New Bailey in Manchester. The description of the arrest, the journey to Man-

chester, the treatment suffered there, the longer journey to London, and the appearance at Bow Street, occupies no fewer than about thirty pages. But they are thoroughly readable; and, too, to be enjoyed, they must be read in full. No abridgment could preserve, no description would convey, the racy freshness of the original itself. The same, too, may be said of the next fifty pages; containing, among countless matters of inferior but still pleasant interest, an account of several examinations before the Privy Council, a description of the state-prisoners' life in Cold Bath Fields' Prison, a brief summary of what befel his fellow-prisoners, and a very particular repetition of most marvellous tales imposed upon him by a stranger, George Plant, 'a great reader, a botanist, a dreary-minded wanderer in lonely dells, on moors and heaths,' who for some time was imprisoned with him.

At last Mr. Bamford was discharged, the Privy Council not finding cause for further procedures; and on the 2nd of May, 1817, he arrived at home. He 'now went to work, his wife weaving beside him, and his little girl, now become doubly dear, attending school, or going short errands for her mother.' But it was not long before, 'in the absence of wholesome monition' respecting the ignorance and corruption of the people, 'with a strong though discreetly tempered zeal, he determined to go forward in the cause of parliamentary reform.' Yet the next events that happened were not of a very exhilarating nature. 'Instigated to crime, and then betrayed, by a government agent,' the infamous Oliver, Brandreth, Turner, and Ludlam, three of his former associates, were found guilty of high treason and were hanged at Derby, while fifteen others were transported for life. Some of the state prisoners, too, who had been his companions in Coldbath-fields, particularly Leach and Healey, appear to have seriously annoyed him after their release, propagating, or conniving at, 'reports that he had acted as a spy for the government, and had purchased his own liberation by betraying others.' All, however, was forgotten when the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act terminated, and 'the agitation for reform was renewed. A public meeting on the subject was held at Westminster; . . . . numerous meetings followed in various parts of the country; . . . and even female political unions were formed, with their chairwomen, committees, and other officials.' In this state of things Hunt arrived in Manchester, but apparently effected little except a disturbance at the theatre. The crisis, however, was rapidly approaching: for after great meetings in Spafields and Birmingham, it was determined to gather that concourse in St. Peter's Field, Manchester, on August 16, 1819, which occasioned the arrest of

Hunt, Bamford, and others, on a charge of high treason, and the still more memorable and most enormous outrage, the murderous massacre at Peterloo. The preparations for the meeting; its design and character; the errors of its managers; its assembling and procedures; the unprovoked and most horrible attack upon it by the yeomanry; its dispersion; its immediate consequences; all are described by Mr. Bamford with an evident completeness, accuracy, candour, and artistical power, such as leave little, if anything, to be desired for a satisfactory apprehension of the entire tragedy.

The charge of high treason was ultimately withdrawn, at least suspended, and the prisoners were indicted for a misdemeanor. Two of them obtained immediate bail: Hunt, Bamford, and five others, in present default thereof, were committed to Lancaster Castle. Hunt and another, however, were soon bailed; and after true bills had been found against them all, bail was procured for the whole party, the trial being postponed till the next assizes. The examinations at Manchester; the journey to Lancaster; the prison scenes; the appearance before the court; the return home; these, and a rich variety of pleasant or otherwise affecting incidents, all are described as circumstantially and feelingly as any of the occurrences preceding. Soon after his return home, Mr. Bamford, encouraged or deceived by Mr. Finnerty, a reporter to *The Morning Chronicle*, with whom during the late disturbances he had formed an acquaintance, resolved to go again to London, with the hope of procuring permanent employment at the Chronicle office. On his way he visited Sir Charles Wolseley, who had invited him to stay a week or two at Wolseley Bridge. Thence to Oxford he travelled in a gig with Mr. Finnerty: from Oxford to London he proceeded alone, and chiefly on foot. Men and manners, nature and art, all, meanwhile, are closely watched with a perspicacious eye; the impressions are singularly true; and the communication of them is as singularly happy. We extend the same remark to his second series of metropolitan adventures; in the course of which he saw what Hunt was in his 'family'; was introduced to 'that worthy gentleman and scholar, Sir Richard Phillips'; had an interview with Earl Grosvenor, and another, less pleasing, with Alderman Waithman; came pretty well to understand 'that rather remarkable man,' Mr. Finnerty; engaged in copying for Mr. Pearson, the attorney for the accused; became too ill to remain at the desk; was reduced to extreme straits; obtained ten pounds from Mr. Galloway, treasurer to the London committee for the relief of the sufferers at the Manchester meeting; petitioned parliament; and found that he had come to London but to throw away his

time and waste his spirits. He now returned home to prepare for the approaching trial at York; for in consequence of Mr. Hunt's urgency, an application had been made, and successfully, to remove the trial from Lancaster to York. The collection of evidence; other preparations; the pedestrian journey, or rather procession, to York; all the particulars of the trial itself, together with sundry most amusing episodes; the 'severe, though just, exposition,' given by *The Times* of the whole matter; these, together with an account of our author's anxieties concerning a third journey to London, where, in the ensuing Easter term, he was bound to receive his sentence; all now follow, literally copied, truthfully repeated, gravely or humorously described, according to the nature of the case, so as to combine the utility of history with the liveliness and piquancy of romance. His walk to London fills no fewer than nearly thirty pages; but we would not they had been reduced. To himself, at all events, his walk was more pleasurable than his entertainment in our great metropolis. For what with booksellers' laughing at his offered poems; Hunt's restricted and unsympathizing hospitality; the anxieties of destitution; the disappointment that followed an application to the Court of King's Bench for a new trial; the warning execution of Thistlewood and his companions; the suspense relating to his own punishment; disgust with the follies and vices of his colleagues; a very imperfect satisfaction with parts of his own conduct, particularly with a piece of senseless bravado in which he had indulged before the court; the sentence at last to twelvemonths' imprisonment in Lincoln gaol, in addition to other precautionary restrictions; and, finally, the absolute desertion of the party by all their London friends, and the vexations and insults received from those who had the charge of his person till he entered Lincoln Castle; London and Londoners must ever after, we imagine, have awakened in his breast the strongest feelings of nausea and repugnance.

Mr. Bamford's prison-life in Lincoln was diversified with many interesting incidents, recorded in his own engaging style. Extraordinary indulgences seem to have been allowed him; by some of his quondam friends, too, he was kindly and serviceably remembered; he maintained correspondence with Hunt—no serviceable friend, however—and with others; and, altogether, his year's confinement, embittered by no particular remorse, and not darkened by the lowering and degrading frown of a condemnatory public opinion, must have been, we should imagine, among the most tolerable portions of his service and endurance for his country. His walk from Lincoln homewards, in the company of his faithful, high-souled, and most admirable

wife; a few particulars about his publishing pursuits, fit for a preface only, if at all; and a few concluding remarks 'on matters relative to the nation;' these occupy the remainder of the volumes: for as to the patched on chapter called 'An Afterthought,' and three other chapters thought of after this, we scarcely can conceive of them as Bamford's, and we earnestly entreat him to expunge them, or at least their main parts, from all future editions of his work. The man who has written more than five hundred closely printed pages of such sense and English as we are about to quote, has little need, and he should have too sound a judgment and too correct a taste, to publish the poor egotism and undigested fancies, which, almost without a mixture of superior matter, bore and afflict us in these last thirty pages. Lord Abinger's kind and calmly dignified letter, and Bamford's own not infelicitous, if not quite satisfactory, reply thereto—these, with notices of his lordship's and of others' friendly services, are alone sufficient to restrain us from even much severer animadversions. But we gladly proceed in the fulfilment of our promise, to present our readers with a few specimens of Mr. Bamford's style. Most of the best passages are far too long for our space; and we feel that on no practicable principle of selection can we do full justice to Mr. Bamford's varied powers. We refer to the following paragraph, however, as a pretty fair indication of his skill in portraiture. The scene is the House of Commons, on a great occasion.

'Canning, with his smooth, bare, capacious forehead, sat there, a spirit beaming in his looks like that of the leopard waiting to spring upon its prey. Castlereagh, with his handsome but immoveable features; Burdett, with his head carried back, and held high, as in defiance; and Brougham, with his Arab soul, ready to rush forth and challenge war to all comers. The question was to me solemnly interesting, whilst the spectacle wrought strangely on my feelings. Our accusers were many and powerful, with words at will, and applauding listeners. Our friends were few, and far between, with no applauders save their good conscience, and the blessings of the poor. What a scene was this to be enacted by 'the collective wisdom of the nation.' Some of the members stood leaning against pillars, with their hats cocked awry; some were whispering by half dozens; others were lolling upon their seats; some with arms a-kimbo were eye-glassing across the house; some were stiffened immoveably by pride, or starch, or both; one was speaking, or appeared to be so by the motion of his arms, which he shook in token of defiance when his voice was drowned by a howl as wild and remorseless as that from a kennel of hounds at feeding time. Now he points menacing to the ministerial benches; now he appeals to some members on this side, then to the speaker; all in vain. At times he is heard in the pauses

of that wild hubbub, but again he is borne down by the yell which awakes on all sides around him. Some talked aloud; some whinnied in mock laughter, coming, like that of the damned, from bitter hearts. Some called 'order, order,' some 'question, question;' some beat time with the heel of their boots; some snorted into their napkins; and one old gentlemen in the side gallery actually coughed himself from a mock cough into a real one, and could not stop until he was almost black in the face. . . . . The speaker alluded to was Henry Brougham. I heard at first very little of what he said; but I understood, from occasional words, and the remarks of some whom I took for reporters, that he was violently attacking the ministers and their whole home policy. That he was so doing might have been inferred from the great exertions of the ministerial party to render him inaudible, and to subdue his spirit by a bewildering and contemptuous disapprobation. But they had before them a wrong one for being silenced, either by confusion or menace. Like a brave stag, he held them at bay, and even hurled back their defiance with 'retorted scorn.' In some time his words became more audible; presently there was comparative silence, and I soon understood that he had let go the ministry, and now, unaccountable as it seemed to me, had made a dead set at the reformers. Oh! how he did scowl towards us, contemn and disparage our best actions, and wound our dearest feelings; now stealing near our hearts with words of wonderful power, flashing with bright wit and happy thought; anon, like a reckless wizard, changing pleasant sunbeams into clouds, 'rough with black winds and storms,' and vivid with the cruellest shafts. Then was he listened to as if not a pulse moved; then was he applauded to the very welkin. And he stood in the pride of his power, his foes before him subdued, but spared, his friends derided and disclaimed, and his former principles sacrificed to 'low ambition,' and the vanity of such a display as this. . . . Every feeling was absorbed by the contemplation of that man whom I now considered to be the most perfidious of his race. I turned from the spectacle with disgust, and sought my lodgings in a kind of stupor; almost believing that I had escaped from a monstrous dream. . . He sinned then, and has often done so since, against the best interests of his country; bowing to his own image, and sacrificing reason and principle to caprice or offended self-love. But has he not done much for mercy, and for the enlightenment of his kind? See the African dancing above his chains! Behold the mild but irresistible light which education is diffusing over the land! These are, indeed, blessings beyond all price; rays of unfading glory. They are Lord Brougham's; and will illumine his tomb when his errors and imperfections are forgotten.—vol. i., pp. 26—29.

The following extract exhibits our author's extraordinary susceptibility and retentiveness of impression from external objects of even the least importance, joined with as singular an aptness in transferring his impressions to his readers' minds.

'Earl Grosvenor was the nobleman selected to present my petition to the House of Lords, and Sir Richard Phillips went with me to his mansion in Grosvenor Place, I think it was. His lordship was not at home, and we were directed to call on a certain day. It happened that Sir Richard was then engaged, and I went to his lordship myself. The great burly porter, who wore a rich livery trimmed with gold lace, would scarcely admit me within the door when he found I had not a letter of introduction. I explained to him my business with his lordship, but it was of no use; he could not send my message up. A fine table, with pens and paper, was near the window of the hall, and in my simplicity I made a move towards it, saying, I could soon write a note to his lordship: but he said he could not allow me to write there, it was contrary to orders, and would cost him his place if the other servants saw me. I accordingly bundled out, and went to a tavern, and wrote a note, which I took back; the porter then took the note, and told me to come again in about twenty minutes, or half an hour. It was raining, and I had nowhere to go under cover save the tavern; so I went there again, not much liking, however, this mode of noble housekeeping, and waited, with impatience, the time for the interview. I again went, and now the folding doors were thrown open long before I arrived at the steps; the late surly porter received me with a respectful inclination and a smile, saying, my note had been sent up, and his lordship would see me. He then rang a bell, and a servant appeared, to whom he announced my name. The servant asked me to follow him, and he led me into a very grand room, saying, his lordship would be with me in a few minutes. I had never seen any thing like the richness of this place before; every thing seemed almost too sumptuous, and too delicate for a human habitation; and to me it seemed a little museum of curious and costly things, arranged but to look at, and not to use. There were mirrors, and pictures, and cushions, and carpets, glowing like silk, and delicate hangings and curtains as fine as gossamer in summer; then the tables shone like glass, and the chairs, with their high cushions trussed up, quite tempted one to sit. Well, I stood looking about me some time, and no one appeared, and at last I thought, I'll sit down, at any rate; if his lordship should come in, he cannot be so greatly offended at one taking a seat in his house. So I sat down, and was quite surprised; I almost sank to my elbows in the soft downy cushion, and immediately jumped up again, thinking those seats could never be meant for human bones to rest upon; and I would not, for the world, have been taken by his lordship sitting there, with the cushion up to my elbows like a puff of soap-suds. I began to make the thing right again; and was so busied, when I heard a slight creaking noise. Immediately I resumed my posture of attention, and a tall gentlemanly-looking person, forty or forty-five years of age, dressed in a blue coat and yellow buttons, undoubtedly of gold, entered, and accosted me in a very courteous and affable manner, and immediately entered upon the business of my petition. I addressed him as 'my lord,'

which, indeed, he was, and told him somewhat about the subject of my petition, which I now showed him, and requested he would be so kind as to present for me to the House of Lords. He looked at it a few minutes, and said he would present it. He then questioned me about the state of the country, and particularly of my own neighbourhood, to each of which I gave him brief and true answers, according to the best of my ability. He then questioned me about our new rector at Middleton, the Rev. John Houghton; and as I was bound in truth, though not at the time over partial to him, I gave his lordship a fair and honourable account of the worthy clergyman, whereat he seemed much pleased. Soon after, I made my final bow, and was myself bowed out by the porter; and so I took my leave of that grand mansion, and its immensely rich owner.'—vol. ii., pp. 42—44.

Of Mr. Bamford's good-tempered buoyancy of spirits, our readers may form some idea from the account of one of the practical jokes he perpetrated upon 'Doctor' Healey. The doctor was, certainly, the fairest game imaginable; so almost intolerable were his obtrusive self-conceit and mischievous meddling. The occasion to which we refer was a rumoured attack upon Manchester. Whether the plot was a real one, or pretended only by the government agents, in order to entrap Bamford and others, was never made apparent; though the latter seems most probable. Neither Bamford's principles, however, nor his prudence, allowed him to sanction such a wild and wicked scheme. But before we quote his statement of what followed, we must beg our readers not to be dismayed by the dialect in which part of it is given; but resolutely to grapple with this ancient Saxon, and to metamorphose it as they pass on, however slowly, into their own vernacular.

'It was deemed prudent that Healey and I should, on that night, sleep from home, and at some place where our stay could be proved, should anything arise to render such a step necessary. And none could tell what might be necessary; as in those days of alarm and uncertainty, no one knew what was impending. An old female reformer accordingly gave us her house and bed, and, turning the key, locked us in; whilst we, in our simplicity, were quite satisfied with having taken so wise a precaution against any false evidence which might by possibility be brought to connect us with the plot of which we had been apprized. We retired to rest, and lay talking this strange matter over until sleep overtook us. I was first to awake; and seeing a brightness behind the curtain, I stepped to the window, and, sure enough, beheld in the southern sky a stream of light, which, I thought, must be that of a distant fire. It was a fine crisped morning; and, as I looked, a piece of a moon came wandering to the west from behind some masses of cloud. Now she would be entirely obscured; then streaks of her pale beams would be seen breaking on

the edges of the vapours; then a broader gleam would come; then again it would be pale and receding; but the clouds were so connected that the fair traveller had seldom a place for showing her unveiled horn. I saw how it was; my conflagration had dwindled to a moon beam; and as I stood with the frost tingling at my toes, 'an unlucky thought' came into my head, to have a small joke at the doctor's expense; and as it was a mode of amusement to which I must confess I was rather prone, I immediately began to carry it into effect. I gave a loud cough or two; the doctor thereupon grunted and turned over in bed; when, in the very break of his sleep, I said aloud, as I crept beneath the bed-clothes, 'There's a fine leet i' th' welkin, as th' witch o' Brandwood sed when th' devil wur ridin' o'er Rossenda.' 'Leet,' said the doctor, 'a fine leet? weer? weer?' 'Why, go to th' windo' an' look.' That instant my sanguine friend was out of bed, and at the window, his head stuck behind the curtain.' 'There's a great leet,' he said, 'to'rd Manchester.' 'There is, indeed,' I replied, 'it's mitch but weary wark is gooin' on omung yon foke.' 'It's awful,' said the doctor; 'thei'r agate as sure as we're heer.' 'I think there's summut up,' I said. I was now snugly rolled in the clothes, and perceived at the same time that the doctor was getting into a kind of dancing shiver; and my object being to keep him in his shirt till he was cooled and undeceived, and consequently a little sprung in temper, I asked, 'Dun yo really think then ot th' teawn's o' foyer?' 'Foyer!' he replied, 'there's no deawt on't.' 'Con you see th' flames, doctor?' 'Nowe, I conno' see th' flames, but I can see th' leet ut comes fro' em.' 'That's awful,' I ejaculated. 'Aye, it's awful,' he said; 'come an' see for yoursel.' 'Nowe, I'd reyther not,' I answered; 'I dunno' like sich seets; it's lucky ut we're heer; they conno' say ut we'n had owt to do wi' it, at ony rate, con they, doctor?' 'Nowe,' he said, 'they conno.' 'It keeps changin',' he said. 'Con yo' yer owt?' I asked. 'Nowe, I conno' yer nowt,' he said. I, however, heard his teeth hacking in his head, and stuffed the sheet into my mouth, to prevent my laughter from being noticed. 'Ar' yo' sure, doctor?' I asked. No reply. 'Is it blazin' up?' I said. 'Blazin' be hanged!' was the answer. 'Wot dun yo' myen, doctor? is it gwon eawt then?' 'Gullook!' he said, 'it's nobbut th' moon, an' yo' knewn it oth' while.' A loud burst of laughter followed, which I enjoyed till the bed shook; my companion muttering imprecations and sundry devil's prayers against all 'moon doggs an' welkin lookers;' by which terms I knew he meant myself for one.'—vol. i. pp. 39—41.

While Bamford and Healey were travelling about in order to escape arrest, they met with a curious adventure at an inn. Comic at the first, this occurrence at one time threatened to end tragically; till the interference of a constable and an overseer, joined afterwards by two persons, apparently farmers,

brought the disturbance to a friendly close. What follows tells its own tale loud enough. Neither facts nor style require a word from us.

'We were talking on various matters when the door was opened, and a personally fine looking woman, with an infant at the breast, advanced timidly, and said she wished to speak to the overseer. Her outer garments were of very homely material, being, seemingly, cotton fents dyed blue; but neatly fitting her person, and very clean. She had a pair of light clogs on her feet; and her stockings were, I could perceive, well darned above the buckles. Her petticoat and bed-gown were of the same blue cotton; and the latter was open at the bosom, where a fine boy lay smiling at his pap. Her apron was striped calico; and her head gear consisted of a striped napkin, apparently also a fent, over a mob cap, very white; from beneath which a lock of black hair had escaped, and hung as if in contrast with a bosom of as pure white as ever appertained to human nature. Her features, also, were handsome; her cheeks were faintly tinged on a very pale ground. Her mouth was somewhat wan; she seemed rather exhausted; and as she stood, the tears came into her dark and modest eyes. 'Weer dusto com fro?' asked the overseer; 'an' wot dusto want? theawrt a new un at ony rate,' he continued. She said she came from Musbury, and wanted relief for her husband, herself, and two children, besides the infant. 'An wot dun yo doo for a livin?' interrogated the overseer. They wove calico, she said, when they could get work and were able; but the children at home were ill of the measles; the shopkeeper had refused them any more credit; and her 'husban' has wurched for us till he fell off his looms, and wur beginnin' o' th' feyver, the docthur said so.' 'Hang those docthurs,' said the overseer, 'why conno they let foke dee when thur time comes?' 'I hope he'll no dee yet,' said the poor woman, tears streaming in plenty; 'I think he'd come reawnd iv yod nobbut let us have a trifle o'summut to carry on wi'; an' iv yo win (intreatingly) I'll hie me whom, an' I'll put th' chylt i' th' keyther, an' set at yon wark and finish it mysel; an' we'n not trouble yo agen unless we'en sum new misfortin'.' The overseer asked the farmers, who, it appeared, were rate payers, what they thought of the case; and the result was, that he gave her two shillings and promised to call and see the family. But she must tell her husband he must not begin of the fever. 'Its o' idlety, idlety; an' iv th' paupers o' th' teawn yerd at he geet owt wi' bein' ill o' th' feyver, they'd o' begin. Nowe, nowe, they'd'n ha' no feyvers i' their teawnship.' She took the money, curtseyed, and thanked the overseer and rate-payers. One of them said she had been 'a decent wench;' he knew her father in better days; and he offered her a glass of the warm ale, which she put to her lips, and swallowed a small quantity. Her cheeks turned deathly pale; she put out her hand, as if her sight was gone; her grasp relaxed; the child dropped on Healey's knee; and I caught the fainting woman in my arms

'Hoos clem'd to dyeth,' said one of the rate-payers. 'Hoos as dyed as a dur nail,' said the other. 'I didno deny her relief,' said the overseer. The doctor handed the child to the landlady and called for some brandy, which was brought, together with a sharp smelling-bottle, which was applied; but there was not any perceptible breathing, and she shrank down seated upon the floor, I kneeling, and still keeping her in a leaning posture. And shall I be ashamed to say, that whilst I thus held her, tears escaped, and chased down a furrow already made by care on that cold and pale brow? Oh, no! could I have withheld my deepest sympathy from that beauteous mother, my sister in humanity, perishing thus for want of food, my heart must have turned to stone. Healy chafed her temples with the liquor, sprinkled her face with water, opened her hands, and tried to get a drop of liquid into her mouth, but her teeth were set. 'Poor thing,' said the doctor, 'she must have been very ill.' 'Hoos dun for i' this ward,' said one of the men. 'I relieft hur,' said the overseer, 'for I seed hoo'r none o' eawr reggilur paupers.' 'We shan ha to have an inquest,' said the constable. 'Moor expense, and moor,' said the overseer; 'but they conno say 'at I neglected 'em, con they?' Whilst these observations, and many others, were passing, the features of the sufferer became less rigid; the jaw relaxed; a drop of brandy and water was administered; a slight tinge of pink appeared on her cheeks; the chafings and smellings were continued; a sigh after some time escaped, and in a minute or two those dark fringed eyes unclosed; she looked inquiringly around, and soon appeared to comprehend her situation. In a short time she was restored; her child was again pressed to her bosom; the two shillings were made up to five; she took a cup of warm tea with the family; and in another hour she was slowly wending up the hill towards Musbury.'—vol. i. pp. 60—62.

We close our extracts with the account of his return to his own house, after the excursion in which the last mentioned incident occurred.

'And shall we part here, friend reader? On my very threshold shall we part? Nay, come in from the frozen rain, and from the night wind which is blowing the clouds into sheets like torn sails before a gale. Now down a step or two. 'Tis better to keep low in the world than to climb only to fall. It is dark, save when the clouds break into white scud above; and silent, except the snort of the wind, and the rattling of hail, and the eaves of dropping rain. Come in. A glimmer shows that the place is inhabited, that the nest has not been rifled whilst the old bird was away. Now shalt thou see what a miser a poor man can be in his heart's treasury. A second door opens, and a flash of light shows we are in a weaving-room, clean and flagged, and in which are two looms with silken work of green and gold. A young woman, of short stature, fair, round, and fresh as Hebe; with

light brown hair escaping in ringlets from the sides of her clean cap, and with a thoughtful and meditative look, sits darning beside a good fire, which sheds warmth upon the clean swept hearth, and gives light throughout the room, or rather cell. A fine little girl, seven years of age, with a sensible and affectionate expression of countenance, is reading in a low tone to her mother. 'And he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying, Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are they that mourn; for they shall be comforted. Blessed are the meek; for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness; for they shall be filled. Blessed are the merciful; for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God. Blessed are the peace-makers; for they shall be called the children of God. Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake.' Observe the room and its furniture. A humble but cleanly bed, screened by a dark, old-fashioned curtain, stands on our left. At the foot of the bed is a window closed from the looks of all street passers. Next are some chairs, and a round table of mahogany; then another chair, and next it a long table scoured very white. Above that is a looking-glass, with a picture on each side of the resurrection and ascension on glass, 'copied from Reubens.' A well-stocked shelf of crockery-ware is the next object; and in a nook near it are a black oak carved chair or two, with a curious desk, or box, to match; and lastly, above the fire-place, are hung a rusty basket-hilted sword, an old fusee, and a leathern cap Such are the appearance and furniture of that humble abode. But my wife!

'She looked; she redden'd like the rose;
Syne, pale as ony lily.'

Ah! did they hear the throb of my heart when they sprang to embrace me? my little love child to my knees, and my wife to my bosom? Such were the treasures I had hoarded in that lowly cell: treasures that, with contentment, would have made into a palace—

——— 'the lowest shed
That ever rose on England's plain.'

They had been at prayers, and were reading the Testament before retiring to rest. And now, as they a hundred times caressed me, they found that, indeed, 'Blessed are they that mourn; for they shall be comforted.'"—vol. i. p. 74, 75.

Of 'my wife,' too, who seems to have been a wonder of a woman, we cannot but record the following:—

'The order was then given to move. My wife burst into tears. I tried to console her; said I should soon be with her again; and

bestowing a kiss for my dear child when she came in the morning, I ascended into the street and shouted 'Hunt and liberty!' 'Hunt and liberty,' responded my brave little helpmate, whose spirit was now roused. One of the policemen, with a pistol in his hand, swearing a deep oath, said he would blow out her brains if she shouted again. 'Blow away,' was her reply; 'Hunt and liberty! Hunt for ever!'—vol. i. pp. 229, 230.

The man and his work may be pretty fairly judged of from these quotations. They are not the fittest to serve for a text to the remarks we have presently to offer: but as we could not find room for all we wished, we were obliged to select such as would best bring Bamford's powers into view. It is clear that our author possesses all the elements of a fine literary character; and there are parts of his work, which, without the least correction, no man need blush to have composed. Yet the scanty instruction afforded in a village Methodist Sunday-school, seems the only assistance that he ever had. He says little, however, of his early life; though, from a hint or two, we gather that before his marriage, and while yet a lad, a voyage in a merchant's vessel served somewhat to enlarge his views and whet his powers of observation. Otherwise, a handloom weaver's tame, unvarying life was all he knew; till his own honesty, cleverness, and general ability, raising him to the respect and confidence of his immediate neighbours, brought him, as their representative, into circumstances of extraordinary though temporary publicity. Here, still trusted by the good among his friends, he became respected by the good among his foes. Samuel Bamford, as the follower of a man like Hunt, could not, it is true, redeem his 'order' from the frightened hatred, and his cause from the ignorant contempt, of the unmitigated Toryism of the day. Nor do we deem him worthy of the honour of a place in the first rank of our political martyrs; neither do we award to him the consideration due to such as are *most* signally victimized by scoundrels with whom, in their fervour and simplicity, they have credulously associated. Bamford was too knowing to be *much* injured by his friends; and his principles of action were scarcely pure and deep enough to render him a hero. His was not a thoroughly or an intelligently religious character. He had too much humane feeling and poetic genius not to breathe a religious atmosphere with considerable pleasure. His book gives proof enough of this, and more, it may be, than enough. For Bamford's religion, while of sincerity that we respect too much to question, is any thing but a religion commended by our judgment. The vulgarest country Methodism is all he seems to have observed. We know it well, the Methodism of his own locality, of Middleton, Heywood, and all

that teeming district. It has been the only religious teacher by whom the vast majority of the thousands living there have been at all instructed: and their present state is most appalling, though, to such as have an eye to see, most pregnant with sound admonition. Their almost soulless aspect of indifference; the blindest possible and most unmoveable, or varied only by occasional malignant or coarse jocosity, too witless to be humorous, too meaningless to be accounted infidelity; this aspect never could have clothed a man like Bamford. His religion, notwithstanding, at least as apparent in his book, is to our apprehension of no loftier a nature than what is traceable in the general corruption of his district. Activity, sympathy, an imagination such as his, must necessarily do something with religious knowledge when acquired, however superficial, vague, and mixed with errors it may be, and however offensively it may have been communicated. Doubtless, the fullest, purest, and most aptly furnished spiritual knowledge, is frequently perverted to results most frightful and tremendous. But the ruin and decay cannot conceal the nature of what has been so signally abused. The kind and the mode of instruction are, to an analytic eye, as perceptible in the failure as in the improvement. The improvement made by Bamford, and the abuse so marked among his neighbours, appear to us phenomena of the same elementary materials, the truths of Christianity as presented in the least orderly, accurate, congruous, and effective way, in which perhaps they could be in a land and day like this. And to the feeble indefiniteness of Bamford's Christian views, and the consequent want of comprehensiveness and of well-adjusted, steady pressure, by which his religious principles of action were necessarily distinguished, we attribute his contentment with a something short of genuine heroism, and his failing to remove more thoroughly his adversaries' prejudices against the political principles he entertained. Still, if we rank Major Cartwright and his compeers as the first class, Bamford, all his history considered, was among the best of the second class, of the reformers of that day; and of Hunt's admirers, such at least as figured publicly, none, perhaps, excelled him. And he had a proportionate reward—the generous discrimination of excited and alarmed opponents; and, we have not a doubt, he did his cause a correspondent service, constraining opposition to respect him, and thus helping to persuade it to investigate more candidly his principles. To what extent his political convictions have been modified; how far Tory courtesy has conciliated him to Tory principles; whether the public commendation of his work, too, has not nourished vanity rather than industry, and, together with pleasure, produced carelessness to please; all these are points we

feel called to overlook, when once suggested, rather than adjudicate. Should our readers think it worth their while to censure Bamford on such points, let them, if they can, as we do, trace up his errors to the flimsy feebleness of his religion; think what he might have been if blessed with larger and more luminous discoveries of God; and then lay censure light: for we, too, are all human; and Bamford was a handloom weaver, poor, friendless, and despised.

And now, notwithstanding our stout determination to inflict a lengthy moral on our readers, we find that, though we treat of facts not fables, our moral, in proportion to our tale, must be as curt and cramped as that of the most welcome fabulists. We grieve at the necessity, but have no choice. Our destined space is well nigh occupied; and, besides, we have not had it in our power to copy out the passages that chiefly rouse the thoughts we now proceed to indicate. We suppose, then, that our readers have examined Bamford's volumes, and have consequently learned a little of what magistrates, policemen, jurors, yeomanry, spies in the pay of government, and other members of the home-executive, could, thirty years since, do for the maintenance of peace and in honour of righteousness. We are not indisposed to admit that our internal police is at present of a character in somewhat closer harmony with truth and equity. But if any of our readers can turn away from Bamford's pages with the comfortable persuasion that wrongs such as he felt are never now inflicted, and that in our 'free and happy land' the executive will no more do evil, for the sake of either good or evil, we pray them to dispel the pleasant but most treacherous delusion; to suffer *facts*, at all events, to have a little force; and, instead of dreaming that there is nothing now to do but to enjoy the liberty secured by their predecessors, to bethink themselves of what the advantages which they possess devolve upon them as their duty; and to examine whether foes have not already bound them while indulging in complacent sleep. Did the government employ no spies against the Chartists? Was Lord Abinger a righteous judge? Were the Dublin trials such as the reporters testified? Is there a public reformer among us, whose private letters Sir James Graham has not opened? What have not both judge and jury done to silence Mr. Miall? Is not the administration of the law of libel worse than even in the days of Mansfield? Are North Britons quite secure from the far-famed 'internal vigour' of their criminal courts? Of our courts ecclesiastical, our irresponsible unpaid, our martial courts, our guardians of the poor, our income-tax commissioners, who does not weekly hear of deeds so dark as to overspread our

hearths with gloom? And does the gloom dispose thee, Britain, to a heavy sleep? They who have overcast it, are they thy household gods? And canst thou laud them for it, and then trust thyself beneath their darkening care as if repose were safe? And of thy sons, seem the religious the most contented and most drowsy?

We now advert to another matter; and, still supposing that our readers are familiar with the contents of these volumes, we declare our readiness to deduce from them alone, both the people's right to have, and their fitness to employ, the suffrage. We mean by their 'fitness,' their equal fitness to that of the classes deemed already fit; and though some of our opponents might at first rejoice in our appeal on such a subject to the volumes before us, we should not retract our assertion, but should calmly prosecute our reference. Mountebanks like Healey; scoundrels such as Hunt; madmen such as Mitchell; dupes like Bamford's 'co-delegate'; malignants such as many who have not a name; all may be revived, as if we were to be confounded and for ever silenced by the resurrection: but we retain our position and our bearing, and are prepared, when opportunity is meet, to verify all we have asserted. None of his readers will suspect Bamford of flattering his class in the portrait he has given of them; or, on the other hand, of detracting from the beauty of the 'privileged.' Of the two classes, moreover, the mere inhabitants are unquestionably improved, since the times that Bamford treats of, to a much more marked degree than their exclusive oppressors, the citizens. But confining our attention to the two as represented in these volumes, we unhesitatingly declare that for shrewd perception of what tends to their own interests, and, according to their possible range of observation, to the interests of all; for readiness to widen their range of view when requisite, and to bear personal and temporary suffering for the universal good; for sympathy with integrity and general ability, sufficient to discriminate those among their offered leaders who are most competent to lead them; for patience when wronged, and unwillingness to wrong; in short, for *any* of the general qualifications desirable for electors, we should as cheerfully depend on the unprivileged as on their fancied superiors; and for *some* of these qualifications, we should inexpressibly prefer the former to the latter, the excluded to the monopolists, the banned to the favoured and bepraised. Yet the 'citizens' pourtrayed before us are, as a body, among the most seemly of their class; and the 'mere inhabitants' assuredly are, with one or two exceptions, by much the least eminent of theirs. Those, too, had all advantages; our clients, scarcely any. These last, moreover, were palpably

and in many ways oppressed, and yet restrained themselves from madness; the others used their power for intoxication, though using it for justice they would have been extolled for generosity as well. We assert all this, now, with a very full and clear remembrance of the whole that we have written above, and elsewhere too, respecting the blank irreligiousness of the thousands among the operatives of Lancashire. Theirs, however, is not all the irreligiousness among us: and if the corruption of the best things is the worst state possible, there is a more fearful and demoralizingly pernicious corruption of religious truth, we apprehend, among the self-applauded and unsympathizing voters, than any visible among their wantonly scorned subjects.

But we have a moral for these 'subjects' too; for the 'mere inhabitants' of Lancashire especially, as those most conspicuously brought before us in this book, though for all as well whose condition is akin to theirs. And could we reach the ears of the million of artisans in Lancashire, we should take advantage of Mr. Bamford's book to address them on many a matter of detail. But as our pages circulate among the better educated and more thoughtful only of this extraordinary population, we shall confine our observations to one topic, but that, in our esteem, the most comprehensive and important. Their great need is what we have already spoken of as Bamford's; the need of enlightened, strong, operative, personal religion. This assertion is not a mere truism; nor does it imply that Lancashire artisans are of a nature requiring religious correctives more than other men. But, reminded by these volumes of their political history for the last fifty years; of their often raised and as often disappointed hopes; of their costly and riskful efforts to enfranchise the classes just above them, the very men who now are the most earnest to exclude them from full citizenship; of their frequent deception by corrupt and dangerous leaders; of their pauses between periods of spasmodic exertion for their rights, pauses, for the most part, unimproved and useless; of their powerlessness, and unwillingness to act, unless associated; of the tendency of their association to awaken fear rather than to command respect; of their joy in being feared, even when as determined as possible to do nothing of the nature apprehended; of their dependence on their numbers rather than their sense; and of their love of physical 'demonstrations,' all to end in nothing, rather than of moral, which are never made in vain; reminded of all this, as amply illustrated in the last half century; perceiving, too, the tendency of the capital invested in the cotton business, to accumulate in masses large and few, and the all but sovereign sway to be consequently exercised by mas-

ters, easily banded and of mutual sympathies, over the many hundreds, or thousands, they severally employ; lastly, expecting that a general reduction of hours of labour will soon occasion to this mighty multitude facilities, for either good or evil, not known to the present generation, or, at least, since the factory discipline was substituted for the less restricted handloom life; collecting all these things, and pondering them till we feel the force of each, and the general pressure of them all; the specific conviction occupies and fills our mind, that religion only can acquire for these men their rights, and religion only can make the rights a blessing when acquired. We protest, we say, against regarding this assertion as a truism. It contains truth, without doubt, of universal application; but truth, too, worthy of distinct and pointed application, such as we now give it. Whatever be man's need, we glory equally with any in first bidding him fear God: but in relation to the need we now are studying, we feel that no means can efficiently be used to meet it but by religious men alone; that all exertion but such as is animated by religious motive, and pervaded by religious temper, repels the prize the farther, and is worse than useless; and that unless employed as religious men alone would use it, the suffrage, comparatively harmless, it may be, to others, would to the operatives themselves become a chain of bondage not of glory, a curse and not a blessing. To gain the suffrage, they must fight, or they must reason. To fight would be both murderous and suicidal. No reason is heard but such as comes from men whose general character and ways constrain respect and charm attention. None but religious men; or men, at least, whose social character is such as is formed by religious men alone, and has their general approbation; none but men like these can gain the ear of people who have power: for they only give a pledge that they will use the citizen's prerogative for the advantage of the city; and, we will add, they only can honestly employ, even if other men could think of, the most forcible arguments for establishing their right. Men of the religion we are now imagining, speak for themselves, and act alone, whether joined by their fellow-men or not. They shun an organized association whose real and apparent leaders are not men of the social excellences hinted at above. They are such as no man would attempt to bribe. They are too valuable servants for any master to risk losing by attempting to coerce. They feel the force of truth rather than of circumstances; and hence strive constantly and calmly, rather than at intervals and in convulsions. They resist unrighteous instigations if made by men of their own level; and thus faithful in a few things, they are evidently fitted to be rulers over more.

Not a word of the foregoing observations can, however, be adduced in defence of the existent monopoly. No man may do evil that good may come. No man may withhold another's right, lest if conceded it be misemployed. The unprivileged are not cravers of a boon; they with much respect demand their own. They do not fight for it; for they fear God. They, therefore, reason; not, however, to induce their injurers to pity or to aid them, but to convince them of their injustice, and to show to them its harmful re-action on themselves. And the one design and only bearing of the admonitions we have given them is, to guide them so that their reasonings of such a kind shall prove effectual.

But how shall the many hear without a preacher? Who will essay to impart the true religious character to all these guideless thousands? 'Come, and help us!' is the cry of their condition; who answers, 'Here am I, send me?' We turn with eagerness to our Baptist and Independent colleges; for they alone, we apprehend, contain the men we need. Deeming such ministry as theirs will be, more adapted than any other in our country to promote the general spiritual interests of the people we have been considering, we think it specially adapted to produce the social character we long to see. We think this, of course, because of the description of theology they spread; but also, and on this we now press mainly, because their ecclesiastical system is the only one, likely to act to any great extent among this people, which leaves its agents' hearts at liberty to sympathize with them in the wrongs that they endure. We have no desire to see our ministers lecturers on political justice, or agents in managing political associations. Still less would we discover in them a timid connivance at traitorous and insensate projects, or a servile affectation with the poor of sentiments they would among the rich repudiate and ridicule. We would neither bind them to a political creed, nor have them teach as Christian truth that which, though true, is not confessedly within the Christian record. But neither would we have them twaddle about the peculiarly carnalizing tendency of politics; nor, when the heart is bleeding from a thousand wrongs, would we have them ignorant of their existence, or able to apply in social life *none* but religious lenitives; nor would we have them as citizens fearful of committing themselves by the expression of a deep conviction, because it might be reported to their disadvantage; nor would we have them exaggerating the follies of such as have no helper, in order to secure the favour of the men who need none. All that we plead for is, that those who undertake to apply the truths of God should make themselves acquainted with the state and sorrows of their

charge; that they should be found men who have candidly and seriously studied what their scholars have so deeply felt as to give a character to all their reasonings and conduct; that they should show themselves able to discriminate, and, if detecting a fallacy or fault, should not seem blind to a principle or an excellence; that their heart should so evidently be the people's as, without a frequent proclamation to that same effect, to win the people's confidence, to produce docility, and to excite sympathy in turn with the minister's desires and designs; that their speech and their preaching in their own professed department should uplift their hearers' thoughts at times to other states than this, disclose to them the civic rights and character of Christians, prepare them to view earth with sobered fancies, and awaken sympathy with God in all His workings and pursuits; that, meanwhile, not a single wrong done by the mighty should be denied, or any of their principles of evil cloked; and, lastly, that in the minister of Christ the poor and the degraded should feel both warranted and bound to recognise a man who, would he speak about their failings, speaks of them to themselves, and who when absent from them is their steady and consistent advocate. Such is the ministry we wish to see engaged amidst our operatives; and we most earnestly invoke our students to think much about the field of labour we thus indicate. Undoubtedly, the field is arduous; but it is not impracticable. Coarseness, distrust, reserve, long-seeming insensibility and mental torpor, all this should be expected for a season; and much of it, with other faults as well, for generations more than one. But an elevated tone of Christian character; a dignified self-government; a sound judgment; a self-devoting zeal for others' interests; a healthy humanity; these, sustaining the action of a copiously rendered Scripture lore, and a well-arranged and forcibly presented Calvinism, will issue, as early as could be reasonably looked for, in compensatory results of the most delightful and satisfying kind. We speak with confidence, for we know the county well: and though we are acquainted with many parts of England where the civilizing influences of godliness are even much more needed, we know of none where they seem likely to produce so obvious and abundant fruit, if only the godliness created be as scriptural as we could wish. Of social and secular inducements to dwell among Lancashire operatives, we confess there are but few. We speak, however, to spiritual men not carnal, and to men so eminently spiritual as while young to be accounted elders. Bachelor's living, nevertheless, should be provided, and such, too, as befits the man on whose exemplary personal refinement the refinement of his people is dependent. And it is with plea-

sure more than common we advert, in this connexion, to the recent resolution of the Lancashire Congregational Union, a sort of county mission, that no minister, whose services they hereafter may engage, or sanction, shall receive less than £100 a-year. We would express, too, our decided preference, were we in our youth about to labour in that county, of settling under that Union's guidance, than, *cæteris paribus*, in any sphere without it. Possessed of the confidence of the executive committee, a confidence no sensible and honest junior minister could fail to gain, the chief annoyances of a Lancashire country pastor's life would pretty well be neutralized; and by the time his people could support him, they would be substantially removed. If this article should only induce a few of our superior young men to spend their energies in Lancashire, and some other of our home missionary institutions to imitate the conduct of our Independent brethren in that county, it will have been neither written nor perused in vain.

Art. II. *A Revived Ministry, our only Hope for a Revived Church.* By one of the least among the Brethren. pp. 60. Jackson and Walford.

We place the above pamphlet at the head of this paper, because we are about to write, not upon its character, but its subject. Ignorant of the author's name, we are yet glad to say, that his mode of treating his important theme is creditable to him. With his sentiments we generally agree; as to their substantial truth we have no doubt. One of the most pleasant features of his little work is the manifest and tender sincerity with which it is written. There is no exposure of a defective state in a non-defective spirit — no carnal condemnation of carnality — no casting out of devils by Beelzebub the prince of the devils. The writer is without censoriousness; indeed we can imagine the exercise of greater severity to be in harmony with the purest charity. Whoever he be, he speaks like one who has 'a burden,' and therefore speaks in a tone worthy of regard from all who value the restoration of the 'old ministry.'

It has been the boast of Nonconformists to have a regenerated ministry, and though the boast has been sometimes rather loud, we think it has been justified by their history. Compared with the endowed ministry, there can be no question of its decided and vast superiority in point of spiritual religion. Among the various bodies of evangelical Dissenters, a really ungodly minister — one who has never passed from death unto life—is the

exception, the comparatively rare exception. We believe this to have been so from the beginning, and we believe it to be so now. But it does not follow, therefore, that we have any very great grounds for trust and glory. The ministry may be in the main a converted ministry, and yet it may be far from a state which would justify complacency and inspire hope. The godliness may be decent, and yet share the fate of most simply decent things. The question we put is—does the religion of the ministry among evangelical Dissenters oblige us to look elsewhere for the principal cause of what is humbling and dispiriting in our religious condition.

It is assumed in this inquiry, that there is something 'humbling and dispiriting in our religious condition.' We have no pleasure in saying or thinking so. It is our wont to take the brightest views that reason may permit on subjects associated with the welfare of the world. We would fain escape the impression that has forced itself upon our minds. We did not seek it, we cannot resist it. But having it, we dare not conceal it. Long ago we eschewed and denounced the policy of *keeping things quiet* that ought to be remedied. It does nothing but perpetuate them. The time is come for grappling with the present question, and not to do it may entail heavy and lasting consequences upon all that we wish and most justly prize. It is not necessary to enumerate the evidence that our spiritual case is far from a cheering one. Statistics are not to be had, and, if they were, would be comparatively useless. Any one having a general acquaintance with our churches, will understand and appreciate the questions, which we now propose with fear and trembling, and not in the spirit of an indictment. Are our churches increasing so as to make inroads on the masses of ignorance and sin that surround them? Are they increasing at all, when the increase of population is considered? Are they, as a general rule, in a decidedly flourishing state? Would a stranger going among them be struck with their embodiment of the primitive idea? Are they to the world what the representations of Scripture would justify us in requiring that they should be? Are they signs, witnesses, blessings? Is the ministry, taken *as a whole, religiously powerful?* Does it, by the aid only of honest and healthy means, lay hold upon the popular mind? These questions, and many more of the same kind, we are compelled to answer in the negative. What is the reason of all this? We have a Scriptural theology, holding fast the vital elements of spiritual power. We maintain an ecclesiastical organization possessing special adaptation to the growth and diffusion of godliness, and sympathising more directly than most others with the temper of the times. We possess learning enough to pro-

tect us from contempt, on account of gross incompetency to fill the position that Providence has assigned to us. And there is no lack of men to take charge of all existing societies, and many more. What then is the reason? Our simple answer is—there are several reasons, but the principal one is the want of a more entire and vehement consecration to the work on the part of ministers. There are other causes operating in different degrees to the same result, but we are persuaded the root of the evil is in this. The ministry of any church is the rule and source of its prosperity. 'Like people, like priest,' is an everlasting proverb. Given the ministry, and you may safely conclude as to the state of the body, its character, its works, its progress. And that which in the ministry is, above all other things, so sure a sign, and potent an influence, is the presence or the absence of a deep spirituality. Much stress is laid, now-a-days, on the power of the individual will and heart. The error in some quarters is in an exaggeration, a strange exaggeration, of this truth, and thus agency and instrumentality are confounded, and more is made of believing than of truth, as if the eye were all, and the light were nothing. But the fact remains, that infinitely more depends on what men are, than on any of the things with which they have to do. To rely on machinery for spiritual purposes is the worst of all delusions. Institutions of the best construction are only bodies, and the body without the spirit is dead. There may be exact definitions of doctrine, fit and proper polities, ripe learning, polished address, words without end, and yet a lack of the only power that can vivify, direct, and glorify the whole. The essential part of the service may be wanted, and a question like that of Isaac's have to be proposed—'Behold the fire and the wood; but where is the lamb for a burnt offering?' We think that such a question may be put respecting our ministry. Is it manifestly a ministry from God? Is it aggressive in its modes of action, eminently devoted, earnest, self-denying, unwearied, painful? Do those who preach give unquestionable evidence of the single eye, and thoroughly consecrated heart? Do they, by persevering effort in the midst of discouragement, by preferring the laborious and useful, but ill-requiting lot, by sacrificing prospects of personal ease and profit to the good of large and neglected neighbourhoods, and by regulating their exertions, not according to the requirements of official propriety, but the exigences of human souls, make it clear that their only end is 'the profit of many that they may be saved?' Are there prevailing indications among them of the true temper of the missionary, the reformer, the martyr? Do they exhibit a *constant* spirit, abiding in spheres till sufficient time has passed to prove the real worth of their plans of operation?

Do they possess the belief that no people are to be lightly abandoned to eternal doom, and that success may be obtained if it be rightly sought? Is it their feeling that the ministry was never meant to be a respectable profession but a hard work? Are moral and eternal fruits, in the instruction, quickening and sanctifying of men, more highly prized than the comforts, and enjoyments arising from respectable positions, established interests, and intelligent society? We might multiply these inquiries almost without end, and we fear the response to them would be sorrowful from most persons whose information would warrant their making a response at all. Let us repeat, that our intention is not to prefer charges, though our mode may suggest it. We write with the deepest self-abasement, and devoted love and honour for our brethren, whose shoes' latchet we are not worthy to unloose. Nor, however painful may be our own views in some respects, would justice be done us if we were regarded as lamenting the *entire condition* of our body, and class. So far from it, we would not for one moment hint that a very large number of ministers may not be found amongst us, whose course and success, if looked at alone, would justly excite astonishment at the nature of our interrogatories. We have amongst us a glorious company of men who combine in rich and harmonious variety all the qualifications and attributes of 'servants of the most high God;' the simplicity of whose piety appears in beautiful fellowship with great attainments, who are as devoted workmen as they are eloquent orators, who unite the fervour of the first age to the refinement of the last, and who behold in large and flourishing churches the natural, and yet supernatural, results. And we must add, likewise, that our object is even still less to draw, or to intimate, any distinction beween one class or race of ministers and another. We speak not of the young or of the old. This remark is rendered necessary, by not a little that has been said of late years in disparagement of the rising ministry. For some time we received these complaints and accusations only as at the worst, the oozings out of the distrust and impatience with which it is natural for the aged to contemplate the youthful, especially if the latter show signs of independence and of power, and we are strongly inclined to cherish this estimate still. Who likes to be assailed with the peremptory order, 'move on?' Ever since the world began there have been the elements of schism between the ancient holders of office, and those who have but recently received it. It is unnecessary for us to conceal the faults which generally obtain among young ministers, or those which especially obtain among the existing race; we know too well how thankless and thoughtless would be the work of an indiscriminate vindication; but, without making any invidious

comparisons, we may avow our belief that in relation to our present subject, viz. piety, they stand as well as others, while in relation to some other things they stand much better. A good deal of the suspicion which prevails respecting this important class, and which many foster who ought to reprove it, arises, we are persuaded, from what those persons would be sorry to sanction—*a secret belief in the sinfulness of human learning*. We put it strongly on purpose—but not too strongly. This *is* the primary element. As an unconscious moral feeling against *matter* leads to sympathy with much popish doctrine and ritualism, so, we are thoroughly convinced, an unconscious moral feeling against *knowledge* leads to sympathy with much pagan ignorance and barbarism. Protestants find it difficult to divest themselves of the sentiment that matter is evil, and that therefore 'more flesh' is 'more frailty,' and many dissenters find it as difficult to conceive that what is added to the intellect is not taken from the heart, and that godly simplicity is not human stupidity. Hence a jealousy, strong in some quarters, of the efforts to improve and extend our collegiate course of training, among other reasons, because of the incompatability of the end proposed with a fresh and fervid spirituality. Against this doctrine we have all along protested, nor are we prepared to write one word of recantation in reference to the papers which have from time to time appeared in this journal, expounding and enforcing the principles and details of a higher order of ministerial education. We know of no wisdom that is opposed to 'the wisdom of God,' and should as soon think of enmity between a sharp eye and a good digestion as between learning and holiness. But a man may be attending to his eye when he should be attending to his digestion, and so in studying men may neglect that better way of studying—praying.

Let us return. In order to estimate accurately the importance of great piety in the Christian ministry, it is needful to look carefully at its relations to the individual man and his official work. Its importance is generally conceded; it passes as a stock sentiment. No one denies, and for that reason few analyze it. So catholic an agreement prevents careful consideration, and the truth is as often concealed as revealed by its expression. Why should a minister of God be 'a man of God?' It requires a little reflection to detect the reasons, and much to obtain a full and solemnizing perception of them.

The *ultimate end* of the ministry can be realised so as to operate in its proper manner and degree only as the soul sees things which are invisible. That end is *the salvation of men*. All other ends are secondary and subservient. A man supremely devoted to this may engage in works that are not immediately, or in the

view of short-sighted persons, conducive to its attainment. He may do this to excite attention, remove prejudice, and gain power. He may do it on the ground on which eminent counsel is sometimes retained when not wanted, it being better to buy silence than encounter opposition; and he may do it on the higher ground of enlisting a powerful advocacy in favour of a good cause. A minister may thus cultivate acquaintance with general literature, and aid the progress of many social questions, not forgetting his higher aim, but remembering and pursuing it, and so much the more, and with larger ultimate recompense, because with more patience and comprehensiveness of toil. But he will still 'watch' supremely 'for souls.' No amount of mental culture, of social reformation, of even moral improvement, will satisfy his zeal. Regarding men as possessing spiritual powers, filling spiritual relations, and advancing to a spiritual destiny, and believing these views to be infinitely more important than all other views of them, and comprehensive of all, he will not estimate his work by any criterion that excludes, or that gives not prominence to, spiritual salvation. He seeks *them*, not *theirs*, and to 'win' them, to 'form Christ in them,' to 'beget them again by the gospel, to 'present them perfect in Christ Jesus' at last, will constitute a purpose of absorbing solicitude. The existence and operation of such a purpose will affect the ministry in an essential manner, often investing with attractiveness modes and scenes of labour otherwise repulsive. It will concentrate the energies upon the work, and augment their force. The power of a man is not to be judged by contemplating what he is, but by calling to mind the impulse under which his faculties are used; and the impression that is denied to unconnected and chance exertions, however strenuous and splendid they may be alone, is often given to much inferior exertions continuously, systematically, and perseveringly employed. There is literally more power expended in the unceasing application of a small mind than in the fitful and occasional performances of a gigantic intellect. And if an inferior minister, absorbed with the conviction that men are precious and that they are perishing, works with a single view to their redemption, 'gives himself wholly to this thing,' making all his acquirements, and circumstances, and plans, tell upon it, he will do more, and more effectually, than can be done by the decent regularity, or temporary excitements of one vastly superior to him in gifts and furniture. The vivid realization of men's spiritual destiny which we suppose, will find reasons for love and toil when all besides will see a justification or excuse for neglect and abandonment. The most ignorant are the choicest subjects to him whose passion it is to teach; the most depraved are just the objects to be preferred by

him who thirsts to make alive to God. Indolence, selfishness, worldliness, will gladly leave the post of arduous toil, 'the mind that was in Christ Jesus' will covet it. If human spirits be sought for their own sake, every sign of corruption, degradation, and danger, will be an argument for more strenuous pursuit. Preferment to a man who 'travails in birth' for them will be the sphere in which their destitution is the greatest. And to such an one there will be no satisfying limit of success. He will not ask how little may consist with a Divine commission, but how much may be attained by human instrumentality. It may be that his usefulness is quite an average, it may be that it is more, yet will he strive to reach a higher point of blessing, and deem his past achievements as both means and motives of a more abundant benediction. In labouring for this, recourse will of necessity be had to *aggressive* methods. The worldly must be attacked, the bold transgressor faithfully dealt with, the stupidly sinful energetically and tenderly entreated. This is the severe test of Christian solicitude and love. It is comparatively easy to meet the expectations and fulfil the wishes of those who are seeking to be saved, to teach such as are anxious to be instructed, to go when there is a welcome, to visit those who deem a visit an honour; it is comparatively easy to labour faithfully in the pulpit and the church, to travail in the beaten route of public and pastoral engagements, satisfying the ordinary demands of ordinary Christians; but to attempt something else and something more than this, to labour 'out of season' as well as 'in it,' to aim not only at keeping up a respectable religious establishment but at doing a great work for God, to come into personal contact with the severer and more disgusting forms of depravity, to render services that are not likely to be appreciated but are almost sure to be misunderstood, to endeavour to communicate knowledge to minds destitute of any desire for it, to encounter the sharp opposition and clever reasonings of the sceptical, to strive to quicken the most elementary love of moral excellence—in one word, to raise a standard solely by the help of truth, to exceed the rule of common ministerial labour, toil for souls that are unknown or avoided by the church, and in methods unknown or disapproved by the church, this can be the result of nothing but *a passion for human salvation.* And by what is such a passion to be excited and sustained? There is a perpetual tendency to lose sight of the individual and spiritual worth of men, to glide into modes of estimation which do not involve it, and the state of our own hearts and of the world, is such as powerfully to check the exercises of such love and pity towards them as may be in us. To maintain an habitual sense of their great capacity and destitution, and an habitual anxiety to work

out their good, it is needful, and indispensable, that the heart should live in the light of eternity, and of God. Zeal against sin will never be greater than personal holiness, and 'charity to the soul,' which 'is the soul of charity,' will abound only as the great Parent and Father of all charity is realized and enjoyed. Paul expounds the whole subject in one energetic sentence—'Whether we be beside ourselves, it is to God: or whether we be sober it is for your cause: for the love of Christ constraineth us.'

A vital relation of great godliness to ministerial efficiency exists through the medium of *truth*. Let it be assumed that truth is the means by which men are invariably saved, which it may well be among us, and it becomes a matter of importance to know what is the best security for the full maintenance and energetic teaching of truth. There must be *faith*, that is indispensable; and we mean by faith not an exact and minute reflection of certain, or of any, dogmas, but a vivid, cordial, loving appreciation of the facts and principles which they embody. Without this, a ministry must be weak, heartless, vacillating, useless. The positive is the only source of power. Animal life is not upheld by the rejection of poisonous but the reception of wholesome food, and the heart derives all its virtue and all its strength from the presence and incorporation of spiritual realities. Doubt is almost as fatal as disbelief. It may be very fine to have the mind in a state of constant sublime scepticism, it may seem very modest to fear any fixed conclusions in so vast a mystery as that of the universe, it may appear very candid to refrain from adopting formal theories about any spiritual subjects, but one thing is certain, men cannot *work* in this way. Let the soul be tossed about on the ocean of moral uncertainties, let it have no definite and decided convictions, and one result will infallibly be—*that it will do nothing*. It was not by doubtful minds and doubtful ministries that the achievements of the gospel were made in times past, that paganism and popery have been effectually assailed. And if it be inquired—how may a staunch and settled confidence in truth, a seeing handling tasting of it be best secured, our answer is—*by a high degree of sanctity*. Learning, and hard thinking, let there be as much as possible of these; too much there cannot be. But we have no fear or shame in avowing our trust for orthodoxy to be in the obedience of the heart to God and Christ. We believe in the close sympathy between holiness and truth, in the living union of spiritual affections and spiritual perceptions, in the certainty that the doer of the will shall be the knower of the doctrine. There is a tendency in a right healthy moral state to find out and ally itself to objective truth. It will go in quest of it, be predisposed to its reception, and possess a blessed freedom from

blinding and perverting influences. It will have the latent light and heat of truth, and they will not long be without a visible form and manifestation. And is there no such thing as inspiration? May we make God's influence a matter of ancient history? Has he, who incessantly works in the material worlds, given up and abandoned human souls? Has he no 'secret' to give to them that fear him? no 'covenant' to make known to them? Does he not dwell and walk in his separated servants? And can there be a surer way to obtain his revelations than to live meekly, humbly, obediently, before him? There is a large class of minds whose continuance in the faith of the gospel can only be secured in the present day by a very decided and superior holiness. We have no enmity to philosophy, whencesoever it may come, nor to any fresh original and bold method of propounding its principles. It is high time that metaphysics and morals were more profoundly studied by Christian people, and especially by Christian ministers, than has been their wont. The fear of such study, as if it were inimical to the gospel, arises not from faith but unbelief.. Faith may be the plea professed and felt, but it is a faith so ignorant narrow and erroneous that the divine system of Christianity is misapprehended and disowned by it. But it is impossible to conceal the fact that much philosophical teaching in our time is so mixed up with error and evil, it is allied to speculations of such a perilous tendency, and is so much in the hands of men who not indirectly make it tell against the doctrine of Jesus Christ, clothing it in charming dresses of thought and style, that not a few are in danger of losing the simplicity and firmness of their faith. They are not the profound, not the deeply versed in knowledge, but men of some intellectual smartness and more intellectual pride, ready and presumptuous, free yet making liberty itself a bondage, to whom may justly be addressed the taunt, 'Ye are the men, and wisdom shall die with you.' They are to purge the church of 'dead forms,' to strip the Christianity of its 'swaddling clothes,' to destroy the 'humbug' of formal believers. Antiquity is with some a sign of truth, with them it is a sign of error. Some have rejected all that is new, they reject all that is old. They speak of principles as of men, when full of years they ought to die. Instead of adjusting certain spiritual ideas to the requirements of the age, they mistake the form for the essence, and would dismiss them altogether. Here is a widely-prevailing mischief, and a mischief that may not be trifled with. We see in it an indication not of improvement, but of deterioration. Let it be that the modes of presenting Christianity to the world admit of, and require, revision; that what, in this respect, was good and forcible a century ago, is useless, and worse than useless, now;

that the terminology of ancient creeds and symbols is out of place at this time of day; and that a more generous and profound, and practical, and *real*, method of treating the science of religion is imperatively demanded by the age; still, why should the truths, the essential and vital elements of the gospel, be stale and weak and despicable? Assuming, as we must do in this paper, that they *are* truths, but one solution is available. They are dead because men's souls are dead. The disesteem avowed or concealed in which they are sometimes held comes simply of the loss of spiritual interest in them. It is not new doctrines that are needed; but new hearts. 'That which we have had from the beginning' may be as fresh and lively and unctuous as it ever was. The old meal is tasteful enough to the hungry, it is the diseased and overfed that crave a novelty. There is enough in the Christian ideas of God and Jesus, of man and sin, of redemption and the cross, of eternity and recompense, if they be held in light and righteousness, to fill and move and energize the most capacious, ponderous, and weakly, souls. But they must *be so held* to do this, and doing this, there will be little danger of wandering for stimulus or strength in ways forbidden, ancient truths, aye, and ancient forms too, becoming young through the presence of a youthful spirit. The wholesale dissatisfaction, in some minds, with what has been proved to be the power of God, the common talk against what is common, the cant about cant, are, in our view, the revelation of infirmity and morbidity, seeking to make changes do the work of conscience, believing in the efficacy of spiritual places to give spiritual power, and the only remedy we can look to is a fresh baptism of the eternal Spirit, the clothing and reanimating of skeleton truths, by his almighty power. Let there be a revival of heartfelt religion, and 'the mysteries of the kingdom,' as known and taught among us, will not be partially or entirely laid aside as worn out and obsolete, but more tenaciously and vigorously held and taught as the very 'life of God.' They will possess a 'glory that excelleth,' a perpetual youth, a 'power from on high.' Would a Whitefield or a Wesley, if raised to-day, not find them so? And they must possess this, not merely to secure their place as theological verities, as things of creed and formula, but that they may be dealt out with zest and force among the people. The peculiar sentiments of Christianity are not to be proclaimed with solemn decency, as being very respectable and venerable in character and standing, or in order to keep up a certain proportion and reputation of evangelical matter; they must not be inserted into discourses simply because they are expected to be, or even ought to be. If they be not used as the vitalities of religious instruction, the nutriment of spiritual life, the only

engine of truly divine success; if the proclamation of them do not come from the heart, be not made because it is loved to be made, because it is the natural voice and fruit of prime and prevailing affections; if the *minister* do not speak and urge them because the *man* 'lives by faith' of them, the preaching may savour much of Christ's doctrine, and yet accomplish little of Christ's will.

This leads to another important topic. The presence of an eminent spirituality gives great *power*—power over the minds and hearts of men. It is far from our intention, in saying this, to exclude the doctrine of a divine and immediate agency in every case of human salvation. That doctrine we admit in all its plainness and fulness, without qualification or restriction. But we have yet to learn that there are no laws according to which spiritual influence is exerted, or that those laws are less regular and uniform than those by which the agency of God in the material world is exercised. As it has been said that 'all discord' is 'harmony, not understood,' so we believe it may be said that much which passes under the name of 'sovereignty' in the moral administration of God, and especially in the operations by which he originates and carries on the individual salvation of men, is simple adherence to fixed and wisely-appointed rules. There is no disparagement of the grace and power of the Holy Spirit in believing that he works not arbitrarily and at random, but in conformity to certain principles whose fitness and excellence have commended themselves to his approval. Now it appears to us that *personal influence* is one of the most important modes of divine renewing agency. All revelation is personal. Moral principles are represented to us not as abstract things but as forming the character of the great God and Father, and evangelical truths are exhibited as having their existence in 'Christ our Gospel.' The wisdom of this method of manifestation may be discerned by any one that understands a little of the philosophy of his own nature. And the reasons of it are doubtless among the reasons wherefore it is ordained that 'holy men of God' alone should preach the gospel. Truths are very different things as they are exhibited through different personal media, and clothed with different personal attributes. Justice is never so august as when it breathes in the indignant reproofs of a soul of unbending integrity; love is never so persuasive as when a man 'divinely good' gives expression to its claims. When Paul 'set his eyes' on Elymas the sorcerer, we may well suppose 'the false prophet' received from that awful look of moral reprobation a pang more afflictive than the miracle that made him blind. 'There is a spirit in man,' and the spirit of one man has mysterious power over the spirits of other men, and if

it be thoroughly and transparently sincere, and full of faith, it attains the highest order of moral influence. Few men are without the means of testing the point. Every one feels very differently in the presence of an earnest believer and a mere formalist or cold sceptic. If a man come with his mind made up about a thing, if he take it for granted that he shall succeed, if no idea of aught else possess him, there is vastly more difficulty in refusing him than if he had come trembling and doubting, failure being less surprising than success, and his whole manner suggesting and almost asking for denial. And in cases where the object sought is one of moral excellence, and its claims are recognised, there is no comparison between the appeals of him all whose sympathies are evidently at one, and all in deep and energetic action, and of him who merely discharges a professional duty, or displays a decent amount of spiritual emotion. Herein lies the great superiority of a man to a book. The living spirit cannot be impressed upon the page, as it may be made vocal, visible, and palpable, in the speech, expression, and manner, of a human messenger of truth. And it is the living spirit that quickeneth. The heart communes with the heart. Sympathy is the law and mode of moral power. All engagements, all kinds of intercourse, all public movements, prove it. The courageous general electrifies his men, the enthusiastic teacher kindles a generous love of learning in his scholars, and on the *same principle*, though in a nobler state and mystery of operation, the impassioned preacher 'saves them that hear him.' In the life of Dr. Arnold we meet with this striking testimony from one who knew him well:—'The most remarkable thing which struck me at once on joining the Laleham circle was, the wonderful healthiness of tone and feeling which prevailed in it. Everything about me I immediately found to be most real; it was a place where a new comer at once felt that a great and earnest work was going forward.' This impression resulted from the spirit of reality that pervaded the minds in that establishment, and this spirit was sustained, as it had been generated, by the reality of his spirit who presided over it. It was not by arts and tricks, nor by spasmodic effects of zeal, nor by cold, severe, official authority, that Dr. Arnold changed the moral character of the great school committed to his charge, but by being what he taught, by showing faith that could not but be trusted, and kindness that could not but be loved, and honour that could not but be revered, and thus making moral excellence the growth of souls. And it is just thus that many men of parts not pre-eminent, of doctrines without novelty in nature or in mode, and destitute of the accidents of popular acceptance, command a strange influence over the minds of

others. The learned marvel because of their ignorance, the eloquent because they are rude, the original, because they are common-place, and they may all marvel while they look in these directions; the secret of their success is in the energy of a will instinct with divine life, and the penetrating quickening power of affections stimulated and sanctified by 'the things of God.' The effects produced are unquestionably and exclusively attributable to divine influence, as much so as were the physical miracles performed of old, and yet, as in the case of those, the mental condition of the instruments may be a matter of prime importance. Some men cannot produce them, because they have not 'faith;' and who can possess the faith, but they whose entire moral being is in close and habitual communion with the spirit of holiness, who walk in the light, and dwell in God?

There is but one other point to which we shall advert, viz., *ministerial example*. The power of example is too stale a topic to require any illustration or confirmation. Our object regards its connection with a particular function. Whatever truth or importance belongs to the general maxims respecting the influence of right conduct upon others, attaches with peculiar obviousness to those maxims, as applied to the subject in hand. The minister occupies a position more conspicuous than that of many, and the nature and design of his work are necessarily identified with moral considerations. His object being to *make men good*, there is a virtual challenge in every instance of its performance, to contemplate and criticise his own character. And men will not be backward to accept the challenge. The depravity which makes his work necessary, is too eager to find excuses for itself, and retorts for its reprovers, not to catch for these purposes at any inconsistencies in the preachers of righteousness. It may be true enough that a bad man may teach a good doctrine, and that, *if men were wise*, they would not injure themselves by rejecting the last for the sake of the first; but the question is one of *fact*, not of *right*; relates to what they do, and not to what they ought to do; and it is too plain for dispute, that the sins of ministers present a fatal stumbling-block in the way of many, and that their carelessness and worldly walk operate with disastrous efficacy as a hinderance to the elevated spirituality of many more. We by no means suggest that there are two standards of holiness, one for pastors, and another for people. But deviation from the one standard is attended with more, and more evil, consequences in the case of the former, than in that of the latter. It is a public fact. It has the miserable effect of the breaking down of a witness, or rather his giving evidence favourable to the other side. Nothing can exceed the necessity of a plain, prominent, incontrovertible uprightness, on the part of

ministers. The requirement of their case is not met by anything else. They are observed by too great a variety of minds, are exposed to too many and dissimilar perils, to be safe personally or officially without it. Their purity must be without a flaw, and without a doubt. Like Cæsar's wife, they must not be suspected. It is not sufficient that they can be vindicated; there must be no need of vindication. The materials of a full defence may be possessed, but there must be no occasion for a charge. Over and above the absence of any real ground of condemnation, there must be the impossibility of supposing one. Vindication cannot always be made, even where the matter is abundant, and at hand; and the existence of a charge, although disproved, leaves an impression which is not easily destroyed. But this is only one view of the subject. There may be such a character as cannot be impeached, and yet not such an one as subserves the highest ends of practical goodness. Truth, honesty, purity, gravity, and all other moral qualities, may be found in him who yet fails to attract attention and respect by the ethereal and high-toned nature of his excellence. And the attributes of Christian grace may be marked by no radical defect in him who leads not observers to witness of him that he is 'filled with the Spirit.' And if a minister, of whose essential piety there is no suspicion, still indicate that he has a very cordial love of this world's goods, a nice appreciation of physical dainties, a strong sense of personal dignity, an eager desire for the praise of men, it will detract amazingly from all his expositions, however luminous, and all his applications, however faithful, of the evil of covetousness, self-indulgence, pride, and vanity.

There is one bearing of a blameless character in the ministerial work, that deserves peculiar notice. Nothing weakens the heart more than a consciousness of insincerity. If there be a secret conviction of unsoundness as to the thing aimed at, of guilt in respect of the sin denounced, or neglect in respect of the duty commended, there is and must be failure in courage or in power, or both. 'No real greatness,' says Coleridge, 'can long co-exist with deceit. The whole faculties of man must be exerted in order to call forth noble energies; and he who is not earnestly sincere, lives in but half his being, self-mutilated, self-paralysed.' This general doctrine is founded on a principle whose application to our present subject is clear and close. The duty of a faithful minister is not alone to teach the doctrine of good works, nor to specify the ways in which this doctrine is violated; he must also, in order to 'make full proof of his ministry,' come into personal collision with evil consciences. He is charged with the direct reproof of men. Private expostulation

is part of his official work. In the discipline of the church he must ever be a prominent agent. But with what amount of fidelity is he to be expected to discharge this painful responsibility, how almost morally impossible is it for him to attempt it, how plausible must excuses for its neglect appear in his view, and if he set himself to the task, how feebly and timidly must he accomplish it, if he possess not the testimony of his conscience that he is perfectly exempt from the faults it is his business to expose and reprobate, and if he be not free from every particle of fear lest in dealing with other's sins he provoke animadversion on his own defects? The bold and successful reprover of sin must have the full approval of his own mind. 'The snuffers of the sanctuary were of pure gold.' But this blamelessness of life, this entire and transparent holiness, is inseparable from deep-rooted godliness. It cannot be assumed; it grows out of the heart. Care and circumspection will fail, if they be alone. A man can be certain to practise all righteousness, to present a universal and habitual pattern to the church and the world, only as he *is* righteous, loves, delights in, gives himself to, God. It must be a natural habit, not a studied act.

We are fully aware that the question may, and will be put,—How are we to secure the sterling spiritual qualities on which you lay so great a stress? It is a momentous question, too momentous to be hastily dismissed. We can do no more than offer one or two suggestions in reply. Our first remark is, that the men must be possessed of them *before they are pledged or invited to the ministry at all.* We apprehend, that the design of colleges is grievously misunderstood, when they are considered as intended to supply any great defect in the spiritual principles of those who enter them. They may train and direct and enlighten the godliness of students, but, certainly, they cannot be expected to effect any peculiar augmentation of it, or, in a general way, to do more than keep it up, or at least, to secure its keeping pace with the other growths of the soul. So far from it, we are inclined to think that the course of study which is prosecuted in them, may easily be allowed to check the advancement of the higher religious powers. It involves processes which eminent religion is required to pass through without injury. The straining of the mind, the constant familiarity with the mere secularities of knowledge, the habitual treatment of sacred things as matters of grammar, and criticism, and composition, and eloquence, are liable to blunt the edge and dull the polish of heart-piety, and must do so, unless there be a more than common unity and steadfastness of purpose to 'grow in grace.' There may be exceptions in this as there are in all things, but it would be a folly condemned by all past

experience, and all philosophy, to anticipate from a collegiate career the removal of any previous defects in the faith and the fervour of those who have to pass through it. The right men must be, and be seen to be, the right men, *before they enter upon that career.* We speak not without a full perception of our own meaning, and a perfect readiness to maintain it, when we say that the rule in God's church is, that the commencement of the religious course shall ascertain its conduct. Whatever examples may exist to the contrary, men are at the beginning of their Christian history what they are through it. The seed-time decides the harvest. If there be faint convictions of truth, weak affections towards it, doubtful consecration to it, in the season of conversion, and early spiritual life, if there be nothing clear marked and noticeable about the first operations of divine influence, we do not deem it safe to entertain any sanguine expectation that future years will witness great excelling. The weakly infant may possibly turn out a mighty man, but it would be absurd to dedicate him, while a weakly infant, to a work which only a mighty man is fit for. The indispensable qualifications for candidateship for the ministry of souls is, in our view, such a power and painfulness of zeal for God and men, as would not allow the possessor to be happy or easy unless 'separated,' in some way of special directness, 'unto the Gospel of Christ.' We eschew the cant that has often been expressed by 'a call to the ministry,' but we believe in, and honour the truth which it may stand for. A call there is, or ought to be. To enter the greatest of all offices without 'a call' is presumptuous absurdity. That call is not outward election, not signs of circumstances, not merely mental impressions, but essentially, and above all, such a vehement anxiety to 'serve God in the Gospel of his Son,' such a sense of the goodness and glory of this service, and such a fulness of purpose to do this 'one thing,' as must leave the heart sorrowful and sick, unless the service be allowed. The ministry must not be a dubious preference, something on the whole better than something, or than anything, else, but the engagement which alone meets the master-craving of the mind. He only will do much in it, who could do nothing out of it; who feels that it is not an office selected, so much as an office imposed; not a matter for decision, but of destiny; not what he may properly accept, but what he dare not possibly refuse; that 'necessity is laid upon him, yea, woe be unto him if he preach not the gospel.' And if there be this state of mind, admission into a college will not be a necessary condition of labouring in the gospel. The working out of the desire and determination of the mind will not depend on the approval of men. The spirit within will shape itself into

appropriate and beneficial services, whatever the estimate and verdict of others. The way will be formed for the will. Systems and functionaries may forbid a particular mode of entrance into the work, may impede a particular line of progress in it, but they 'have nothing more that they can do. They cannot, and were never meant to, prevent the utterance, and effectual utterance, of those who can say, 'We believe, and therefore speak.' The greatest men in God's church have often been raised up beside, and independently of, existing institutions. Melchizedek, the Prophets, Paul, and multitudes since, owed little to the ordinary and regular provisions of the church; and they who come 'in their spirit and power' may yet find that where there is life, opportunity of labour will not be withheld. But how is the existence of life to be ascertained? There is but one way—*the marking what men are as private Christians.* If in that capacity they be merely respectable saints, maintaining only a common character of holiness and zeal, doing no more than others, filling no peculiar positions, and producing no peculiar impression; if there be no reason to suppose that *out of the ministry* they would stand apart as distinguished by devotedness, and spiritual power; if the strong probability be that their official distinction will be their only distinction; then we say, that it is a hazardous thing to invite or encourage them to become ministers of Christ.

'But if only such men can be found—what then?' The plainest of all things—do without them. There is no obligation anywhere to maintain an inefficient, and especially a spiritually inefficient, ministry. The ends of God are not answered in filling so many pulpits, and sustaining so many churches. Numbers have no mystic virtue here. Ministers are to be weighed, not counted. We are persuaded that the best policy, as well as the best principle, is to let the truth of things come out. To patch up institutions, to paint sepulchres, to cover a certain amount of surface, to uphold a certain amount of machinery, is worse than useless. Speaking literally, there are just as many ministers as there are right ministers—no more: speaking practically, there are not so many, if there be more. Men who are wanting in the sterling qualities of able ministers of the New Testament—who make no impression on the world—whose official position is kept up chiefly by successive expedients—who are more indebted for it to the backing of brethren than their own power—who are as often thinking of removing from, as of remaining in, stations—men of this kind are doubtless of no value to any denomination. They may reckon in a manual or a register, but they reckon not otherwise, 'true zeros, nothing in themselves, but much in sequence.' And something

has to be deducted on their account from other men's labours, before the true worth and weight of a ministry can be appreciated. We say then that if the point were, which we do not believe it is, that if the ordinary kind of ministers are not received into our colleges and churches, there must be none received at all, there is nothing in the conclusion to alarm or distress us. Be this as it may, the question we put to the congregations of non-conformists is this, Shall there be a ministry among us, having 'the spirit of power'?

We shall perhaps return to the subject of the ministry, ere long.

Art. III. *Pericles. A Tale of Athens in the* 83*rd Olympiad.* By the Author of a Brief Sketch of Greek Philosophy. In two vols. Longman & Co., London, 1846.

THE vapid novels or romances which forty years ago alone supplied the English demand for works of fiction, have been gradually supplanted by a species of writing, neither foreseen nor wished for: without which, however, neither the disdain of the learned, nor the frowns of the good, would probably have been able to extirpate those evil weeds of literature. The happy change is mainly due to the imaginative genius and lore of Sir Walter Scott, whose instinct led him to the same practical maxim as had been elicited by the profound analysis of Aristotle two thousand years before;—*Poetry is more philosophical than History.* The Greeks indeed had not as yet produced prose works of fiction, unless the dialogues of Plato are to be so reckoned; otherwise instead of *Poetry*, the illustrious father of criticism would doubtless have used the larger term *Fiction*, which would be fully justified by his argument. We must not be understood to mean that history is *not* philosophical. But the instruction which it yields depends very much on the materials themselves; and, even with the same historian, one century or one nation is very far from being equally fruitful of wisdom to the reader of its history, as another. Its proper business is with *details*, and in this respect it rather furnishes the raw materials of science, than becomes a science itself; and a history is philosophic, when its materials are so disposed as to aid the reader in generalizing concerning politics or morals, though neither of these sciences can be treated as such by the historian. A work of fiction on the contrary is plastic to the hand of genius, and should exhibit, not what actually was, nor

barely what possibly may have been, but that which gives a vivid picture of the times; being a more brilliant assemblage of countless rays under one focus, than can anywhere be hoped for in the dim and fragmentary records of past times. In no other way can deep impressions of reality be so effectually given, unless by rare good fortune we possess some minute contemporary or personal biography: and even then, the writer is always apt to omit, as known, the very details which, to a foreign reader or after a long lapse of time, are needed to fill up the scene. History itself, as written by a contemporary, may even mislead one who is unaware of customs and manners assumed by the historian as familiar to his readers: hence to assist the knowledge of ancient time, special books on *Antiquities* are diligently compiled, in which everything of the kind is registered. We do not undervalue these aids to students; and used as books of reference, they are as needful in their way as dictionaries. But as no one will improve by reading his dictionary straight through, so, we fear, it is a hopeless thing to learn Antiquities by single study of the books which profess to treat of them. Unless the imagination or affections be stimulated, the memory cannot retain what is poured in so profusely upon it; or even if it could, it would be dry and barren. But when the information is interwoven with a pleasant tale, it can be imbibed with delight even by the young and previously unlearned.

Such considerations had pressed themselves on the mind of the Abbé Barthelemi in the last century, and issued in the production of his very elaborate work, entitled Anacharsis the Younger in Greece; on which he had been occupied thirty years. On the score of erudition, nothing is to be said against this arduous and able book; but we believe a sentence has long since past against it, that it is wanting in interest, as well as in dramatic and narrative skill. The qualities needed in a writer of such a work are very numerous. He should have the imagination and pictorial power of a poet, with the accuracy of a man of learning; the freedom of genius, with a power of curbing it at will. If, over and above, he selects for his leading characters names well known in history, he gains thereby some great advantages in the interest attached to his story, but involves himself in one more danger,—that of corrupting the truth of history for the sake of his tale: in fact,—unless the events themselves are so stirring or so remarkable as to give full interest to the narrative, independently of all doubtful questions, —he can scarcely hope to reconcile the conflicting demands of history and fiction.

In such difficulties, to a certain extent, the author before us

has entangled himself, by his deliberate purpose to make his work at once, (what it is,) a beautiful and bewitching narrrative, and a historical justification of the great PERICLES. His notes, as well as preface, show him to be anxiously striving to introduce nothing with the air of history which is not at least probably true: for which reason, before concluding our notice, we shall add some remarks on the extent to which he seems to us to have succeeded or failed in his aim. At present we address ourselves to the tale as it stands.

In the year 445, before the Christian era, the Athenians had narrowly escaped from a dangerous combination of circumstances. They had extended their empire over a far greater surface of Greece than they were able to hold. Bœotia and Phocis had just thrown off the yoke, and defeated, with great loss, an Athenian army, which marched against them. Eubœa revolted, and when Pericles crossed over thither with a large force, a Spartan army invaded Attica, and threatened Athens herself. From these pressing dangers Pericles extricated her, by a bribe of ten talents to the Spartan general Cleandridas, who commanded for the young king* Pleistoanax, then a mere boy; upon which, to the agreeable surprise of the Athenians, the Spartans withdrew after a few trivial and sham attacks. This left Pericles free to reconquer Eubœa, and then conclude an honourable peace, called the thirty years truce. Such is the crisis of affairs with which the *Tale of Athens*, opens. At this time Pericles, as of high aristocratic birth, yet head of the democratic party, is the most influential individual in the state; but he has to struggle against the jealousy of the older aristocrats, men of no talent, attached to old things because they are old, and against the enmity of the younger nobles, among whom a profligacy of the deepest dye is making fearful inroads. They receive aid from the wealth and impudence of newly-risen commoners, who have no other bond to the nobility than a common opposition to Pericles; of these men the most signal is Cleon, son of Cleænetus, a tanner, a man of ready eloquence, long purse,† and disgusting vices. This harmonious opposition select as a butt of attack peculiarly galling to Pericles, the professors of the *new philosophy* then rising in Athens, with whom Pericles has become united in most intimate friendship, and from whom he had imbibed much of the virtue and nobleness which still makes his name stand out in proud preeminence.

* The author has twice (by error of memory ?) written Leotychides for Pleistoanax.

† The author talks freely of 'purses of gold:' can this be correct ? Gold coins, we apprehend, were too scarce to be current for common purposes.

On this band of philosophers, shall we say, or saints and martyrs? the whole interest of the tale turns. Their leader is the old Anaxagoras, the apostle of his age, and true founder of whatever was holy and lovely, and of much that was scientifically true, in Athenian philosophy. Born at Clazomenæ, and heir to an ample patrimony, he felt himself called to higher service than that of administering wealth, and voluntarily abandoned it to his relations, directing his steps to Athens, as the centre of Grecian influence. Here he commenced lecturing publicly to all who would attend him, and, first among the Greeks, expounded the great doctrine, that the Gods were not (as the common mythology taught) the giant first-born children of nature, nor was this universe made by chance or self-causation; but that all was moulded under the direction of a single presiding* MIND, which alone is God, and that he is neither in shape nor in nature like ourselves. This doctrine, in connexion with expositions of natural philosophy and mathematics, had been taught so long and perseveringly, yet with little public notice, as already to have produced a sensible effect. The sage lived on voluntary gifts from his disciples, and though often in great penury (once, it is said, at the point of starvation), had made no change in his method; poor, therefore, as well as rich, were occasionally found among his hearers. One of them was a young man, who lived by the trade of stonecutter, Socrates, son of Sophroniscus, whom the discourses of Anaxagoras so fascinated, that he abandoned his workshop for philosophy, and, for a scanty remuneration, performed a duty abandoned in Athens to slaves—that of tutor to a little boy. Another eminent disciple of the Clazomenian philosopher was Euripides, son of Mnesarchus, already at this time a man of middle age, who, after studying painting and rhetoric, finally chose, as the business of his long remaining life, the tragic drama, with the express object of inculcating the moral and spiritual views of Anaxagoras, and of undermining the popular mythology when it became dangerous to attack it directly. A more interesting pupil still was the beautiful, eloquent, and ardent Aspasia, a native of Miletus; who, scorning the trammels which Athenian customs had imposed on women, eagerly sought after truth in the lecture room of Anaxagoras; and becoming, in turn, herself a teacher, at the early age of five-and-twenty, discoursed of sublime truths not only to such young ladies as Athenian parents would entrust to her, but also before warriors, statesmen, and young men, if curiosity or interest induced them to

* The graceless wits of Athens, it appears from Plutarch, nicknamed Anaxagoras, νοῦς.

seek opportunities of hearing her. Her youthful zeal overleapt the limits of discretion which the cautious age of Anaxagoras imposed on itself; and refrained not from direct and vehement expressions of disgust at the impure exhibitions and ceremonies which at Athens passed for religion; in which, moreover, the young women were expected to walk with demure and downcast eyes, listening to the insults of wanton youths, who affected to be 'possessed by Bacchus.' The restraints put upon her sex she boldly assailed as ruinous to public morals; since, by degrading the female intellect, it disgusted the men with their wives (who were married to them without any other previous knowledge than a glimpse of their faces in some holy procession), and thus drew after it evils too dreadful for the female tongue to state. So great was the eloquence, and so bewitching were the powers of this extraordinary woman, that the universal opinion of antiquity ascribed to her tuition the refined perfection which the oratory of Pericles—a man her senior by fifteen or twenty years—finally attained.*

The poorer Athenians felt the loss of the open table, which the wealthy Cimon used to keep; for Cimon had been dead four years, and Pericles was too poor to rival him. It was easy, then, for the aristocratical faction to alarm them by reports that the philosophers were aiming to put down the sacrifices to the gods, from which the indigent obtained doles of meat, highly relished on a holyday. Pericles, moreover, through disgust at the impurity of the comedies—even before the comedians had begun to attack him with intolerable ribaldry—systematically (it would seem) absented himself from such representations. It is further handed down, that his deportment, as that of Anaxagoras and Euripides, was habitually grave and serious; and it was easy to represent the whole set as bent on abolishing the comedies, and every thing in which the jollity of life consisted. The comedians joined the coalition against the philosophers, and Hermippus in particular, though not alone, acted the part of slanderer against them, as effectually as Aristophanes a little later. When the public mind had been thus worked up, Diopeithes succeeded in carrying a law 'for the better observance of the national religion, and keeping up the sacrifices†;' which, under

* The only credible interpretation of this, is, that Pericles had previously been a prosaic man of the world; but that the enthusiasm of Aspasia opened new sluices in his heart, developed his moral sentiments and imaginative powers, and thereby affected his very style of eloquence.

† The words of the decree, as given by Plutarch (Pericles, ch. 32), are, 'That whoever do not *believe in the divinities*, [or, things divine? τὰ θεῖα] or who teach *concerning sublime matters* [μεταρσίων] shall be capitally impeached.'

this pretence, brought under question of his life any one who should be found guilty of disbelief in the gods of the Pantheum. (This law, in the author's judgment, proved the ruin of philosophy in Athens, by forcing all moral teachers into hypocrisy, or silencing and expelling those who could not submit to it.) Anaxagoras was impeached by it, and, of necessity, condemned; for it could not be questioned that he had 'taught concerning sublime matters,' which was treasonable by the law; but after condemnation, his mild behaviour, and the influence of Pericles, easily gained a softening of the sentence into exile.*

Another blow was given against Pericles through his friend, the great sculptor Pheidias. There is nothing to show that *he* sympathized with the unbelief of the philosophers, farther than the fact that he (like Socrates) was a *godbuilder;* but it is by no means probable that the crowd discerned how hard it was for such a one to revere the works of his own hands. By suborning perjury of one of the workmen, Pheidias was accused of embezzling the gold placed on the statue of Minerva: and although he easily parried the attack by taking the gold off, and weighing it, he was condemned to imprisonment for the secondary charge of having placed on the shield of the goddess, figures resembling that of Pericles and his own: moreover, as a reward to the perjured informer, the people (says Plutarch) voted him exemption from taxes, and commended his person to the special care of the generals! Since at this very moment Pericles was highly popular, it is evident that such votes must have been carried by the coalition, through artful management and 'packing' of the assembly; and this was by far the worst point in the little democracies of antiquity, that they gave so large room for oligarchical intrigue, which accomplished atrocious crimes under the colours of wildest liberty. Pheidias, while in prison, had new slanders thrown on him, more directly affecting Pericles. It was alleged, that he had made his house a place of accommodation for gratifying the sensual appetites of Pericles, and received, by way of payment, the many good 'jobs' which Pericles found for him. The Athenians appear to have enjoyed the most unbridled and disgusting slander against great men, even when it was too absurd to believe: and, perhaps, *because* they counted it mere fun and nonsense, they felt no scruple in encouraging it without limit. But it is impossible for

* This would probably have been the case with Socrates many years later, had he not, by his harsh defiance of the jury, and proud demand that they would reward, not punish him, exasperated them into a conviction, that he was an incurable enemy of popular government, and that he had trained up Alcibiades, with Critias, and others of the aristocracy, to the despotic sentiments from which Athens had so bitterly suffered.

this to go on for months and years without a strong impression being produced, and men at last begin to believe the echo of their own lie.

Pheidias (according to the account followed by our author) was poisoned in prison by the machinations of his enemies; as Ephialtes, another intimate friend of Pericles, had been assassinated by them. They proceeded to impeach Pericles himself for the ten talents missing in the public accounts, with which he had bribed the Spartan general. He had exhibited it under the heading: 'Money well laid out;' and stiffly refused all explanation. But as Athenian acuteness perfectly understood what influences could alone have made a Spartan army so retire, the accusers wholly failed of their aim; and, as a last blow, they attacked Aspasia, for a double crime:—impiety, which could easily be fastened upon her,—and, (what shows their confidence that some of the mud thrown by the comedians had stuck,) on the charge that she, like Pheidias, had made her house a receptacle of harlot *free* women as a convenience to Pericles! This was the crisis of Pericles's fortune. He determined to defend Aspasia himself, but was so unnerved by the full perception that her legal guilt (as regards *impiety*) was clear, that he could plead with nothing but tears: and his judges were so moved, as at once to decree that she was innocent, although (unawares) breaking their juror's oath by so doing. His enemies had now shot their last bolt: his leading opponent, Thucydides, son of Melesias, the most respectable man among them, was ostracized, or banished for ten years, and the rest shrunk into insignificance. Having divorced, by mutual agreement, a rich wife who had long been a torment to him, he married his beloved Aspasia, and lived with her in uninterrupted harmony and singular warmth of mutual affection to the day of his death; enjoying her counsels on all affairs of moment, abstaining from every kind of public or private festivity, and finding within the walls of his own happy home a relaxation and an enjoyment which nothing else could give. Thus a woman of Miletus, neither rich nor noble, whose fame had been aspersed by the foulest imputations,—and to whom, as not being an Athenian citizen, the Attic law refused the appellation of *wife*,—filled the soul of the great Pericles, and would have taught Athenian matrons, could they have understood, what a wife and mother ought to be. Such are the materials for the fascinating book now before us. The author has interwoven several fictitious characters with much skill: of whom the most interesting are,—the young pupils of Aspasia; Glycera the beautiful luteplayer, who becomes miserable in a life of Athenian dissipation and is converted (to borrow a Chris-

tian term) by a discourse from Anaxagoras; Leostratos, a rough veteran of the school of Cimon; and Glaucon, a young nobleman, of much wit and good temper, who has sided with his own order, but refuses to be dragged through the mire by them and by Cleon. It is high time, however, to exhibit by quotations the author's style of description and dramatic method. We begin with a conversation of Socrates with a fuller, Philoxenos.

"'And so thou hast shut up thy shop and put on the philosopher's gown, Socrates! I fear thou hast made but a bad exchange, though indeed I have been told that thou hast the charge of the noble Criton's young son, and if so, it might not be so bad a thing. But I cannot fancy that.'

"'Why not?' asked the young sculptor.

"'Because the child is a mere baby, and wants a nurse rather than a tutor.'

"'But when thou wouldest train a dog, Philoxenos, dost thou not begin with him while he is a puppy?'

"'Yes, but children are not puppies. Who ever thinks of worrying a baby with learning? What can be taught to a child only just out of his nurse's arms?'

"'Truly, Philoxenos, I must think about what thou art saying; for if this be so, I ought not to let Criton deceive himself, and fancy that I can do anything towards the education of his son. Thou shouldest be a judge, too, in this matter, for thou also hast a son. How does he get on?'

"'Oh, bravely, bravely. Thou wouldest laugh to see how gravely he sets about to clean the spots out of his little tunic, and then goes to his mother to be paid for it: he knows the price, too, as well as I do; and if she does not give him the money he asks, he threatens, and swears, and calls all the gods to witness, just as I should do myself if I got a bad customer. Ha! ha! ha! It was but yesterday that I heard him threaten to take her before the Thesmothetai for refusing him his due.'

"'And where did he learn all this?'

"'Oh, he has heard me say so: he is always about in the shop with me I like him to see how things are managed, because, by and by, I hope he will be able to carry on the business, and take some of the weight off my shoulders when I grow old.'

"'But why shouldest thou trouble thyself with him? Why not leave him to the Carian yonder to be taught what is needful?'

"'Why! thou dost not surely imagine that yonder fellow, whom I bought only a year or two ago, a grown man, has learned already to understand my business! He is a good fellow enough, but stupid and untaught.'

"'Then thou thinkest that thy child will learn something of the business by being constantly with thee, and seeing thy mode of carrying it on?'

'' Certainly; that was the way that I learned it of my father; and he will do as I did, I doubt not.'

'' I think then that I may set my mind at rest about Criton's plans.'

'' Why so? What has that to do with my business?'

'' Hast thou not told me that the way to make a child expert in any business is to bring him up among those who understand it well?'

'' Yes, but what then?'

'' Why, Criton's business is that of a statesman and a warrior, and he wishes his son to be brought up in habits which shall fit him for succeeding to his father in his employments. If a child learns to speak of a Phrygian slave, how can it be expected that he will express himself correctly?'

'' Truly, I did not think of that.'

'' And hast thou not generally perceived that those unfortunate people who have been reduced by fortune to but one degree above beasts of burthen, acquire ill-habits from their mode of life? that fear makes them liars, and that hardships and the want of higher aims make them gluttonous and selfish?'

'' Yes, certainly.'

'' Then if children are so quick in catching up all they hear and see, is there not danger that if they are placed in a nursery among persons whose language is barbarous, and whose manners are brutal and selfish, they will become assimilated to the people they live among?'

'' I suppose there is, but yet every body does so.'

'' And, perhaps, that is the reason why there are so few fine speakers among us, and so many, whose licentious manners are a reproach to the country. Criton probably thinks so, and wishes his child's first words to be pure Attic, and his first sentiments those of a generous and free spirit.'

'' Truly, Socrates, thou hast a clever way of putting things—now I had never thought of all this.'

'' Nay, but thou hadst thought of it; for instead of setting thy slave to teach thy son, thou hast taught him thyself. Thank the gods that they did not give thee wealth enough to ruin thy child by aping the bad customs of the rich.' '—vol. i. pp. 70—73.

The outrageous insolence and wickedness of the young aristocracy* are painted by him in colours as dark—and, alas! as true—as the ignorance, selfishness, and levity of the populace. An affecting story is ingeniously founded on a statement of a comic writer, that the rage of the Athenians against Megara was caused by the Megarensians having carried off 'two harlot-girls of Aspasia.' He interprets it as follows. A young noble-

* When he represents the more moderate of the nobles rallying round Pericles, in the attack made on Aspasia—a well-conceived and better executed idea—we miss the name of Nicias, or of his father Niceratus, who must have been by far the most influential of this small party.

versy, the author imparts principles of deepest universal importance, concerning freedom of thought, uprightness and straightforwardness, and the evils of mere party. The chapter entitled a *Practical Man*, in which a certain Cleobulus maintains the desirableness of upholding the religion of Athens as it is, although he does not believe it, is excellent; both as exhibiting the almost universal sentiment of antiquity, and exposing a domineering mischief of later times. We can only extract the following:—

'"But we began by talking of *belief*,' said Charmides, smiling: 'it now appears that thou dost not believe any more than Anaxagoras does of the fables told regarding the gods. Why should he be blamed for avowing the same thing that thou thyself dost?'

'"Because he does not, like me, speak it merely among persons capable of understanding it. He teaches the same thing to all; and by thus weakening the faith of the people in the superstitions, if thou wilt have it so, upon whose sanction our government depends, he hazards the upsetting of the good order of the state. This is the point which I wish to ascertain; for if he confines his teaching merely to his pupils, as other philosophers have done, I do not object to his leading them as far as he pleases; but if he spreads his doctrines among the lower sort, I think it will be attended with danger, whether they be true or not: perhaps their very truth renders the risk the greater, for they will be the more readily impressed on men's minds. But of this, observe that I speak only hypothetically, for I am not yet convinced that his views are true: I have not had time to examine them sufficiently.'

'"And if, on examination, thou shouldst find them to be true, wouldest thou then oppose the making them public?'

'"Certainly: I have already said that their very truth would increase the hazard Men's minds would be set afloat after they know not what—and the spirit of change once infused, who can tell where it would stop? Even our slaves might become infected, and begin to talk about the common rights of our nature, if you once persuade them that all men have in them an immortal and divine essence which is individually distinct.'

'"They might, certainly,' said Charmides, musing: 'it was a danger I had not thought of;—and yet,' added he, with the warmth of a young and ingenuous mind, 'if they have a common origin, they have those rights.'

'"Undoubtedly they *had*,' replied Cleobulus, with the confident and patronising air of a man who, in mercy to a discomfited opponent, will not push his advantages too far: 'undoubtedly they *had*; but when they bartered away freedom for life, it was their own choice to do so, therefore they have voluntarily abandoned those rights, and have received payment in the maintenance afforded them. But should these new doctrines inflame their minds with the notion that a change in the state of things might cancel their original compact,

ornaments spoke them to be Athenians of rank; and the poor men were yet in consultation what was to be done, when a galley, apparently of Athenian build, hove in sight. They immediately made signals as well as they were able, and two of them, jumping into another skiff, rowed off towards the vessel which had seen their signals, and was now making for the shore. It was one of those which had been sent from Peiræus the evening before, and was that in which Pyrilampes himself had embarked, and resolutely pursued his course even when his companion galley had returned homewards after their ineffectual inspection of the Megarean ports.

'The fishermen's tale was soon told; and Pyrilampes, almost convinced that he should there find the fatal termination of his quest, threw himself at once into the skiff, and bade them carry him to the spot. There, on the shore, lay the two fair girls, so gently composed, that but for the ashy paleness of death they might have been thought asleep: the right arm of Lydé was still firmly clasped round the waist of Areté; the arm of Areté was round the neck of Lydé: their decently-composed dress, their hair still braided and bound with the golden fillets which they had worn the evening before; the gold chain still twisted round their small wrists; all told of a resolutely prepared and peaceful death; there had evidently not been one struggle for life. Pyrilampes bent over them:—the dress, the features, were not to be mistaken, and his quest was over. Many a time had he seen death in the field or on the waves—but thus bereft of all its proud circumstances, with only its sad silence—its marble beauty—he had not seen it; and the warrior of many a battle bowed his head, and wept over the fair flowers that lay cropped at his feet.'
—ib. pp. 161—163.

We regret that it is impossible to do more than select partial extracts, which, however beautiful, do the author injustice when thus dislocated. In the episode from which we have quoted, it may be seen how much secondary information is imparted unostentatiously. The reader sees, without its being named, what cruel feuds, in that little world, might grow up between states, in consequence of acts committed by individual citizens, in which none but themselves were guilty: also, how dreadfully the slave-trade facilitated every species of crime, to the misery of the free population. On the state of slavery also the author has just and pointed remarks, for which we cannot make room; to the effect, that most slaves were glad to be engaged by their masters in a scandalous intrigue, because it generally secured good treatment to them, else the master might chance to be betrayed in a moment of passion. On the other hand, as slaves were never examined by the magistrate without torture, the master had not the least fear that bribes, or any calculations of interest, would lead his slaves to treachery.

Without any direct allusion to questions of modern contro-

versy, the author imparts principles of deepest universal importance, concerning freedom of thought, uprightness and straightforwardness, and the evils of mere party. The chapter entitled a *Practical Man*, in which a certain Cleobulus maintains the desirableness of upholding the religion of Athens as it is, although he does not believe it, is excellent; both as exhibiting the almost universal sentiment of antiquity, and exposing a domineering mischief of later times. We can only extract the following:—

'"But we began by talking of *belief*,' said Charmides, smiling: 'it now appears that thou dost not believe any more than Anaxagoras does of the fables told regarding the gods. Why should he be blamed for avowing the same thing that thou thyself dost?'

'"Because he does not, like me, speak it merely among persons capable of understanding it. He teaches the same thing to all; and by thus weakening the faith of the people in the superstitions, if thou wilt have it so, upon whose sanction our government depends, he hazards the upsetting of the good order of the state. This is the point which I wish to ascertain; for if he confines his teaching merely to his pupils, as other philosophers have done, I do not object to his leading them as far as he pleases; but if he spreads his doctrines among the lower sort, I think it will be attended with danger, whether they be true or not: perhaps their very truth renders the risk the greater, for they will be the more readily impressed on men's minds. But of this, observe that I speak only hypothetically, for I am not yet convinced that his views are true: I have not had time to examine them sufficiently.'

'"And if, on examination, thou shouldst find them to be true, wouldest thou then oppose the making them public?'

'"Certainly: I have already said that their very truth would increase the hazard Men's minds would be set afloat after they know not what—and the spirit of change once infused, who can tell where it would stop? Even our slaves might become infected, and begin to talk about the common rights of our nature, if you once persuade them that all men have in them an immortal and divine essence which is individually distinct.'

'"They might, certainly,' said Charmides, musing: 'it was a danger I had not thought of;—and yet,' added he, with the warmth of a young and ingenuous mind, 'if they have a common origin, they have those rights.'

'"Undoubtedly they *had*,' replied Cleobulus, with the confident and patronising air of a man who, in mercy to a discomfited opponent, will not push his advantages too far: 'undoubtedly they *had*; but when they bartered away freedom for life, it was their own choice to do so, therefore they have voluntarily abandoned those rights, and have received payment in the maintenance afforded them. But should these new doctrines inflame their minds with the notion that a change in the state of things might cancel their original compact,

and give them a chance of recovering their former rights, what would become of all property? The free citizens are not more than in the proportion of one to four, at the utmost: how could we maintain our position amid so fearful a struggle? Thou seest, my young friend, that the question is a more perplexed one than thou hadst imagined, and it is better to bear a little wrong, whose extent we know, than to run after novelties which may produce much greater evils.'

'Charmides was silent: he thought of the various manual labours executed by slaves; figured to himself the loss and inconvenience which a servile insurrection might cause, and began to think that the philosopher might perhaps be imprudent in his too hasty endeavours for the amelioration of mankind.'—ib. pp. 180—182.

''Whither away, Charmides?' said Ariphron: 'what problem hast thou in thy head that puzzles thee? for thou lookest not a little grave and perplexed.'

''We are going to hear Anaxagoras,' replied the son of Pheidias: 'and Cleobulus here has been making so many objections to his plan of teaching the truth publicly, that he has almost staggered me: come with us, and tell us what you think.'

''Willingly; for in fact that was our intention even before we overtook you. We were both so disgusted at Hermippos's supper party the other night, that we determined to make a trial of philosophy, and see whether it would afford us a little better amusement; so Ariston and I were on our way to enrol ourselves among the pupils of Anaxagoras, and perhaps also of Aspasia; for we are curious to hear her.'

''I do not like this plan of suffering females to appear in public on ordinary occasions,' said Cleobulus: 'without arguing the question in a moral point of view—for I leave those considerations to those whose especial profession it is—as a statesman I object to it. You see what has been the consequence: women are physically too feeble to protect themselves: they are exposed to outrage as soon as they enter into the haunts of men, and then the state is entangled in quarrels, as is the case now with regard to Megara. To maintain our honour we are obliged to take strong measures, and probably a fresh war may be the consequence of the disregard of wholesome customs by two young girls. I do not complain of these things as in themselves wrong—probably no action is in itself either right or wrong; but I complain of the want of judgment which has attempted changes before society was prepared for them.'

'Charmides was again perplexed: he could easily have distinguished the right from the wrong, but this appeal to expediency embarrassed him, and the tone of candour, accompanied by a grave conviction of the force of his own arguments, which distinguished Cleobulus's conversation, made him distrust himself, and made him long for some one to aid him in answering pleas which he *felt* but could not *prove* to be futile.'

''I do not know any more dangerous person,' continued Cle-

obulus, in the same tone of perfect conviction, 'than this kind of speculatist: without any of the practical knowledge which would enable him to correct his views, he pursues some wild theory which sounds plausible, and entangles himself and his followers in inextricable difficulties before he is aware of it. They are forced then to recur to practical men; but it is generally too late to remedy the evil entirely.' '—ib. pp. 183—185.

From the conclusion, we extract one more illustration of the author's sentiments:—

'It was not long after this that the streets of Athens saw a very different scene, as a gay party, with dance and song, conducted Aspasia as a bride to the house of her illustrious husband; and at long tables spread in the Agora, the armourers with Metrodoros at their head, mingled with the other heliastai, sat as guests at the feast which celebrated the nuptials of the loveliest woman and greatest man of the age, till shout and song broke the silence of the night long after the usual hour for repose.

'Never was there a cloud upon that auspicious union, till the hand of death dissolved the tie. From the hour of their marriage, the wedded pair were indeed what they were created to be, and Pericles found in Aspasia the help which his heart sought. With her his political plans were matured, his orations were composed; in his campaigns she accompanied him; when engaged in the duties of his office at home, she shared and lightened his cares. Never did he leave his home in the morning without clasping her in a fond embrace, never did he return without a similar greeting. One son, the heir of his father's talents, crowned their union, and the affectionate husband and father lived to receive from the grateful attachment of the Athenian people, as a reparation for the wrong they had done him in a moment of ill-humour, the reversal of the law which forbade foreign marriages: his son was enrolled in his father's ward by the name of Pericles, and Aspasia was received on the footing of an Athenian citizen.

'The triumph of this great and good man was stained by no personal revenge; the ostracism, which carried no dishonour to his adversary, removed Thucidides from Athens; and the conscience of others, rather than any act of Pericles himself, led them to withdraw also; but no instance of vindictive feeling on his part is recorded. No less god-like in his forgiveness of injuries than in his power of mind, he disdained to remember his wrongs, and his measures had no personal object. Perhaps in his resolution never to leave Aspasia behind him, even when his military duties called him away from Athens, might be traced a recollection of the fate of Pheidias, but that was all.

'The record of human life is far more melancholy than its course; the hours of quiet enjoyment are not noted; the thousand graces and happinesses of social life, the loveliness of nature meeting us at every step, the buoyancy of spirit resulting from health and a pure

air, the bright sun, the starry firmament—all that cheers man on his road through his probationary state, that warms the heart and makes life pleasant, is omitted in the narrative, which can only deal with facts; and we read of disappointment, and sickness, and death, and exclaim 'Why is man born to sorrow?' He is not so: years of enjoyment brace the soul for the grief when it comes; and when it does come, it comes mixed with so many alleviating circumstances for those who do not willfully reject all the lesser pleasures which the loving Father of all his works has with so tender a care scattered at our feet, that even the grief is far less in the reality than it appears in the relation.

'The reader has here the record of a part of a man's life, and death must close it; yet the path towards the grave was for nearly fifteen years strewed with abundant flowers, and but few thorns. It is with a feeling of sadness, nevertheless, that after having traced the course of an individual through years of happiness, we stand beside his death-bed, and see the spirit withdraw from the arena where it has struggled and triumphed, even though we know that it withdraws only to receive the victor's crown; and we cannot take a last leave of Pericles without a sigh. It is evident that even the impartial writer who left us his history for 'an everlasting memorial' had some such feeling; for he dwells on the virtues of the great Athenian statesman with the affection of a personal friend;—indeed, he might have been such,—and seems to enjoy the thought, that he could hand down to posterity a true character of one so much and so undeservedly maligned by many of his contemporaries.'—vol. ii. pp. 273—275.

We should not do justice to our feelings concerning this 'Tale of Athens,' if we did not express our belief that the perusal of it stimulates the noblest and best affections of the heart. It will make the young and thoughtless wiser, and it will freshen up right sentiment and high aspiration in those who already stand on the same level as the writer. In his exculpation of Aspasia, we heartily rejoice; and freely confess that he has opened to us various new and happy trains of thought thereby. Whether she was really and altogether so discerning, so noble, so glorious as his rich fancy has depicted, is difficult for a cautious critic to decide. He himself pretends only to have probably *restored*, as an artist from the fragments of a building, the history which has come down mutilated and misrepresented: and as such we can thankfully accept it. That the imputations cast by the ancients upon Aspasia are vile inventions of low or malignant minds, would be nearly certain from the fact that Plutarch refers to no authorities but quotations from the gross and false comedians, whose testimony he himself rejects with grave disapproval: while her connexion with Pericles and Anaxagoras ought to be a full vindication of

her proceedings. But when we have to lament that even our best writers continue to this day to give historical weight to the malignant grossness of an Aristophanes, we cannot wonder if a Plutarch or a Diodorus are occasionally led astray by like influences. We farther rejoice in the vindication of Euripides, short as it is, in the graceful fiction before us. Some of the great German scholars would seem to have so thrown their hearts into Grecian art and Grecian mythology, as actually to be shocked at Euripides's pulling in pieces the indecent or cruel tales which passed as religion, and exhibiting their ancient heroes and heroines in the weakness of our common nature. Even in Dr. W. Smith's excellent Dictionary of Biography and Mythology, we find a learned writer questioning, 'whether, in the absence of a fixed external standard of morality, it was not most dangerous to tamper with what might supply the place of it, however ineffectually, through the medium of the imagination, &c., &c.' This would be plausible, if any high morality had been pretended by the Greek religion, or heroic tales: but the fact is precisely the contrary. As in modern Hindostan, so in ancient Greece, the morality of the people was weighed down by a religion decidedly inferior to the common conscience. How Christians, (in the laxest sense of the word,) can write as they do concerning Greek mythology, often amazes us, when we set side by side the invectives of the Hebrew Prophets against idolatry; who must be mad fanatics, if the Greek worship deserved to be looked at with any equanimity. Yet calm historians bear witness that out of the Hebrew Prophets sprang all the spiritual eminence of the Jewish people; and the same philosophers who palliate the odiousness of Hellenic superstition are often found extolling and justifying the iconoclastic spirit of Mahommed. We cannot but think that the beauty of Greek sculpture has seduced men who otherwise deserve admiration, into a most undue respect for a system, which the more thoughtful part of the Greeks could *not* respect; and we must repeat our thankfulness to the author before us, that he so manfully tears off the veil, to exhibit the ugliness of this falsely called worship.

In his pages also, Anaxagoras and some earlier philosophers receive a praise seldom awarded them. Modern literati indeed have become aware of the high merit of Anaxagoras, but the facts have not been brought out for popular knowledge. That in the preaching of some of these remarkable men there was a moral power is evidenced by the authentic accounts of profligates arrested in their career, and permanently rescued into a life of virtue; cases which though few, are well attested. The author has skilfully adapted this to the affecting story of the fair

Glycera; in which also he probes to the bottom, *what* it is that makes marriage a holy and honorable state; and teaches his readers to look through forms into their substance; and while valuing our own happier political position, not to mistake and despise those who are less favoured.

But the question finally remains: are we to take our historical view of Pericles, from the portrait which the author holds up to us? And here we are forced to say,—that we strive in vain to convince ourselves that he even approximates to the truth. Pericles indeed,—compared with the selfish, profligate or wicked nobility, against whom in his later life he had to struggle, or with the demagogues who succeeded him,—was an excellent and noble person. In this contrast, we believe, Thucydides the historian contemplated him, and inevitably formed a very high estimate of him, intellectually and morally. The breach between Pericles and Cimon had been entirely healed, and Thucydides, a kinsman of Cimon, is not to be reckoned as of the opposite party to Pericles; nor is his evidence, in Pericles's favour, to be regarded as an unwilling concession extorted by truth. On the contrary it seems to us that Thucydides himself is another Pericles; only stript of all eloquence, and therefore probably little fit for public life at Athens. That he most unduly overrates the political wisdom and foresight of Pericles, lies on the surface of his own annals. Many times he comments on the stupidity, languor, selfishness, and even cowardice, which the Lacedæmonians displayed in the Peloponnesian war, and says that they proved, 'most convenient enemies:' this could not have been foreseen: and had they acted with such vigour as might have been expected;—had Archidamus or his colleague been a Brasidas or an Agesilaus; —the empire of Athens would have been destroyed in the second year of the war. Yet Thucydides gives Pericles credit for having foreseen that Athens was strong enough, 'easily to get the better.' Again, nothing can be more manifest, from his own account, than that the dreadful plague in the second year which brought the city to the brink of ruin, and (as he says,) permanently corrupted the morals of the nation,—was caused by Pericles himself; who forced the people into war, sorely against their will, and urged upon them, as a necessary result, to migrate promiscuously into the city and its long walls. Yet the historian does not see that this at all takes off from the wisdom of the great statesman!—Again, Pericles held the chief military, as well as civil, rule; and in this character kept down talents superior to his own. It would seem that the bloody battle of Tanagra fought by the Athenians against the Lacedæmonians,—through the obstinate folly of the party of Pericles,

while Cimon was under ostracism,—had damped his courage as regards all direct conflict with Spartan troops. During the first inroad of the Peloponnesians in the great war which began twenty-six years later, he positively prevented the Athenians from sallying to repel them; and thereby depressed their spirits exceedingly. He had learned that the Athenian heavy-armed soldiers, however great their bravery, were not trained well enough to compete with those of Sparta. True: but was this the only sort of war known to him? Myronides had shockingly massacred a Corinthian battalion, under advantage of ground, by a force of mere slingers; and Pericles had not been long in his grave, ere Demosthenes defeated a powerful Spartan army and brought nearly three hundred alive to Athens, by a superior body of archers and other light troops. Iphicrates afterwards showed that targeteers, (or men with small shields,) could vanquish the cumbrous soldiers of Lycurgus. If Pericles resolved to force his people into war, he ought to have been prepared to fight for the land of Attica: but he was not: and in consequence, nothing but gross mismanagement on the part of Sparta, saved, for a time, her great rival.

But we must slightly recapitulate the life of Pericles. The chronology of many of the events is uncertain, and we are not persuaded by the ingenious author before us that he has brought them into a correct union; while undoubtedly he so arranges them as to give plausibility to his high estimate of the Athenian statesman. So much, however, is clear. Cimon was more of a Greek than of an Athenian. His politics were those of Aristides or Isocrates. He desired to unite Greece against Persia. His measures, and only his, would have kept Athens and Sparta in political amity; while they did not hinder Athens from immeasurably outstepping her competitor. Every year that the good understanding continued, Athens waxed stronger and stronger, but Sparta remained stationary. 'A masterly inactivity,' to borrow a transatlantic phrase, as regards Lacedæmon, was the true policy for Athens: and this, Cimon pursued. And with what result? The opposite party, with whom Pericles acted, though perhaps he was not yet acknowledged as its leader, impeached Cimon for *love of the Lacedæmonians!* and banished him for ten years. This deed was, in our belief, that which proved fatal to all attempts at Grecian union, and for it Pericles bears a large responsibility. Our author wishes us to believe that the unfortunate jealousy of the Lacedæmonians alone thwarted Pericles in a great scheme of union for Greece. We think he has made more of the scheme than it deserved, especially since he has transposed its place in time by some fifteen or more years; but if otherwise, when to love the Lacedæmo-

nians had been made a crime in the most distinguished* general of Athens,—when he had been recalled from banishment only after his volunteering to fight in the battle of Tanagra, where one hundred of his comrades fell round his armour,—how could Lacedæmon assent to a scheme which made Athens the centre of Grecian power? Cimon, we think, deserves the credit which our author assigns to Pericles: we could also wish that it had occurred to him to rescue Elpinice, sister of Cimon, from the foul stain which the scandal-lovers poured upon her; if, indeed, *all* the tales of Cimon's early profligacy are not equally slanders. But to proceed, when Cimon had been ostracized, Pericles acted the part of a thorough demagogue, treating the treasury of the allies as a convenient supply for the poor of Athens, and bribing these out of the public money, since his own fortune would not suffice for it. His great admirer Plutarch distinctly remarks, that (what is equally true of Cæsar) while competing for power he was a lavish demagogue, but that when he had won it, he became highminded and aristocratical in his dealings with the people. The author would attribute this to Aspasia's excellent influence on him, but it has another far more obvious explanation.

We must however here notice a point, in which we think the author has unwittingly been unjust to Pericles. On the authority of Plutarch, he believes that he carried an *ex post facto* law, which inflicted not only illegitimacy, but slavery, on all Athenian citizens whose mothers were foreigners; and that by it nearly 5000 free persons were actually sold into bondage! So atrocious a deed is scarcely credible.† But, waiving the atrocity of it,—Plutarch tells us (ch. 29) that the three sons of Cimon, named Lacedæmonius, Thessalus and Eleius, were born of an Arcadian mother: all these, then, must have been sold into bondage? But no: he himself observes, that Pericles sent Lacedæmonius with only ten ships to Corcyra, (so late as B.C. 432), and was thought to have wished to discredit him by giving him so small a force. This was about three years before the imagined repeal of his own law in favour of his son by Aspasia. Tangled as the subject is, we confess that we feel no conviction that fo-

* We cannot tell whether the author deliberately holds to the vulgar tale concerning the humiliating peace which Cimon forced Artaxerxes to make. It is rejected (we think justly) by our foremost scholars.

† Since the above was written, we see that Sir E. L. Bulwer and Mr. Clinton reject Plutarch's tale as incredible. The latter wishes to alter ἐπράθησαν, *were sold*, to ἀπηλαθησαν, *were ejected*. Even then, it is difficult to believe in so violent a measure, which must have affected the higher or wealthier classes in large proportion. May not the truth have been, that none but citizens pure of both parents *were allowed to partake in the gift of corn?*

reign mothers were exposed to any *legal* disqualification in those times; although spiteful comedians or orators were always glad to fling the name of 'foreigner' or 'bastard' on one whose blood was not purely Athenian. In passing, we cannot help observing how Cimon, by the very names given to his sons, indicated his sympathy with all Greece, and his desire that it should be a single whole.

The war of Pericles against Samos is defended by our author on grounds which do not satisfy us; though we quite allow that they were good enough for common Athenians—good enough, possibly, for Thucydides, who seems to see nothing wrong here, more than in the Peloponnesian war. We merely say, such wars are quite inconsistent with the just and simple-minded views attributed by the author to Pericles. Nor can Athenians have been wanting, who held that which we regard as a sounder judgment; when Elpinice, sister of Cimon—a woman of masculine mind, it seems—publicly reproached Pericles 'for losing the lives of brave citizens in a war, not against Phœnicians and Medes, but in subduing an allied and kindred state.' The duty of Athens, as leader of the confederacy, was to stop private and civil wars, to mediate between fierce factions, and to enforce reasonableness on both. But Pericles acted towards Samos as our political Protestants have tried to act towards Ireland; viz., to set up as masters what they regard as the *English* party, and depress, eject, or slaughter the opponents. According to Thirlwall, the result of this war was, that Athens used the treasure of the allies as her own: if so, now must have commenced the vast expenditure on public buildings at Athens, which our author puts somewhat earlier. Be that as it may, we cannot but believe that these buildings were a moral curse to Athens. These, and not the much calumniated 'sophists' or philosophers, debauched the conscience of the nation. To enrich themselves with *Persian* gold, taken by open war, hurt no man's conscience. The barbarian was believed to be prey, as lawful to a Greek as the game of the mountains or the feathered fowl. But all felt that *Greeks* had rights towards Greeks, and especially that the money of allies, at first freely contributed, could not be justly exacted by compulsion, and then used for the aggrandisement of the leading state. No Athenian could become proud of the buildings of Pericles without imbibing a crooked morality; and this is observable throughout the dialogues of Plato, where those who maintain that 'might makes right' habitually refer to the example of the city herself, as an unanswerable argument; since *otherwise* it would be requisite to condemn her as a public robber.

Lastly, none can pretend that the circumstances of the times

forced Pericles into the fatal war with Sparta, which wrecked for ever the hopes of permanent good in Greece. All parties but he were averse to it. Sparta was strongly indisposed: the Athenian people dreaded it exceedingly. He, and he alone, is responsible for the unjust attack on Potidæa, and the unjust interference between Corcyra and Corinth. He it was who refused the least concession to Megara, on grounds which ought never to be used, except by a state which is purely and perfectly in the right; viz., that if a little were yielded, more would be asked. By such false patriotism, and fatal obstinacy, this accomplished, able, and in many respects virtuous man, gave the most fatal of all blows ever given to the happiness of rising Greece: nevertheless, on his deathbed he took credit to himself, for having never caused an Athenian citizen to wear mourning! So vain was he of his unenterprising generalship, and so blind to the sanguinary tendencies of his statesmanship.

But we have written enough. In conclusion, we must observe that our author's English is pure and racy—not like that of some fashionable novelists—and remains equally simple and natural, through the many brilliant passages with which it abounds.

Art. IV.—1. *A History of the British Freshwater Algæ, including descriptions of the Desmideæ and Diatomaceæ, with upwards of one hundred plates, illustrating the various species.* By Arthur Hill Hassall. In 2 vols. pp. 462. London: Highley. 1845

2. *Phycologia Brittannica; or, a History of British Sea-weeds.* By William Henry Harvey, M.D., M.R.I.A. No. 1. London: Reeve. 1846.

This is a seasonable book; and the author has not only set about his task in a right spirit, but carried it through with commendable diligence. It appears at a time when, after much loose and scattered observation, mixed with a fair proportion of critical and scientific research, it has become expedient to gather up the fragments, to test theories, and to bring both experiments and generalizations so completely into one view, as to gain an advantageous position, both for ascertaining the actual state of cryptogamic science in one of its most intricate departments, and for taking a fresh start in progressive discovery. In works of this kind, made up of much and minute detail, it can, however, hardly be otherwise than that a severe and searching criticism must detect errors both circumstantial

and speculative. There are many departments of natural science in which it seems a necessary condition of experimenting, that it can rarely be so conducted as to leave no room for doubt; and this inherent difficulty presses hard upon the subject of the volumes before us: but time and space fail us for so extensive an inquiry, and with this preliminary caution we must limit ourselves to such general intimations as may justify our favourable estimate of Mr. Hassall's work.

Few sections of natural science are so unpromising as this. The motley scum of the standing pool, the dark slime that makes our garden walks unsightly and our woodland path uncertain, the dregs that offend the sense in the ditch or drain, supply a large portion of its material. We take up what seems to be little else than a confused and accidental mass; and when we have so far conquered our annoyance as to venture on manipulation, we find that there is before us a distinct and marvellous organism, chiefly of fibrous structure, passing through the regular stages of growth, maturity, and reproduction, and presenting, throughout its changes, phenomena which make us halt in our conclusions, and leave us doubtful to what definition of existence we are to refer their forms and movements—whether they are the result of vegetable irritability, or of animal life. These startling appearances are illustrated at considerable length and with much distinctness by Mr. Hassall in his 'Introduction,' and in his remarks on the Characeæ: we cannot, however, repel the suspicion that, close and apparently complete as may be the researches of such sharp-sighted observers as Vaucher, Unger, and Varley, there is yet much to be done before we can approach the determination of so difficult and complicated a question. Details of such subtle and elusive character as those belonging to the present investigation, require the severest testing. Reiterated experiment, by men of differing views, can alone settle the question; and even after every difficulty seems to have been fairly met, and main facts satisfactorily established, it will excite no surprise in the experienced observer, if it should be found in the event, that some critical circumstance has been overlooked; that some unexpected variation interferes with the general course of movement or transition, and that the entire labour of explanation and construction has to be recommenced. We cannot think that the time has yet arrived when a decisive opinion may be safely given. In one respect Mr. Hassall seems to have failed in supplying sufficient material for determining even the present state of these complicated questions: he has not given their *history;* and without *this;* in other words, without ascertaining what has been done, and in what manner, up to the present time; without a

minute specification of the successive steps by which our knowledge has been obtained; it is impossible to gain a right apprehension of the science in its actual state: results are not enough for accurate information. Our author apologises for this deficiency, and promises to set all right in a second edition—we fear that this may not be quite satisfactory to the purchasers of the first.

Mr. Hassall has, in one instance, advantageously allowed himself to pass over the strict geographical limits of his subject, for the purpose of illustrating a point of some historical interest, respecting which there has been, at one time or other, a good deal of uncertain and unsatisfactory speculation. So far back as 1823, the celebrated Ehrenberg had observed on the borders of the Red Sea, a singular phenomenon, which led him at once to the very obvious explanation of its distinctive name. In that year he was residing at Tor, in the immediate neighbourhood of Mount Sinai.

'On the 10th of December,' he writes, 'I then saw the surprising phenomenon of the blood-red colouration of all the bay which forms the port of that city. The high sea, without the boundary of the corals, preserves its ordinary colour. The short waves of a tranquil sea bring upon the banks during the heat of the day, a mucilaginous matter of a blood-red colour, and deposit it upon the sand, in such a manner as that, in the course of a good half hour, all the bay, with the receding tide, is surrounded with a red border of many feet in depth. I removed from the water some specimens, with glasses, and carried them to a tent which I had near the sea. It was easy to see that the colouration was due to little tufts, scarcely visible, often greenish, and sometimes of an intense green, but for the most part of a deep red; the water upon which they floated was always colourless. This very interesting phenomenon, sufficient to afford a reason for the etymology of the name which this sea has received, (an etymology up to the present time always buried in complete obscurity,) attracted all my attention. . . . . During many days, I observed also the colouring matter with the microscope; the tufts were formed of little bundles of filaments of an oscillatoria; they were fusiform and elongated, irregular, having rarely more than the diameter of a line, and were contained in a sort of mucilaginous sheath.'

The instance, however, was not quite satisfactory, inasmuch as the phenomenon exhibited itself on a scale somewhat too limited for general inference. But it has been more recently observed, over a breadth of surface which gave ample evidence that the singular effect witnessed and explained by Ehrenberg, was by no means confined to the shores of a secluded bay, but that it ranged over so large a portion of the Erythræan sea, as

to account entirely for its ancient designation, originally applied to a much greater marine superficies than that which is shut in by the shores of the Arabian gulf. M. Evenor Dupont, a 'distinguished advocate of the Isle of Mauritius,' on his voyage to Europe, by what is called the 'overland' passage, made it his especial business to look out for all appearances, permanent or accidental, that might afford any illustration of the distinctive term. The results of his persevering observation shall be given in his own lively and expressive language.

'The 8th July last (1843), I entered into the Red Sea, by the strait of Babelmandel, upon the steam-boat the Atalanta, belonging to the Indian company. I demanded of the captain and the officers, who for a long time navigated in these latitudes (*parages*), what was the origin of this ancient name of the Red Sea; if it was owing, as some have pretended, to sands of that colour, or, according to others, to rocks. None of these gentlemen could reply to me; they never, they said, remarked anything to justify this denomination. I observed then for myself, as we advanced; whether the ship approached by turns the Arabian coast, or the African coast, the red was in no part apparent. The horrid mountainous barriers which border the two banks were uniformly of a blackish brown, except when in some places the appearance of an extinct volcano had left long white streams. The sands were white, the reefs of coral were white also; the sea of the most beautiful cerulean blue. I had given up the hope of discovering my etymology.

'On the 15th July, the burning sun of Arabia awoke me suddenly by shining all at once from the horizon, without spot, and in all its splendour. I turned myself mechanically towards the window of the poop to seek a remnant of the fresh air of the night, before the ardour of the day had devoured it. What was my surprise, to behold the sea tinted with red as far as the eye could reach! Behind the ship, upon the deck, and on all sides I saw the same phenomenon. I interrogated the officers anew. The doctor pretended that he had already observed this fact, which was, according to him, produced by the fry of fish floating on the surface. The others said that they did not recollect having seen it before. All seemed surprised that I should attach such interest to it. If it be necessary to describe the appearance of the sea, I should say, that its surface was covered with a compact stratum, of but little thickness, but of a fine texture, of a brick red, slightly tinged with rouge; sawdust of this colour—of mahogany, for example—would produce very nearly the same effect. It seemed to me, and I said at the time, that it was a marine plant. No one seemed of my opinion; so, with a pail tied at the end of a rope, I was able to gather, with one of the sailors, a certain quantity of the substance; this, with a spoon, I introduced into a white glass bottle, thinking that it would be the better preserved. The next day the substance had become of a deep violet,

and the water had taken a pretty pink tinge. Fearing that the immersion would hasten the decomposition instead of preventing it, I emptied the contents of the bottle upon a piece of cotton (the same which I remitted to you). The water passed through it, and the substance adhered to the tissue. In drying, it became green, as you actually saw it. I ought to add, that on the 15th July, we were by the side of the town of Cosseir; that the sea was red the whole day; that the next, the 16th, it was the same until near mid-day, the hour at which we found ourselves before Tor, a little Arabian village, the palms of which we perceived in an oasis on the border of the sea, below the chains of mountain which descend from Sinai, even to the sandy shore.'

We avail ourselves of the present opportunity to give a brief but emphatic recommendation of Dr. Harvey's Phycologia. It is at once scientific and artistic; we cannot recollect that we have at any time inspected a work of more perfect execution. Dr. Greville's volume, independently of its incompleteness, is a work of science rather than art; Dr. Harvey's is both. The first number is exquisite; and if we seem to detect a little less handiwork, and somewhat inferior delicacy of texture in the later plates, we are glad to recollect that we have been made fastidious by the earlier examples, and to believe that such scrupulous elaboration has been rendered impracticable by an increasing and urgent demand.

Art. V.—*History of the Eighteenth Century, and of the Nineteenth, till the overthrow of the French Empire. With particular reference to Mental Cultivation and Progress.* By F. C. Schlosser, Privy Councillor and professor of history in the University of Heidelberg. Translated, with a Preface and Notes, by D. Davison, M.A. Two vols London: 1843—4.

PROFESSOR Schlosser enjoys a European reputation, and his history, we are told, has excited great attention on the Continent. It has already appeared in a French and Dutch translation. The author exhibits throughout a deep and intimate acquaintance with his subject, unfolds many new views, and draws his general conclusions, in a manner indicative of a man of sense and true philosopher. The theme is certainly an interesting one. Scarcely any period in the history of the world affords such scope for deep contemplation as the eighteenth century. It was emphatically an age of transition,

'sometimes gradual and peaceful, and sometimes rapid and revolutionary, from the still lingering usages and institutions of the middle ages, to the full light and liberty of the present day. The progress is continuous in our own century, notwithstanding occasional drawbacks, pointing onward to a period of still freer institutions, of greatly increased knowledge, of higher degrees of mental refinement and moral culture.'

This work may be looked upon as the more useful and important, inasmuch as the author stands aloof from the two great parties which almost share between them, the literary world in Germany. Hence his opinions are likely to be the more straightforward, and uttered with the greater freedom. He treats literature, for the most part, only as it bears upon life and morals, and the English more incidentally (though, by the bye, sometimes a little too severely, we think,) than the French and German. With regard to the choice of authors for discussion, he pursues a plan which we shall endeavour to imitate, only on a much smaller scale, in the few pages to which we are limited—He selects such authors only as at once indicated a great change in the modes of thought and morals of the people, and exercised an important influence in promoting and confirming that change. His great object, we are informed, and as we soon discover, is to draw a true picture of the moral and social condition of the age, and to show in what respects and through what intrumentality the men and the literature of one country, acted upon and affected those of another. As respects his treatment of English literature, 'the novelty and interest consist, especially in the new results which are deduced, in the new connections which are pointed out, and in the manner in which the literature of England is shown to have been derived from that of France, and the effect, which, in its turn, it produced both in France and in Germany,—effects which are still, not only visible, but which characterise the whole prevailing literature of Europe.'

The attentive student of history will not have failed to observe that as there are two essentially distinct classes of the human family, when considered with reference to the question of civilization, so there will necessarily be a real difference between the history of nations, which may be said to be stationary, and that of those which are progressive, that is, between the history of the oriental nations, such as China, Japan, India, ancient Egypt, Persia, and the early times of the Greeks and Romans, and that of the Western States, coming under the denomination of modern history. Of course these two different species of history, require a different method of treatment. At first view, it might be thought that the middle ages, inas-

much as the principles inherent in the political and social arrangements of a stationary state, retained their ascendency in Europe till towards the fourteenth century, might be treated in the same manner as is employed for that of the primitive ages and of the East, did it not appear, that, in the fixed and benumbed condition of the middle ages, there was a secret striving after progress, of which no trace is exhibited in the East. In both, the influence of the priesthood served to hold the state and the intelligence of the people in a condition of non-progression. On this general principle, the history of the eighteenth century demands a continual reference to those considerations and circumstances, peculiarly applicable to it, such, for instance, as the mutual relation existing between the internal culture and the external political changes of the people and kingdoms of Europe; otherwise, all notions of the relation of our times to antiquity and to the middle ages, must remain imperfect and distorted. His essential point our author keeps carefully in view, while he traces the course of the moral and literary history of Europe, during the period he has undertaken to treat of.

In the present work Schlosser confines himself to the literature and philosophy, (only incidentally introducing the political arrangements,) of the English, French, and Germans; but recommends, in order that we may fully comprehend these subjects from their origin, to fix our attention first exclusively upon Italy; because it was there that the German nations which had destroyed the Roman empire, first shook themselves free from their prejudices, and from the fetters of the hierarchy. It was their proximity to Rome that contributed in so great a measure, to open their eyes. Hence, a general change had been progressive in Italy since the twelfth century, and the movement continued till the middle of the sixteenth.

'In reference to modern history,' he observes, 'we start from the principle, that the literature of Italy in the earlier parts of the middle ages contained in itself, mixed in chaotic confusion, all the different elements of modern culture and civilization and of modern politics. We there find the Byzantine garnish, together with the remains of classical antiquity, the new Eastern, or Arabic, along with the ancient Orientalism of the Old and the New Testament, that of the Fathers of the Church with Christianity in general; and still further the Northern, German, Celtic, and its various transformations in the poetry and the traditions of the old Gaulish dialects of the North and the South, of the Bretons and Normans, as well as of the Catalonians and the inhabitants of Provençe. About the same time the chaos of these sometimes mutually attracting, and sometimes repelling materials began to resolve itself, and all assumed a

new modern form, resembling the classical, when the modern theories of administration, constitutions, government, police, and political economy were formed in Italy.'

After the time of Dante, when the Italian language was perfected, literature assumed a form regulated according to classical rules; and we find in the Italian cities in the fifteenth century, numerous court poets, rhetoricians, masters of the structure of language, and elegant Latinists, and academies serving as means to form the bases of permanent societies. It was at this time that the French monarchs endeavoured to force themselves among the Italian princes, and sought to give the same splendour to their city of Paris, which the arts and the study of classical literature had already conferred upon the Italian capitals. Henceforward the new Italian civilization was mainly indebted for its propagation and diffusion to the French.

In the second section of his Introduction, in which the literature of Europe till the end of the seventeenth century is cursorily treated, Schlosser adverts to the new Christian life and literature which were first formed among the Spaniards, and traces their influence upon the literature of France and England, as well as the course which Spanish civilization took in contradistinction to that of Italy. Speaking of the latter he remarks, that 'tactics, strategy, trade upon a grand scale, banking, exchange and its laws, manufactures, industry in its great branches, political economy, police and political investigations, as the terminology employed in these subjects denote, all belong to the fifteenth century.' The freer tendency of this mental culture and civilization, in religious as well as in civil things, reached Germany at a somewhat later period, through France. At the end of the sixteenth century a rapid retrogradation took place, and at the beginning of the seventeenth, the Thirty Years War threw back German mental improvement and cultivation for at least a hundred years. Precisely at this time, when Germany was falling back into the condition of the middle ages, that literature was developed in France, which had been brought over the Alps by Francis the First, and which was adapted to the new form which had been given to the French state under Richelieu and Mazarin. It was the schools of the Reformed institutions, which, when they were driven out of France by Louis the Fourteenth, in 1681, brought the light of the new studies, but together with a purely French or monarchical court life, into Holland, Germany, and other districts of the north of Europe.

The entirely new literature which arose in France in the time of Louis the Fourteenth, found its way into the circles of the English aristocracy under Charles the Second, and in a short time became prevailing throughout Europe, and determined the

character of the former half of the eighteenth century. In his introductory chapter on the condition of literature in England and France at the end of the seventeenth century, our author well observes:—

'The literature of the French, from the time of Richelieu, was in one point of view altogether national, full of pomp and splendour, of wit and declamation, full of wantonness and a practical understanding of life; with very few exceptions, heartless and without humour, but in the other point of view, borrowed from the ancients, and adapted by the learned men in France to the rules of the ancients, or more properly speaking, starting from this, it was improved and made. This new literature had reached its highest point of prosperity before the end of the seventeenth century, and school philosophy, couched in admirable language (Mallebranche, Pascal), eloquence, which was fitted to the national character, the regular drama, and a poetry modelled according to the strictest rules of art, had all reached that degree of perfection which it was possible for them to attain; whoever, in future, wished to gain splendid renown as a writer, must seek another path to reputation; and this introduced an entirely new literature and philosophy of life into France at the beginning of the eighteenth century. This new wisdom, this enlightenment and superiority to the prejudices of the people on the subject of church and state, had been earlier formed in Holland and England, and was so much the more eagerly received in France, in proportion as the fanaticism of the French ecclesiastics and of the parliaments had embittered the minds of all intelligent men. * * * * We have elsewhere alluded to the origin and connexion of the struggle against church and state in the seventeenth century; and we shall here only add some remarks upon the changes in English literature since the times of Cromwell. The affectation of piety and of religious fanaticism, which reigned in England during the time of the republic, both in writings and in life, and which introduced a wholly absurd and ridiculous tone and language into conversation, begat a strong repugnance in the public mind to such hypocrisy, and awakened an inclination for natural freedom; this degenerated into extreme licentiousness in the time of Charles the Second. The tone and language of the Restoration were frivolous, because biblical forms of language, and real or pretended religiousness of life fell into utter contempt along with the republic and the republicans, among whom this manner prevailed. On his restoration, Charles the Second brought with him the morals and usages of the times of the Fronde, and the wanton tone of the memoirs and novels of the time immediately following, and these prevailed in England during the whole of his reign. The re-instating of the hierarchy in the old form, which immediately followed the restoration of the Stuarts, the continuance of those crying abuses connected with the hierarchy, and the maintenance of them under William the Third, even after the expulsion of James the Second, drew the attention of all thinking and able men

to the subject, and caused them to attack this wholly rigid ecclesiastical system, and along with it, incidentally, Christianity itself.' —vol. i. pp. 20—22.

In the course of the seventeenth century, Hobbes had brought forward his new system of moral and political philosophy, in support of the military dominion of absolute power. This writer paved the way for the bold scoffers at all spiritual and temporal dominion, and in some sort, gave countenance to the demands of a free people against the pretensions and claims of their rulers. With him may be joined Harrington and Algernon Sidney, as political writers, who surpassed the boldest French authors of the eighteenth century. About the same time that the French school of licentious literature was extending its discipleship in England, appeared the new philosophy of Locke, whose doctrine of experience and observation, of reflection and calculation, as the sources of knowledge, and the means of applying it, came at length to pervade the whole system of external life, the rapid development of which, and the multiplication of wants and conveniences, were thereby not a little promoted. The universities and their teachers, indeed, were bitterly opposed to Locke, with whose system the orthodoxy of traditionary faith could be ill made to agree. In the year 1703 there was a meeting of the heads of the university of Oxford to censure the 'Essay on the Human Understanding,' and to forbid the reading of it. Besides this, every one is aware of the fact alluded to by Pope in the 'Dunciad,' where he speaks of—

> 'Each staunch polemic, stubborn as a rock,
> Each fierce logician, still expelling Locke.'

There were others, however, about this time, such as Boyle and Le Clerc, who ventured to go still further than Locke in the paths of doubt and scepticism. Boyle brought together every thing which the ancients and moderns had said against the prevailing system, and essayed to prove that the superstitions and tendencies to belief in miracles in his time, were absurd remnants of barbarism. The doctrines which had been discovered and developed in England, were cautiously introduced by Boyle and Le Clerc among the Dutch and French, who at length received and universally disseminated them. In the earlier half of the seventeenth century, Lord Herbert of Cherbury had made a bold attach upon Christianity; and Shaftesbury directed his wit and satire against the hierarchy decrees of councils and confessions of faith of the clergy. As writers to be classed in the same category, and either coeval with, or

not long subsequent to Shaftesbury, we may mention Collins, Tindal, Chubb, Mandeville and Morgan. Toland began his attack upon Christianity at a rather earlier period. His most celebrated work, 'Christianity not mysterious,' appeared in 1696, for which he was obliged to flee to Dublin, where he was almost as much persecuted as in England. Of the injury sometimes inflicted on the cause he wish to support, by noticing ill-founded and vulgar assaults, a striking instance is afforded in the case of Toland:

'Toland,' observes Schlosser, 'conducted himself very unskilfully; he was often vulgar, and gave way so completely to his humour and his momentary impulses, that his attack would have passed over altogether unheeded, if a number of other men, for the most part of good reputation, had not at the same time entered the lists against a theology and philosophy which had become antiquated, and which was nevertheless violently forced upon every man by wicked governments and heartless aristocracies, in order to hold the people in dependence by means of the hierarchies and sophists. * * Huet, Mosheim, and other learned and pious men, by their defence of Christianity against his attacks, first directed the attention of all those to Toland, whom the spirit of the age excited against Christianity.'—vol. i. p. 24.

Our author bestows several sections of his first chapter on the English writers we have named, as well as on Bolingbroke, Arbuthnot, Pope, Swift, Addison, Steele, &c. That on Bolingbroke is an able and discriminating essay, so far at least as it professes to sum up his literary and philosophical character. We agree with Schlosser, that 'a solid work upon the life and writings of Bolingbroke, by an *Englishman*, is yet a great desideration.' The Memoirs by Cooke are altogether unsatisfactory even as regards his political life, and the theme is yet open to some writer of competent talents and impartiality.

Having treated of the literature and philosophy of England down to a certain period in the eighteenth century, our author devotes his second chapter to the literary cultivation and intellectual life of the French, or rather the mental culture and improvement of the higher classes of Europe, from 1715 till something beyond the half of the century. The first name selected for discussion, as belonging to this era, is that of Voltaire, who brought into literature the tone and mental energy of the highly eulogised and clever societies of the last days of Louis XIV. It is well known that Voltaire and his associates, in the early times of their career, played a double game, and our author fails not to notice it. There was an *esotoric* and an *exoteric* doctrine; each member of their society played two characters; the one within the circle, for his own pleasure; the other out-

wardly, and for the people. In secret, they wrote abusive songs against the king and nobility; in public, they composed poems in praise of Louis, and in celebration of the feast of the Virgin Mary. 'It never occurred to any one, that the wantonness and the scorn of polite and fashionable loungers would ever reach the oppressed and labouring people, who were held in bonds of degradation and slavery by the priesthood, the public officials and nobility; it seemed beyond the hope or possibility of deliverance from temporal and spiritual tyranny; and therefore these people did homage in private to the very things which they publicly persecuted with unrelenting severity.'

The enlightenment which Voltaire announced, as well as that which Bolingbroke and his friends advocated in England, was wanting in the solid foundations which secure an edifice against overthrow. Every reformation intended to be real, firm, and lasting, must be founded upon severe and strict morality. History as well as human nature furnishes abundant evidence, that without morality and a high zeal for truth, all attacks upon existing systems can only lead to mischief. Nothing can be effected for reformation when the conduct and principles of the reformers themselves are not free from selfishness, and from the empty vanity of mean or courtly souls. Voltaire came to England in 1726, and during his temporary sojourn here till 1729, the brothers Walpole, one of whom had completely gone over to the French school, were at the head of national affairs. During his stay in England and immediately afterwards, he reached the very summit of his European renown, and became the national idol of the French. That fact is, that his journey to England was attended with consequences scarcely dreamt of by the civil and ecclesiastical rulers of France. In the latter country there was a want of all that legal order which constitutes the rightful guardian of the middle and lower classes against the brutal insolence and oppression of the great. As appears from his 'English Letters,' Voltaire fled from a country in which despotism put down the law, and superstition superseded religion, and took refuge for a time in a land of freedom. The times seemed ripe for such a renovator as this, and he came forth to fulfil his mission of destructiveness. We are told, that the pious cardinal Fleury experienced to his horror what Louis the Fifteenth afterwards felt and could never pardon,—that, notwithstanding, and in spite of all his state-prisons and Jesuits, his hired mercenaries and officials, an organ of the popular voice and of the spirit of the age had sounded; before which, sooner or later, the monarchy and the court would be obliged to give way. By the publication of his 'English Letters,' Voltaire introduced into France the religious philo-

sophy, the literature, and views of life entertained at that time in our own country, precisely in the same manner as it is now sought to introduce there the opposite views from Germany; and they enjoyed the readier reception, and excited the greater attention, because Montesquieu had already awakened the people, and turned their regards from the system prevailing in France, to a mania for England.

Montesquieu was not unconscious of the oppression and misery of the last years of Louis the Fourteenth's reign; and with a strong feeling of disapprobation, had communicated his thoughts to his contemporaries. Subsequently, he witnessed the times of the regency and of its demoralization; and wishing to speak his mind to the people, he chose the form of the novel as most suitable to his genius. Voltaire had directed his poetical satire against superstition and the priesthood; Montesquieu took the more political side of the subject, and kept in view ministerial despotism, and want of respect for the law and legal forms. We are now alluding to his 'Persian Letters,' which may be regarded in some respects as more important than any writing of Voltaire's, inasmuch as 'they enter into almost all the relations of life, and expose before the eyes of the people everything which was absurd or unnatural in their institutions, which the people were accustomed to admire, and the courts and governments to praise, as the highest perfection of fortune and wisdom.' Before the appearance of the 'Persian Letters,' no one had ventured to blame the church and the government in prose, (satirical poetry had been the usual channel,)—and his work, therefore, assumed a special importance, and his boldness excited astonishment. He therein depicts the influence of the female sex, and prepares his readers for his new theory deduced from the example of England, of the true nature of modern constitutions, the theory of a religion without a priesthood, and of a monarchy without bayonets.

'In some of these letters', observes Schlosser, 'in which the principles of administration and the relation of luxury and industry to civilization, are discussed, the germs of that philosophy are visible which has since pervaded the whole of the French people; but which had at first slowly and unobserved given an entirely new colour to literature. This is the most remarkable feature in the activity and influence of Voltaire and of Montesquieu. These two, who were the greatest writers of the nation, both availed themselves of poetry and morals, of the forms of confidential correspondence and songs, in order to place in a clear light, and to hold up to the public contempt, the meanness and degradation of courtly, flattering, and mercenary writers. Those alone can judge how important a service

this was, who are well acquainted with the condition of literature at that time.'—vol. i. p. 133.

We pass by those writers in the French language, who, in the first half of the eighteenth century, were protected by Frederic the Second, as well as the 'learned Coteries in Paris,' the French theatre, and the early German philosophers and writers, to each of which topics our author has devoted a section of his work, and arrive at some of the manifestations of English and French literature and philosophy during the latter half of the century.

After a brief notice of Lord Chesterfield, the general character of whose writings is well known, we are led to the historian Hume, who was guided in the composition of his great work, according to his own express declaration, by the judgment and taste of his Parisian friends, the exclusive so-called philosophers. 'It will be readily seen besides, that this age required a species of history quite different from the former; and that after Voltaire and Bolingbroke and Montesquieu had spread the light of a sounder criticism, or bold negation, over the dead masses of historical knowledge,—dialectics, rhetoric, and sophistry, must necessarily be called in to aid, if the distinguished public which had been instructed by their writings was to be addressed.' If, however, we judge from the incredibly small circulation which his work at first obtained, we must be led to the conclusion that Hume was somewhat too early, at least in England, with a historical work, manifesting such bold scepticism, such keen criticism, and the art of using facts for the purpose of building up a particular system. To account for this limited circulation, it is more than probable, that the principles of the new philosophy which the work promulgated, had not yet much descended below the literary aristocratic coteries in England, of whom Hume, no less than his brother philosophers, Voltaire and Montesquieu, may be regarded as the leader and the organ. Of the two latter, it may indeed be said, that they were at the head of the history of the formulas of wisdom, which regulated the life of the distinguished and educated society of Europe.

Montesquieu's journey to England, and his close intimacy with Englishmen, produced a considerable influence upon his writings posterior to the publication of the 'Persian Letters,' and especially upon his 'Spirit of Laws.' With regard to this latter work, some peculiar circumstances attending the second edition are worth mentioning. It appears that all who were influenced by an enlightened patriotism, and were concerned for the improvement of the condition of their countrymen, whether English, French, or Italians, assisted and supported the author by

their counsel, and suggested alterations and improvements. The 'Spirit of Laws,' therefore, as we now have it (for the second edition is to be regarded as the proper work), may be in some measure considered as the result of the labours of many friends of moderate freedom, who wished for a change of the prevailing police and government regulations. It was not merely negative, and destructive, like the productions of Voltaire and his school, nor sought to depart altogether from what was historical and real, like Rousseau and his followers.

We have not space to follow our author through any analysis of this remarkable work—remarkable at least for that age—and shall only further, therefore, observe upon it, that Montesquieu found an opponent in Crevier, a man of solid learning, but no philosopher, who had gained great and deserved reputation by his learned historical collections. The labours of Crevier, however, soon ceased to interest, while the work of Montesquieu, for thirty years after its appearance, was regarded as a general manual of political and worldly wisdom. In Germany and France its immediate effect was comparatively insignificant, while in England a foreign book has rarely worked more strongly upon the nature of the state, the theory of the constitution, and even upon legislation. The case of Gibbon shows most distinctly the influence which it had in England upon the treatment and application of history.

Having mentioned the name of Rousseau, we must endeavour to convey to the reader in a few words some notion of his character and principles. To these our author has devoted a long section of his fourth chapter, but we can only touch upon the principal heads of his able analysis. The reader will bear in mind that the time of which we are speaking was one of passion, and movement and transition; and it is the dictate of experience that in such times the first of these qualities generally carries the predominance, and hence, whoever takes a middle course, or remains neutral, is likely to be superseded by the more passionate and zealous spirits of the age. This is in part the reason why Voltaire and his school, Diderot, D'Alembert, Holbach, and Helvetius, who were for pulling down what was old, were more readily listened to than Montesquieu and Rousseau, who were for erecting a new moral structure, and required a vast force of virtue from a demoralized and self-seeking generation. However visionary and absurd the views of society as held by Rousseau might be, there is no doubt that his principles of life were of a higher and purer order than those entertained by many of his contemporaries. He was born at Geneva, and received his early education in a Protestant republic, in which, at that time, morality, and do-

mestic happiness, were maintained. The effects of this early discipline never entirely forsook him, though great temptations beset his path, more especially after the notice taken of him by Diderot, Voltaire, and their friends. Those salutary impressions, doubtless, mainly contributed to disgust him with what he saw and experienced, and rendered it 'impossible for him to keep pace with the parasites and talkers of the great world, of whom the greatest number of the so-called philosophers of genius at that time consisted.' After many adventures, this Genevese self-taught scholar, who had gone over from Protestantism to the Romish church, and had returned to Protestantism again, came to Paris about the year 1745. While there he contributed some musical articles to the Encyclopædia, and attempted a reply to a prize-question which had been proposed by the academy of Dijon, when a complete change in the whole cast of his thinking and life suddenly took place. We need not be surprized at this. The circumstances of the case sufficiently account for it. Schlosser treats the character of this singular man throughout with great fairness and discrimination, and we will give his allusion to this affair in his own words:—

'No one will deny that the ideas which Rousseau conceived and illustrated in the case of the prize-question proposed by the academy of Dijon, guided his whole future life and labours, and became to him truth, even if we grant to his opponents and accusers that these ideas were at first taken up and defended, in order to excite greater attention by a clear-sighted, ingenious, and eloquent illustration and support of a principle opposed to the common opinion. Rousseau not only propounded the principle, which classes scholars with sophists, and against which the whole writing world, decorated with their academical uniform, rose up in arms,—he not only propounded this principle, but preached it in all his writings, with the fire and enthusiasm of an apostle of his own and of a true conviction; but he carried out his ideas even to folly, into life, and freely sacrificed for their maintenance, what men in general most eagerly seek for. This last circumstance distinguished him most favourably from the Parisian philosophers, who, like their master, were all good men of the world, and sought by diplomacy and sophistry to give currency to their opinions; but always veered according to the wind of the prevailing fashion.

'The academy of Dijon had proposed a learned question upon the influence of the revival of ancient literature upon morals. Rousseau took a philosophical view of the question, and answered it with such eloquence, clearness, and power, and in such language, that the academy, without concurring in the main in his opinion, crowned his reply as a master-piece of eloquence and art. Rousseau had turned the question of the academy, as if they had asked, whether

men in general are *morally* improved by a scientific education, and to this question he replies in the negative. It may be readily conceived how much the world was astonished at the applause and the academical prize which were awarded this treatise.'—vol. i. pp. 288, 289.

But this was not all. The same academy gave him an opportunity, shortly afterwards, of further illustrating his new thoughts, by proposing another question upon the causes of the inequality of men. In reply to this question, he took occasion to express his opinion, that the civilization of mankind must be regarded as its degeneracy. This prize treatise is important, inasmuch as it contains the substance of all Rousseau's future writings. The idea which reigns throughout, the phantom which his lively fancy has embodied, unhappily led astray the noblest minds of the French revolution, and gave rise to many weighty practical errors. The conclusions which a discontented generation, embittered with its present condition, must arrive at, and did, indeed, naturally draw from the works of Rousseau, are, that the condition of society among men, is an unnatural one; that the development and cultivation of the higher intellectual faculties and powers are disadvantageous; and that the condition of physical well-being, when no thought of intellectual life is awakened, is the normal condition, and every departure from it degeneracy.

The paradoxical reveries of this extraordinary visionary, may now, be reckoned only as among the 'things that were;' and we have not space or inclination to follow his subtle demonstrations, or to compare his speculations with historical facts and daily experience. But as he did some good in his day, it may not be amiss to point out what that chiefly was. In certain particulars, his influence has not been small. Mistaken as he was, on many points, he really felt what he wrote;—and thus by his eloquence, his great powers of delineation and the recollections of his youth, was able to attack the more effectually, the degenerate, artificial, sinful life of a great capital, and the licentiousness of his celebrated friends, who, strong in their sophistical arts, upheld, and even praised every species of immorality, and shamelessness, as unprejudiced views of things, and as marks of genius. He was the man who brought into fashion that appearance, at least, of nature and simplicity, which we now more generally witness in the polite world. In regard to the education of children, too, he was the first to broach a great alteration, and hence an improvement. In this and some other things his influence has been more extensive than has been generally acknowledged. The whole previous and ancient mode

of training children and youth, the manner of life, the arrangements of the domestic circle, the severity of parents towards their children, their monarchical and patriarchal relation with respect to them, the distance at which the young were kept, and the outward reverence which they were obliged to show,—all this, when compared with the idyllic and simple pastoral relations which Rousseau described, seemed so burdensome and inconvenient, that it quickly disappeared, and people passed from one extreme to another. In consistency with his plans Schlosser goes on to describe the careers of Diderot, Helvetius and D'Alembert, and concludes his first volume with a chapter on Germany, in which he traces the influence of the new spirit upon Placemen, Universities, Theology and Learning. After closing the first part of the work with some admirable dissertations on the most renowned writers of Germany, as Michaelis, Semler, Wieland, Winkelmann, Herder, Lavater, Lessing, Klopstock, and others, in which, we think, he is somewhat too severe on the literary character of Gottsched, whom he omits no opportunity to denounce and ridicule, he commences 'Part the Second' with the novelists and humourists of England; devoting one section to the origin and history of the so-called English 'Blue Stockings;' and discussing in another, and, we conceive, with justness and candour, the relative and absolute merits of our historians, Robertson, Hume, and Gibbon.

In the course of Schlosser's work we have had to notice more than once his dislike of the judgment and taste of Lord Brougham. In treating of the political English writers and speakers of the time of the American war, he commences with this passage, the purport of which we may subscribe to as not wholly inapplicable or unjust.—

'A judgment with regard to their speaking and style may be left to English writers; we must, however, express a strong feeling of disapprobation, at what has been said by Lord Brougham, in his 'Statesmen of the Reign of George the Third.' This celebrated advocate has pushed his ability to make black white, and white black, and to persuade the public that it is so, somewhat too far He ventures to praise Lord North, on account of his shameless assurance and his fluent parliamentary speaking; he dares to commend the stale and miserable wit, which he mixed up with transactions, in which the weal, or woe, of millions was involved, and to find some marks of genius in that indifference with which he himself jested upon his own habitually returning disposition to sleep during the parliamentary debates. This, indeed, can surprise no one from a man like Lord Brougham, because he even praises Burke in such a strain as purposely never to allow himself to remark that nature,

a simple and correct style, brevity, conciseness, and simplicity, have any value; that a good speaker should avoid far-fetched phrases, banish all bombast, and never introduce tedious learning, or wearisome and artificial knowledge, collected merely for show.'—vol. ii. p. 87.

Schlosser concludes the English portion of his work with Franklin, resumes the French part with an account of the French Encyclopedists and Economists, and closes the second volume with a continued reference to German literature and philosophy, in relation to public and domestic life, to the tone of society, and prevailing customs. This last portion of his labours we consider the most able, instructive, and profound; more particularly the sections on German history, journalism, and political economy. In that which relates to the writers of England and France in the second part, there may not be much that is new or striking; and as regards what has reference to modern Germany, it would be impossible to do any thing like justice to it in the compass of a few pages, and our space is already exhausted. But should the author favour us with an additional volume or two, as the translator intimates in his preface, we shall be glad to draw the attention of our readers to these topics, which brevity has compelled us for the present to omit.

Art. VI.—*Remains of the late Rev. John Morell Mackenzie, A.M.; with a Selection from his Correspondence, and a Memoir of his Life.* Printed for Private Circulation. Pp. clix—292, sm. 8vo.

As this volume has been printed merely for private circulation among the friends and acquaintances of the lamented individual whose remains and biography it contains, it is not one which as critics we are entitled altogether to drag before our bar. Disposed, however, as we are in all ordinary cases to respect the limits of our lawful province—within which, in good truth, we find in these all-writing days quite enough to do—we must in the case before us make an exception from our usual practice. The deep interest attaching to the memory of Mr. Mackenzie—the extensive reputation with which his name is associated, especially among the members of that religious body with which he stood connected—the singular combination of excellencies by which he was adorned, and the detail of which as presented in the volume before us, is so well calculated to substantiate the estimation in which the traditions of his friends have caused him to be held—as well as the intrinsic value of the larger part

of these 'Remains,' convince us that we shall afford a sincere gratification to our readers, by laying before them as copious an account of the contents of this volume as our space will permit. A temptation like this we have not found ourselves able to resist; and, therefore, in virtue of our authority we have issued a writ of *latitat* against this lurking subject of the critical realm, and have caused him to appear in court. It is not our intention, however, to proceed against him by the usual process of trial and sentence; our object is simply to have him so presented at our bar, as that all who frequent our court, may become well acquainted with him, and reap the advantage which the examination of such a subject is calculated to convey.

The 'Biographical Sketch' with which the volume before us commences, bears the signature G. G. C., and is followed by a delineation of the intellectual character of the subject of it to which are appended the initials H. R. We believe we violate no secret, and convey no information to the majority of our readers, when we say that the former initials are those of Mr. George Godfrey Cunningham, of Edinburgh, and the latter those of Mr. Henry Rogers, of Birmingham. Both of these gentlemen enjoyed much of the intimacy of Mr. Mackenzie, and the tribute which they have respectively offered in this volume to the memory of their departed friend is alike honourable to him and to them. Mr. Cunningham's memoir is a pleasing narrative of the leading events of Mr. Mackenzie's life, interspersed with faithful and graphic sketches of the moods and manners of his friend, as these were called forth by peculiar circumstances or displayed in the ordinary intercourse of life. Mr. Rogers's sketch is a full length portrait, full of beautiful and discriminative touches; though not more so than was to be expected from the eloquent biographer of Howe, and the skilful analyst of the genius and writings of Edwards.

Following the guidance of these gentlemen, we shall lay before our readers the following particulars of Mr. Mackenzie's history and character.

John Morell Mackenzie was the fourth son of Mr. John Mackenzie, and Elizabeth, daughter of the late Mr. Symonds, of Kidderminster; and was born at Godmanchester in Huntingdonshire, on the 24th of October, 1806. Characterized from infancy by great amiability of temper, singular vivacity and docility, and unusual beauty of person, he enjoyed the affections of all with whom he came in contact, and speedily repaid the attentions of which he was thus made the subject. His paternal aunt describes him as 'a gracious and a gifted creature,' and adds, 'a more engaging being, one who passed with less contamination through the fiery ordeal of youth, there could not

be.' To his zeal for learning, also, even at this early period of his existence, his biographer bears testimony:—

'His thirst for information, and the rapidity with which he acquired it, were early manifested by his contriving to learn his letters, and make considerable progress in reading, before he had received any regular tuition. His mother describes him as walking about with his primer, eagerly asking every one he met whether such and such letters did not form such and such words. From the time he had mastered his letters, he was seldom to be found without a book in his hand. He read rapidly as well as eagerly, and a new book was at any time happiness enough for the child, or a formidable competitor with the companions of his sports for his attention during the rest of the day. It was carried about with him,—made his companion at meals, and ofttimes laid under his pillow. His aunt, Mrs. Hemming, remembers his having a keen discussion with his nursery maid on the practicability and reasonableness of his being allowed to lie upon his bed and enjoy his book while she was washing and dressing him.'—pp. vi., vii.

When ten years of age he exchanged the tuition of the domestic circle for that of a public school, where he entered upon the study of the classical languages. At first his progress was but tardy, but having had the good fortune to be placed shortly afterwards under the instructions of the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, 'a conscientious and successful teacher' in the neighbourhood of Godmanchester, his progress became rapid and steady. When between twelve and thirteen years of age he was removed to a private school at Radley Hall, in Buckinghamshire, where he remained nearly two years, actively engaged in the prosecution of classical and mathematical studies. 'He was able before he left to read Xenophon and Homer with tolerable facility,' and had made such progress in the exact sciences as to find algebra 'very amusing' and to like the third book of Euclid 'even more than Latin and Greek'—a preference of which he very soon after repented so sincerely, that in more mature life the mathematical sciences formed almost the solitary exception to the encyclopædical range of his studies. Two years after this were spent by him at a school kept by the Rev. J. Hemming, at Kimbolton, in Huntingdonshire, where he continued to display the same appetite for knowledge, and the same aptitude for study; but where he became so much the slave 'of one of those fond delusions which so often cheat our fancy in the morn of life,' that it was deemed wise to remove him from Kimbolton, and place him under the tuition of the Rev. R. Halley, at St. Neots. Here he 'also enjoyed the invaluable advantages of his mother's prudent counsels and affectionate guardianship; and by the blessing of God on good

principles and a vigorous understanding, his mind became gradually tranquillized, and regaining its elasticity, renewed its usual habits of industry and rapid acquisition.

Up to this period no evidence had been given that his mind had come under the power of divine truth; and though he was well aware, how gratifying it would be to the minds of his parents, would he devote himself to the work of the ministry; his integrity and uprightness of feeling constrained him to renounce all thoughts of engaging in such a work, knowing, as he did, that he was not possessed of the first and most necessary qualification for the proper discharge of its important functions. Having intimated this decision to his friends, it was suggested that he should turn his thoughts to the legal profession; but as insurmountable difficulties occurred in the way of this suggestion, he was for a season left in a state of uncertainty as to the future direction of his active energies.

'At this crisis, it pleased God powerfully to arrest his attention under a sermon preached by Mr. Halley, which awoke in him agonizing convictions of sin and personal demerit. For a brief season he was deeply exercised by doubts and fears, and conflicting emotions; but the gracious dealings of the Spirit prevailed and put to flight the 'obstinate questionings' which had perplexed him; in the cross of Christ he beheld the means of the sinner's reconciliation to God; his mind received its decisive impulse, and his resolution was thenceforth formed to pursue that career on which he had already partially entered, and dedicate his future life to the ministry of the gospel,—a course of action which he never afterwards relinquished for a moment. We can lay no fuller or more satisfactory account of Morell's conversion before our readers. But when we call to recollection the early soundness of his understanding,—the rigour with which he ever scrutinized his own conduct and motives,—and the solemn declaration made by him on his ordination to the Christian ministry, with reference to this juncture in his life,—we cannot doubt that he had now become the subject of the renewing energy of the Spirit of God, and that in resolving to devote himself to the ministry, his leading inducement was 'to promote the glory of God and to save the souls of men.'—p. xvi.

Immediately upon this happy change of mind, Mr. Mackenzie joined the church under the care of Mr. Halley, and very shortly afterwards he became a student in the theological academy at Wymondley, then under the tutorship of the late Rev. Thomas Morell, and the Rev. W. Hull; there he remained for the usual term of four years, prosecuting those studies which in such institutions are generally prescribed for those who are seeking preparation for the work of the ministry; and, combining

with these, come others, to which not only such institutions are strangers, but which we suspect are seldom found amongst the engagements of young students, even in the most learned of our colleges. To have read through all the plays of Sophocles, part of those of Euripides and Æschylus, Pindar, Plato's Republic, Aristotle's Rhetoric and Poetic, Longinus, Juvenal, Persius, Lucan, Cicero de Oratore, Tacitus's Annals, &c.—to have read through the whole works of Ockham, and several of those of Aquinas and Scotus, besides the writings of metaphysicians and moralists, more easy of access, and all this in addition to the theological studies and preaching exercises of the academy, indicates a mind of such extraordinary activity and powers in one so young, that were not the fact well authenticated, it would be almost incredible. With his correspondence, during the period of his residence at Wymondley, a considerable part of the volume before us is filled; and as it furnishes not the least interesting portion of the whole, we shall draw somewhat copiously upon it, in the way of extracts. His own words will best illustrate the state of his mind at this time; while they will also convey to the reader a most pleasing idea of the mingled vivacity, acuteness, and tenderness, by which he was so conspicuously distinguished.

The following is from a letter to his uncle, the late Dr. Addington, of Bristol, dated 'Wymondley House, Jan. 24, 1826':—

'After spending a most delightful vacation at home, I have again resumed my academic pursuits. I am reading the Greek tragedies with Mr. H. and Thucydides by myself. The farther I advance in the pursuits of Grecian literature, the more I am delighted, and—I hope—improved. Brougham, in his inaugural discourse delivered at Glasgow, strongly recommends the attentive study of those unrivalled models of composition which the genius of the Greeks has bequeathed to posterity. This opinion—especially as it regards the Greek orators, to whom he principally referred—is, I think, correct, and well worthy of the adoption of all public speakers. I finished the plays of Æschylus last session, and I scarcely know how to speak of them in moderate terms. Though deficient in dramatic propriety, they exhibit a daring sublimity and majesty of conception which—at least in my opinion—has never been transcended. Some of the descriptions would suffer little from a comparison with the finest burst [illegible] Shakspeare. In the 'Persæ' he gives a description of the battle of Salamis, which throws the reader back two thousand years, and makes him an eye-witness of the combat. No merely human composition ever seized more strongly upon my mind. The [illegible] you first the stillness of the preceding evening, [illegible] by the dash of the Persian oar. But when [illegible] morning kindles in the east, the war-cry of the [illegible] The crash of the brazen prows,—the

fierce and momentous struggle for empire on the one side, and freedom on the other,—are vividly described, till at length the pæan of victory cleaves the heavens. The whole scene is, I think, the most animated, vigorous, and eloquent passage that I ever read.

'These literary pleasures, however, and the consciousness that I am endeavouring to prepare myself for future usefulness, are the only enjoyments I possess. From the exquisite delights of social and domestic life I am wholly excluded. I am almost as completely isolated as if I were

'A godly eremite,
Such as on lonely Athos may be seen.'

How often do I recall the few but happy days I spent with you, and my dear aunt, a twelvemonth ago! John Bunyan tells us that the 'Valley of Ease' was very small, and the pilgrims soon passed through it. The idea is no less true than beautiful. If all my time passed along in as happy and unclouded a manner as it did at your delightful home, I should be too enamoured of life, too unwilling to leave it. A 'few sunny spots' smile in the wilderness of life; sunny indeed, but few! Yet I must not suffer myself to spend my time in looking back with fond regret upon the past, instead of preparing myself for the high and holy duties of the future. My impression of the difficulty of the undertaking in which I have embarked grows stronger and stronger. If it were a matter which required nothing more than the strenuous exertion of the intellectual powers, it would be comparatively easy. But there are 'principalities and powers, rulers of the darkness of this world, spiritual wickednesses in high places.' Against these invisible, yet powerful and malignant foes, the weapons of earth are impotent and useless. Yet, my dearest uncle, it is consolatory to remember that there is likewise 'the whole armour of God,' whose heavenly force is irresistible. When I think of the feeble instruments which the Omnipotent condescends to employ, I feel comforted and invigorated. If the profession I have chosen be arduous and responsible, it is, at the same time, the most noble and godlike that a created being can engage in. If I am indeed a faithful, humble, and zealous minister of the everlasting Gospel, then am I a fellow-labourer with martyrs and apostles and evangelists, a co-operator with the seraphim of glory, and even with the Redeemer and Intercessor himself. The whole universe seems to smile upon the faithful servant, and also to frown upon 'the hireling.'—pp. 8—10.

Writing to the same kind and much-loved relative, under date 'March 16, 1827,' he expresses himself thus:—

'It has often struck me that it will form no inconsiderable part of the happiness of the future state, to unravel the mysteries that perplex us in this infancy of our existence. My mind kindles at the idea of seeing the shades and mists that surround us in this world rolled away from the prospect of an emancipated spirit, and the

wisdom, harmony, and benevolence of the Divine administration re vealed in unclouded light. We shall look back with something lik astonishment at the dimness and imperfection of our present knowledge, and exult in the solution of those moral enigmas which no defy our keenest penetration. And there is awful solemnity in th consideration of the future anguish of those who here reject th salvation of God, on account of apparent difficulties which will the be removed,—who stumble at mysteries which will then be 'clea as the ethereal firmament.' But this is too terrible an idea to b dwelt upon.

'In divinity I have read since I saw you, Howe's 'Blessedness o the Righteous,' 'Self-dedication,' and 'Redeemer's Tears wept ov lost Souls.' They are all of them pregnant with interest and in struction, and the first of them is a perfect repertory of grand an magnificent thoughts. One is almost inclined to believe that th incomparable author must have ascended to the paradise on high and heard the anthems of worshipping seraphim, before he wrote thi extraordinary treatise. If you have not read it, you will call thi assertion wild hyperbole; if you have, you will probably think it not much above the sobriety of truth.'—ib. pp. 17, 18.

In some of these extracts, and still more in some of the letter we have not cited, there is a tinge of sadness and depression which mingles painfully with the otherwise bright and buoyan stream of the writer's thoughts and feelings. On this head hi biographer has some admirable remarks, which, in justice both to him and to his subject, we must cite.

'It is evident (says he) from the passages already quoted, and man others occurring in his correspondence, that he was often visited b very sad and desponding feelings of another class, arising from othe sources than the speculative difficulties which so frequently consti tute the peculiar trial, and call forth the grave contemplativeness o the well-informed Christian, and which might easily have bee pushed to a fatal extreme in the mind of a highly imaginative an susceptible youth unsupported by the higher resources of intelligenc and piety. It may be questioned if the deification of the world wit which the majority of young men are chargeable, while the dream and illusions of life are yet unscathed and unbroken, is calculated t produce more disastrous results than feelings such as those whic we find for a length of time indicated in Morell's correspondenc While I do not know, and do not desire to know, much less to re veal, all the private sorrows by which his young heart was assailed I have no idea that, in giving such frequent expression to the pen sive melancholy of his soul as Morell has done in his earlier letter he was prompted by anything falsely fastidious, or by that pride o imaginary grief which leads some young men to pronounce them selves extremely miserable, as Wordsworth has it,

> ''In luxury of disrespect
> To their own prodigal excess
> Of too familiar happiness.''

He was not one who strains himself to look at every thing from an unnatural point of view. There is a simple earnestness and force in the above and many similar passages which convinces us that they were dictated by the genuine feelings of a sickening and troubled spirit, grown only too familiar with 'those moods of premature gloom and speculation which so often cloud the dawn of illustrious manhood,' and brooding over sorrows which he felt it his duty to keep locked up in the recesses of his own sensitive heart.* But while the grace of God maintained his religious faith unshaken, there were materials stout and solid enough in his mental constitution to resist the evils by which his susceptibilities were now assailed; and desolate and unsupported as his condition appeared to be, he remained 'true to himself.' His present experience doubtless proved, on the whole, a wholesome discipline to his mind, and served to develop and mature in him some of the higher elements of character which might otherwise have been less prominent and decided. It is cheering and instructive to mark in those familiar letters—which, as affording an interesting and undisguised insight into his mind and feelings at this period, we have given nearly entire—that resolute temper, that native force and elasticity of character, which remained with him in every situation, and enabled him successfully to grapple with some of the sternest, saddest realities of practical life; and above all, how the buoyant spirit of Christian confidence still showed itself unconquered, even amidst the thickening gloom of worldly cares

> ''turning the dusky veil
> Into a substance glorious as her own.'"—pp. xlvii.—xlix.

Mr. Mackenzie left Wymondley in 1829; and in the same year entered the university of Glasgow at the commencement of the winter session. He devoted himself to Greek and logic, under professors Sandford and Buchanan; and at its close he carried away the first prize in the logic class, and the third in the Greek—distinctions all the more valuable that they were gained notwithstanding the formidable competition of some of the ablest students then at Glasgow. Returning from college, the summer and autumn were spent partly in the bosom of his family at St. Neots, and partly at Leicester, where he assisted the Rev. Mr. Mitchell for some weeks. At the commencement of the next session he was again in Glasgow, where he joined the moral philosophy and senior mathematical classes. 'In the latter class,' says his biographer, 'he exhibited respectable proficiency; but the former, as well from the nature of the studies it prescribed, as from the eminent abilities of professor Mylne, peculiarly interested him. He applied himself to the business of the class, and took the first prizes in it with that easy superiority of genius which rendered

* Sir E. Bulwer in Life of Schiller.

competition hopeless.' A third session, that of 1831—32, completed his attendance at the university; it was devoted to natural philosophy, and to preparation for passing the examination prescribed for those who would take the degree of M.A. Having secured this object, he, before leaving Scotland, sought to recruit his health, which had been somewhat impaired by his winter labours, by visiting the sublime and impressive scenery of the Western Highlands. Of this tour he gives the following brief but animated account in a letter to his uncle, Dr. Addington :—

'On the last day of April, I set out with a fellow-student on a short excursion into the Highlands. We climbed Benlomond,—went through Glen-Croe and Glen-Kinlass to Cairn-Dhu,—rowed ourselves down Loch-Fyne to Inverary, and saw the Duke of Argyle's castle and grounds,—circumnavigated Loch-Lomond,—walked ten miles on the banks of Loch-Katrine,—explored the Trosachs, and visited Ellen's Isle,—footed it to Callender along the shore of Loch Venachar,—went to Bracklinn Bridge,—and finally separated at Doune, he marching off to Stirling on his way to some relations in Fife, and I proceeding to Dunblane to spend a week with Dr. W—— and his family. As for describing what I saw and felt, the attempt would be quite ridiculous. Even the 'Lady of the Lake' had not prepared me for any thing so transcendently beautiful and glorious. For several nights after, my dreams were so crowded with scenes of fairy loveliness and awful grandeur, that I woke in the morning exhausted rather than refreshed. Even now I cannot give myself up to the thought of those heavenly scenes without feeling my cheeks beginning to flush. While we were on the top of Benlomond, after a full blaze of sunshine which lighted up every feature of that undescribed, indescribable scenery, a magnificent snow-storm swept over the mountain and the lake beneath, and finally was lost among the hills on the opposite side. After this came slowly rolling up an enormous volume of white, cloudy vapour, the sight of which was really awful. On the Thursday, we had a delightful Elysian morning for rowing about Loch Katrine; and all that Paradisaic scenery seemed arrayed in its most glorious beauty to receive us. I can't help saying that that morning was spent in the third heaven. But it is of no use to write another syllable about it, when the

'Thoughts that breathe, and words that burn,'

would scarcely be adequate to the subject. After spending a most delightful week at Dunblane, I sailed, or rather set out in a steam-packet from Edinburgh on Tuesday last. We arrived at Blackwall in forty-six hours—one of the quickest passages they had ever made.'—*Ib.* pp. 82, 83.

In the spring of 1833, Mr. Mackenzie settled at Poole, as co-pastor with the Rev. T. Durant. His ordination took place on

the 10th of April; and in this important sphere of labour he continued with much happiness to himself, and not without tokens of the Divine favour for four years. He left it in 1837, to become co-pastor with the late Mr. Ewing, of the Congregational church, meeting in Nile Street Chapel, Glasgow. From this church he received an unanimous invitation, in April of that year, and his induction to the office of pastor took place on the 8rd of August following. In this new and enlarged sphere of action, he was not long of securing the approbation of judicious and thoughtful hearers, and he was encouraged from time to time by indications that God was making the message proclaimed by him useful for the salvation of souls.

'No one (says his biographer) capable of appreciating real talent could listen to Mr. Mackenzie's preaching without feeling strongly the contrast between his fine learning, his rich and varied powers of expression, his disciplined energy of thought and creative power of imagination, and that species of declamation which, while it makes the least possible demand on the reasoning powers, and is wide apart from anything like good and correct taste, so often passes current with the multitude for eloquence. His style of preaching presented eloquence arrayed in the chaste habiliments of good taste, never swelling into extravagance or turgid verbosity, but putting to flight all associations of feebleness and inadequacy. A sentiment seemed to prevail in some quarters that he did not sufficiently accommodate himself to his audience; that he was apt to indulge in critical and abstract discussions, and evinced too great fondness for the more debated points of theological science. This may have been the objection of those who could not deliver up their minds to the speaker, but allowed themselves to be repelled by the weight and energy of his reasoning and reflection: for while his discourses were always admirable for the force of thought and close consecutive reasoning, they were more than usually intelligible, from the clearness of his argumentation and the precision and transparency of his language. Sometimes, indeed, though rarely, his richly stored mind gave birth to trains of thought, and illustrations as natural as thought itself to him, the beauty and propriety of which were in close adaptation only to the cultivated taste and thoughtful intellect.'—pp. ci. cii.

In the summer of 1838, Mr. Mackenzie was united in marriage with Miss Joanna Gordon Trotter, younger daughter of the late General Trotter—a union which, whilst it brought him an increase of worldly means, ministered to him a still higher degree of happiness from the society of one to whom he was deeply attached, and whose affectionate kindness he strongly felt. Shortly after this event he resigned his pastoral charge, to devote himself exclusively to the work of tuition in the Theological Seminary at Glasgow, connected with the Congre-

gational churches of Scotland. For the duties of this office he was eminently fitted; and they were also extremely congenial to his own tastes and habits. His biographer, after remarking that 'a wiser choice could not have been made,' goes on to state his qualifications for the office.

'Mr. Mackenzie's learning was at once sound and affluent. On all the elementary branches of Biblical science he possessed the information and facilities of a ripe and exact scholar; and in those resources of copious and varied erudition which impart so much grace and life to scholastic prelections, but which only a tenacious memory and discriminative taste can command, he was perhaps without a rival among scholars of his years and standing. These qualities and qualifications were under the controul of an understanding of first-rate powers,—at once vigorous, profound, and comprehensive; and the whole was tempered with fervent piety, without which the most profound and varied learning, in union with the most brilliant talents, will not make a judicious scriptural critic. His views of what was essential to a sound education for the ministry were—as might have been expected—of a very enlarged and scholar-like kind; and he freely admitted that he held notions on this subject which he knew would in some quarters be condemned as absurdly extravagant.'—p. cxi.

In this honourable and useful service Mr. Mackenzie was actively employed, himself increasingly delighted with his occupations, and gathering 'golden opinions' from all who observed him in his work—when it pleased a mysterious Providence suddenly to call him to his reward in a better world. On the 19th of July, 1843, he left Leith by the steam packet, for Hull, intending to visit his parents at Bedford, where he was advertised to preach on the 23rd. When leaving home, he seemed to be under some sort of presentiment of calamity; for, after taking leave of his wife, he returned again and again to repeat his farewell, and at last tore himself away from her with a marked sadness that seemed anticipative of evil. Alas! ere another day had passed, the sad tidings had reached his partner that he was gone, and that she should see his face no more upon earth. In the middle of the night the vessel had struck upon the Goldstone rock, and very shortly afterwards had gone to the bottom, carrying to a watery grave all who were on board, with the exception of six. Between the striking of the vessel and her going down, the interval was not more than twenty minutes. How this was employed by Mr. Mackenzie, let his biographer tell.

'When last seen by one of the few survivors, he was engaged in prayer on the quarter-deck. "I heard," he says, "the minister who

ras on board [Mr. Mackenzie] call to those around him, that as here was no hope of safety, they should engage in prayer. He then began to pray, the rest of the passengers kneeling around him. He was as cool and collected as I am now; and the others were praying too, but his voice was raised above the rest.' Such is the statement given by a party of the name of Baillie, one of six men who contrived to keep themselves afloat until five o'clock of the morning, when they were picked up by the Martello steamer, on her passage from Hull to Leith.'—p. cxxxiii.

The remarks which follow are so just and impressive, that we must quote them entire.

'The manner in which Mr. Mackenzie's last moments are thus known to have been occupied not only set the stamp of sincerity on his Christian profession, but signally illustrated the true force and genuine beauty of his character. He was by nature as well as grace a strong-minded, brave-hearted man; yet it is more easy to conceive than to express the conflicting emotions, the hurried and vivid remembrances of home and friends, which must have rushed upon his soul in that bitter moment, when, with life beating strong in his pulses, the full extent of the impending danger, and the awful consciousness of inevitable death revealed itself to him. But faith, that faith which it was the grand object of his life to maintain and diffuse, gifted him with a fortitude mightier than all the terrors which surrounded him. His God had spoken to him the words, 'Peace, be still;' and while his feelings were gushing forth to those far away, with unsubdued energy of mind, and a voice unfaltering, he committed himself and all around him to that Saviour who is the only hope of perishing sinners. A more touching picture of Christian heroism can scarcely be imagined. It was a sight for glorified spirits to look down upon with admiration, and its memory is as consolatory as touching. It was the realization of a wish early expressed by him, in a letter to one of his sisters from Wymondley: 'O that we could all of us detach ourselves from the world, and feel ready at a moment's warning to give up our spirits into the hands of Him who made them!' We have no record of his last words: we can imagine only the solemn energy and thrilling pathos of that prayer uttered for himself and others as death increased upon them. But who shall say that his last firm and persuasive accents may not have been blessed to the conversion and salvation of some who knelt around him in that sad and fearful scene; and that on the day when the dispensations of a righteous and unerring Providence are vindicated, and the whole counsels of Heaven fulfilled, it may not be found that his latest were his most useful moments on earth? We know that their influence has been widely, and, we trust, permanently felt; and whatever results may flow from them, it is no mean solace to the grief of friends to be assured that he maintained his claims on their admiration and regard to the last; that his dying moments were worthy the last scene of such a life; and that by universal consent it is allowed that

in that fatal wreck there perished a TRULY GOOD AND GREAT MAN.'—ib. p. cxxxiii—cxxxv.

Of Mr. Rogers' estimate of the intellectual character of his friend, we can give no extracts, simply because it is one of those entire and gem-like sketches that do not admit of being exhibited in specimen. We wish our limits would admit of our giving the whole of it; but this is impossible. Our brief remaining space must be consecrated to the following extracts from letters written by Mr. Mackenzie, on the death of friends, and breathing sentiments to which his own departure gives peculiar impressiveness and interest.

On the occasion of the death of his uncle Addington, he thus writes:—

'It comforts me greatly to think that my dear uncle's matured preparation for eternity will be to you, as it is even now to me, a source of unfailing consolation and thankfulness. Oh! how the departure of the good man teaches us the value of the soul, and the preciousness of that faith which made him 'die in the Lord!' To you, my dear aunt, it will be a sacred privilege to remember how he walked with God, trusting in the blood of the Lamb, and praying with all prayer in the Spirit. Such recollections, too, are not only privileges of comfort, but privileges of admonition. They show us the way of righteousness more clearly; and invite us to be 'followers of those who through faith and patience are now inheriting the promises.' They are strong attractions heavenwards. The pain that is mingled with them will not endure for ever; but the blessings which they bring grow dearer and more precious every hour. May the great Comforter give you to experience their richest influence!' —pp. 139, 140.

The following are from letters occasioned by the death of Mr. Ewing:

'How shall I express the feelings with which I received the intelligence of dear Mr. Ewing's decease? I had left home early in the forenoon, to attend a lecture in Edinburgh, and therefore did not *see* the intimation till the evening. But as I was walking through the streets of Edinburgh, an individual, whom I did not know, accosted me by name, and told me all at once. You may conceive—what I cannot describe—the shock which such a communication gave to me. Often as I had been compelled to think that the departure of our beloved and venerated friend could not be very far distant, I had never realized it as actually near; least of all had I thought, when I saw him so lately at Leith, that I saw him for the last time in life. He then seemed stronger and more cheerful than I had hoped to find him. But 'the will of the Lord be done.' For *his* sake, my dearest friend, we cannot lament the change. Surely, amidst all the natural and irrepressible sorrowings of our own hearts,

we cannot help rejoicing at the vast and everlasting gain which one so dear has now obtained. The days of suffering and the 'wearisome nights' are over. The fears, anxieties, dejections, and troubles of that tender spirit, are all healed and gone for ever. That voice, which we have so often heard trembling and broken with excess of feeling, will henceforth be employed only in singing the praise of God amidst the joys of eternity. The heart which, like Eli's, so often 'trembled for the ark of the Lord,' will now, with 'principalities and powers in heavenly places,' be filled with holy and rapturous astonishment at the glorious things which await the church of the Redeemer. The Sabbaths on earth—in which he was so prone to labour beyond his strength—are now exchanged for 'the rest which remaineth for the people of God,' where his servants serve Him, and see his face, and 'grieve and sin no more.' To our beloved friend, then, the day of death was better than the day of his birth; and we may well 'comfort one another with these words.'—pp. 156, 157.

'Yes,' he again wrote to his aunt Addington, 'there is something of heaven in the belief that a beloved friend is there! Pain, weakness, sorrow, fear, temptation, doubt, sin, death, the second death itself, all sunk to an infinite depth below the blessed dwelling-place of those who died in the Lord; and glory such as the imagination of our hearts can never here conceive, their certain portion for ever! The 'few and evil days' are well exchanged for the Sabbath of eternity. That rest, moreover, remains for *all* the people of God; for *us*, therefore, if we are cleaving to the Lord with purpose of heart. So that we are going to those who have been born into immortality, though they cannot return to us. And which were better?—to bring a blessed spirit down to mortality and sinfulness again; or ourselves to press forward with alacrity and patience, fulfilling our course, and looking for the 'exceeding great reward?' The apostle has answered for us, when he calls the final resuscitation of the saints 'a better resurrection' than that which restored their darling children to the Shunamite, and the widow of Sarepta. These, my dear aunt, are 'words' with which we may well 'comfort one another.' May 'God who comforteth those that are cast down,' and Christ who came 'to comfort all that mourn,' and the Holy Spirit whose name is 'the Comforter,' support and bless you more and more, even to the end!'—pp. 164, 165.

We cannot conclude this brief notice without adding an expression of our hope that this volume may yet be given to the public. We wish it were in the hands of every student of theology at our colleges.

Art. VII. 1. *Logic: Designed as an Introduction to the Study of Reasoning.* By John Leechman, A.M. 2nd. Edition, enlarged and improved. Glasgow: J. Maclehose. pp. 276.

2. *Exercises in Logic: Designed for the use of Students in Colleges.* By J. T. Gray, Ph. D. London: Taylor and Walton. pp. 148.

MR. LEECHMAN'S unpretending volume contains as large an amount of matter as many a goodly octavo; and the student who makes himself master of its contents will have attained no inconsiderable knowledge of the art and science of logic. The author has not aimed at producing an original work, but rather at presenting the combined and condensed results of the labours of his predecessors. 'It is intended,' Mr. Leechman tells us, 'as a convenient introduction to this branch of knowledge, and is more particularly suited for those who are entering on the study of mental philosophy. It traces the history of the science of reasoning from the earliest period to the present time; it unfolds its fundamental principles and rules, accompanied with appropriate illustrations: and points out at considerable length, its application to practical purposes.'

A student who wishes for a solid knowledge of the subject will not content himself with any compendium, how excellent soever, but will have recourse to original writers, and make his own compendium. But for those who desire to confine their logical studies to a single volume, we are not aware of any book likely to be more suitable and useful than the volume before us. The necessity for such a work, however, was not sufficiently urgent to disarm criticism, as to the style of its execution; and we are sorry that we cannot award to Mr. Leechman's performance unqualified praise. His attempt to refute the views of the last distinguished writer on logic,—Mr. J. S. Mill, does not appear to us at all successful. In our review of Mr. Mill's great work, we pointed out at some length what we ventured to consider the errors of his theory of syllogism, and also of Archbishop Whateley's. We shall not therefore enter on the subject here, farther than to observe, that in a real syllogism, the conclusion follows from the premises conjointly, not from either of them alone; and that while Mr. Leechman, or any other logician, persists in regarding as a real syllogism such a train of thought as: 'All men are mortal; the Duke of Wellington is a man; *therefore* the Duke of Wellington is mortal:' he will find it very difficult to evade the charge of *petitio principii* urged by Mr. Mill. And the defective view of the *dictum de omni*, which brings in the notion of classification, (see p. 81,) is almost sure to lead to the use of such trifling mock-examples. We are much surprized that after studying (as we presume he has done,)

Mr. Mill's elaborate work,' Mr. Leechman should give such an account of Induction as that contained in his chapter on 'the Province of Logic.' Induction, we are gravely assured, is not a process of *inference*, but a '*process of investigation*,' by which we do not '*draw conclusions*,' but 'obtain *new facts*.' Can any clear-headed man really satisfy himself by such verbal mystification? The very question to be settled, is, whether the 'process of investigation, by which we obtain new facts,' or, more correctly, infer general propositions from particular ones, be not as truly a process of reasoning as syllogistic deduction. We could not have imagined that the writer of this chapter had ever seen Mr. Mill's volumes.

We must add, that Mr. Leechman's style would admit of improvement. Clearness and accuracy are of the first moment in treating such a subject; and too many of the sentences are wanting in one or both of these qualities. *e. g.* 'The categories were given as a complete enumeration of everything that can be expressed without composition and structure.' (p. 44.) 'It must be evident, that whatever is affirmatively predicated of *another* must express some relation that *it* bears to *that object*.' (p. 45.) Instances might easily be multiplied.

Dr. Gray's little volume is admirably adapted to be used as a class-book, accompanied by the instructions of an able teacher. And this, we presume, is what the author aimed at, rather than a complete treatise. The explanations are very concise, but in general clear and accurate. The examples are numerous and well-chosen. The author expresses, as his guiding principle, the conviction, 'that a practical skill in logic can only be attained by a practical acquaintance with its rules.' In this we fully concur; and we think such a work as this was much wanted. The plan and general execution are excellent; but several minor points appear to us to need revision. The explanation of 'Contradictories' (pp. 3, 26) seems defective. The positive idea, 'to deserve *ill*,' is surely not equivalent to the negative one, 'not to deserve well.' The subject of 'generalizations should, it seems to us, be treated of before speaking of genus and species, and predicables; and a section, or chapter, should be given on classification, indicating the different principles of natural and arbitrary classification. Most books on logic tend to confound the two; whereas it might easily be shown that the observance of this distinction is essential to a sound system of logic. We could wish something said of the relation of subaltern propositions, under which head the *mock-syllogisms* we before alluded to would be discussed. Indeed, the whole subject of the *substitution* of propositions merits much more attention than is commonly given to it. In his reference

to induction, Dr. Gray takes the common, and as we cannot but think, incorrect, view. He does not distinguish clearly between the process of induction, and a deductive argument founded on an induction.

We throw out these hints with a view to a second edition, which this useful little volume will doubtless command. We may add, that in that case, the author would do well, we think, to reconsider his solution of the hour-and-minute-hand puzzle. It is most singular that he should think he has succeeded in putting it into a syllogistic form, when his so-called major premiss ends with 'for, etc., etc.' Which 'etc., etc.,' if it stand for anything, must stand for the whole puzzle, only in a general form. The solution adopted by Mr. Mill appears to us the correct one.

Art. VIII. *Memoirs of the Court of Charles the Second, by Count Grammont, With numerous Additions and Illustrations, as Edited by Sir Walter Scott. Also the Personal History of Charles, including the King's own Account of his Escape and Preservation after the Battle of Worcester, as dictated to Pepys. And the Boscobel Tracts, Or, Contemporary Narratives of His Majesty's Adventures, from the Murder of his Father to the Restoration.* London: Henry G. Bohn. 1846.

MR. BOHN has done wisely in not including the 'Memoirs of Count Grammont,' in his 'Standard Library.' It would have been better not to have printed the work at all, at least in the cheap and attractive style in which it is here supplied. In form and price, the volume is precisely similar to those of the 'Standard Library,' the only difference being in the colour of the binding. The general circulation of such a work can do no good. It is not a book for the many, and is specially unsuited to the young. The gracefulness of its style, the vivacity of its sketches, and the delusive charm which it throws over the frivolities and vices it depicts, renders it one of the worst books in our language, for general use. We could name others more gross in their style, and less reserved in their delineations, which, in our judgment, are comparatively innocuous. The very qualities which attract and please, and on the ground of which Gibbon, by a disreputable oblivion of the moral sense, described these Memoirs as 'a classic work, the delight of every man and woman of taste,' only strengthen our objection to their being put into a wider circulation than their historical value renders expedient. Mr. Bohn was aware of this objection, though not

fully apprised of its force, and therefore admits in guarded terms, that it is 'too much embued with the leaven of Charles the Second's days to suit the severer code of the present age.' He has consequently printed it in a separate series under a distinct title, deeming its exclusion somewhat prudish, yet deferring to what he believes to be the expediency of the case. 'The publisher feels,' he tells us, 'that the subscribers to his 'Standard Library,' after having been led on by such samples of intentions, as the works of Robert Hall, Roscoe, Schlegel and Sismondi, with the prospect of others of the same sterling character, have a right to count upon his not altering the tone of that series by including anything which may not unhesitatingly be put into the hands of the most fastidious; and they have some evidence of his wish to deserve such confidence by the course now pursued.'

Now we have no disposition to deny the historical value of the work, though we believe this to have been greatly overrated. In this respect the Memoirs have their worth. They reflect the character of the court of Charles II, with more fullness than any other work of the period, shew us the interior of royal life, and prove how much our morality and religion had gained by the Restoration. It is a sad and revolting spectacle which is delineated, wherein all the worst features of our nature have prominence, and the brighter and redeeming ones are rarely visible. The Count himself, a Frenchman by birth and training, was a fitting type of the class; and the scenes he describes were England's disgrace and curse. The divines who speak and preach of 'the blessed restoration,' may read his Memoirs with advantage, but the generality of readers have no occasion for, and can derive no benefit from, the criminal amours and heartless perfidy which they detail. The 'Memoires de Grammont,' says Mr. Hallam, 'are known to every body, and are almost unique in their kind, not only for the grace of their style and the vivacity of their pictures, but for the happy ignorance in which the author seems to have lived, that any one of his readers could imagine that there are such things as virtue and principle in the world. In the delirium of thoughtless voluptuousness they resemble some of the memoirs about the end of Louis the Fifteenth's reign, and somewhat later; though I think, even in these, there is generally some effort, here and there, at moral censure, or some affectation of sensibility.*

To the historical student the work was already accessible, and the interests of morality and of healthful literature, would have been best consulted by no effort being made to give it more extensive currency. We have been constrained to say thus

* Constitutional Hist. vol. ii. p. 479.

much from our sincere desire for the success of Mr. Bohn's 'Standard Library,' and hope we shall not have occasion again to prefer a similar complaint. Nominally, the present volume does not belong to this series, and we shall be glad to find that its circulation presents no temptation to the publisher to repeat the experiment. A biographical sketch of Antony Hamilton, the brother-in-law of Count Grammont and the author of his Memoirs is appropriately prefixed. The work itself is probably but little known to our readers, and we may therefore add that the first visit of the Count to England was during the protectorship of Cromwell, of whom he speaks as, 'equally famous for his crimes and his elevation,' a 'man, whose ambition had opened him a way to sovereign power by the greatest crimes.' This language was perfectly natural to a courtier of Louis XIV, though it will probably now awaken only a smile. We are not surprized to learn that the Chevalier speedily returned to France having as we are informed 'acquired nothing by this voyage, but the idea of some merit in a profligate man, and the admiration of some concealed beauties he had found means to discover.' His second visit was about two years after the Restoration when he informs us 'nothing was to be seen among them, (the courtiers,) but an emulation in glory, politeness and virtue.' There is little of historical value in the work, and we shall therefore dismiss it with a brief extract descriptive of the Duke of Monmouth as he appeared on his first introduction to Court. It is from an eye witness, and as subsequent events proved, is minutely accurate.

'The Duke of Monmouth, natural son to Charles the Second, now made his first appearance in his father's court: his entrance upon the stage of the world was so brilliant, his ambition had occasioned so many considerable events, and the particulars of his tragical end are so recent, that it were needless to produce any other traits to give a sketch of his character. By the whole tenor of his life, he appeared to be rash in his undertakings, irresolute in the execution, and dejected in his misfortunes, in which, at least, an undaunted resolution ought to equal the greatness of the attempt.

'His figure, and the exterior graces of his person were such, that nature, perhaps, never formed any thing more complete; his face was extremely handsome; and yet it was a manly face, neither inanimate nor effeminate; each feature having its beauty and peculiar delicacy: he had a wonderful genius for every sort of exercise, an engaging aspect, and an air of grandeur: in a word, he possessed every personal advantage; but then, he was greatly deficient in mental accomplishments. He had no sentiments but such as others inspired him with; and those who first insinuated themselves into his friendship took care to inspire him with none but such as were pernicious. The astonishing beauty of his outward form caused universal admiration: those who before were

looked upon as handsome, were now entirely forgotten at court; and all the gay and beautiful of the fair sex were at his devotion. He was particularly beloved by the king; but the universal terror of husbands and lovers. This, however, did not long continue; for nature not having endowed him with qualifications to secure the possession of the heart, the fair sex soon perceived the defect.—pp. 294, 295.

The other contents of the volume are far more valuable. They consist of a personal history of Charles II., compiled from various authorities; the king's account of his escape after the battle of Worcester, as dictated by himself to Pepys; and the Boscobel tracts, written by Thomas Blount, illustrative of the same period, which are amongst the most interesting and scarce historical pamphlets of the seventeenth century. Each of these three is worth perusal, and a few extracts from the second cannot fail to be acceptable.

Our readers are well aware of the circumstances which preceded this narrative. Prince Charles, at the head of a Scotch force, having passed the English border, advanced rapidly towards Worcester, whither he was followed by Cromwell, with a determination to bring him as speedily as possible to a decisive engagement. This occurred on the celebrated 3rd of September, and the hopes of the son were extinguished, as those of the father had been at Naseby. His personal safety became immediately his sole object. He was in the heart of the kingdom; a large reward was offered for his apprehension, and vigilant foes, whom it was difficult to evade, tracked his course. In such circumstances escape appeared hopeless; and it is no slight honour to the English character that though his person was recognised by many, he was betrayed by none. Having disguised himself 'in a country fellow's habit, with a pair of ordinary grey cloth breeches, a leathern doublet, and a green jerkin,' he first resolved to make his way on foot to London, but afterwards changed his mind, and proceeded towards the Severn, in hope of reaching Swansea, and thence proceeding to France. A narrow escape, of which the following account is given, was experienced at this early stage.

'So that night, as soon as it was dark, Richard Penderell and I took our journey on foot towards the Severn, intending to pass over a ferry, half-way between Bridgenorth and Shrewsbury. But as we were going in the night, we came by a mill where I heard some people talking (Memorandum, that I had got some bread and cheese the night before at one of the Penderell's houses, I not going in), and as we conceived, it was about twelve or one o'clock at night, and the country fellow desired me not to answer if any body should ask me any questions, because I had not the accent of the country.

'Just as we came to the mill, we could see the miller, as I believed,

sitting at the mill door, he being in white clothes, it being a very dark night. He called out, 'Who goes there?' Upon which Richard Penderell answered, 'Neighbours going home' or some such like words. Whereupon the miller cried out, 'If you be neighbours, stand, or I will knock you down.' Upon which, we believing there was company in the house, the fellow bade me follow him close; and he ran to a gate that went up a dirty lane, up a hill, and opening the gate, the miller cried out, 'Rogues, rogues!' And thereupon some men came out of the mill after us, which I believed were soldiers: so we fell a-running, both of us, up the lane, as long as we could run, it being very deep, and very dirty, till at last I bade him leap over a hedge, and lie still to hear if anybody followed us; which we did, and continued lying down upon the ground about half an hour, when, hearing nobody come, we continued our way on to the village upon the Severn; where the fellow told me there was an honest gentleman, one Mr. Woolfe, that lived in that town, where I might be with great safety: for that he had hiding-holes for priests.'—pp. 459, 460.

Assuming shortly afterwards a somewhat better habit, he proceeded towards Bristol, as serving-man to a Mrs. Lane, the sister of a royalist officer. In this part of the journey an amusing incident occurred.

'We had not,' says the narrative, 'gone two hours on our way but the mare I rode on cast a shoe; so we were forced to ride to get another shoe at a scattering village, whose name begins with something like Long——. And as I was holding my horse's foot, I asked the smith what news? He told me that there was no news that he knew of, since the good news of the beating of the rogues the Scots. I asked him whether there was none of the English taken that joined with the Scots? He answered, that he did not hear that that rogue Charles Stewart was taken; but some of the others, he said, were taken, but not Charles Stewart. I told him, that if that rogue were taken, he deserved to be hanged, more than all the rest, for bringing in the Scots. Upon which he said, that I spoke like an honest man, and so we parted.'—p. 464.

A more serious danger speedily threatened which must have taxed, to the very utmost, the self-possession of the fugitive. Happily, however, he was surrounded by faithful men whom no bribe could tempt. The readers of romance would find it difficult to surpass the following.

'The next night we lay at Cirencester; and so from thence to Mr. Norton's house, beyond Bristol, where, as soon as ever I came, Mrs. Lane called the butler of the house, a very honest fellow, whose name was Pope, and had served Tom Jermyn, a groom of my bedchamber, when I was a boy at Richmond; she bade him to take care of William Jackson, for that was my name, as having been lately sick of an ague, whereof she said I was still weak, and not quite recovered. And the truth is, my late fatigues, and want of meat, had indeed made me look

a little pale; besides this, Pope had been a trooper in the king my father's army; but I was not to be known in that house for any thing but Mrs. Lane's servant.

'Memorandum—That one Mr. Lassells, a cousin of Mrs. Lane's, went all the way with us, from Colonel Lane's, on horseback, single, I riding before Mrs. Lane.

'Pope, the butler, took great care of me that night, I not eating, as I should have done, with the servants, upon account of my not being well.

'The next morning I arose pretty early, having a very good stomach, and went to the buttery-hatch to get my breakfast; where I found Pope and two or three other men in the room, and we all fell to eating bread and butter, to which he gave us very good ale and sack. And as I was sitting there, there was one that looked like a country fellow sat just by me, who, talking, gave so particular an account of the battle of Worcester to the rest of the company, that I concluded he must be one of Cromwell's soldiers. But I asking him how he came to give so good an account of that battle, he told me he was in the king's regiment; by which I thought he meant one Colonel King's regiment. But, questioning him further, I perceived that he had been in my regiment of guards, in major Broughton's company, that was my major in the battle. I asked him what a kind of man I was? To which he answered by describing exactly both my clothes and my horse; and then looking upon me, he told me that the king was at least three fingers taller than I. Upon which I made what haste I could out of the buttery, for fear he should indeed know me, as being more afraid when I knew he was one of our own soldiers, than when I took him for one of the enemy's.

'So Pope and I went into the hall, and just as we came into it Mrs. Norton was coming by through it; upon which, I plucking off my hat, and standing with my hat in my hand, as she passed by, that Pope looked very earnestly in my face. But I took no notice of it, but put on my hat again, and went away, walking out of the house into the field.

'I had not been out half an hour, but coming back I went up to the chamber where I lay; and just as I came thither, Mr. Lassells came to me, and in a little trouble said, 'What shall we do! I am afraid Pope knows you; for he says very positively to me that it is you, but I have denied it.' Upon which I presently, without more ado, asked him whether he was a very honest man or no? Whereto he answering me that he knew him to be so honest a fellow that he durst trust him with his life, as having been always on our side, I thought it better to trust him, than go away leaving that suspicion upon him; and thereupon sent for Pope, and told him, that I was very glad to meet him there, and would trust him with my life as an old acquaintance. Upon which, being a discreet fellow, he asked me what I intended to do; for, says he, I am extremely happy I know you, for otherwise you might run great danger in this house. For though my master and mistress are good people, yet there are at this time one or two in it that are very great rogues; and I think I can be useful to you in any thing you will command me. Upon which I told him my design of getting a ship, if

possible, at Bristol; and to that end, bade him go that very day immediately to Bristol, to see if there were any ships going either to Spain or France, that I might get a passage away in.'—pp. 465—467.

Finding that the passages on the Severn were too closely watched to allow of his entering Wales, and that no vessel for France would be leaving Bristol for a month, the prince was compelled to alter his route, and determined on proceeding towards Dorsetshire, in the hope of escaping from one of its ports. With this view he reached Lyme, and concealed himself in a neighbouring village, where, however, he was again disappointed, and whence he removed to Burport, in expectation of sailing in a trading vessel on the following night. In this short removal, the self-possession of the prince was severely taxed on two occasions; but, however, he failed in other matters; he was singularly qualified for effecting an escape from perils which would have bewildered wiser men. He tells us:—

'So Frank Windham, and Mrs. Coningsby and I, went in the morning, on horseback, away to Burport; and just as we came into the town, I could see the streets full of red-coats, Cromwell's soldiers, being a regiment of Colonel Haynes's, viz. fifteen hundred men going to embark to take Jersey, at which Frank Windham was very much startled, and asked me what I would do? I told him that we must go impudently into the best inn in the town, and take a chamber there, as the only thing to be done; because we should otherways miss my Lord Wilmot, in case we went anywhere else, and that would be very inconvenient both to him and me. So we rode directly into the best inn of the place, and found the yard very full of soldiers. I alighted, and taking the horses, thought it the best way to go blundering in among them, and lead them through the middle of the soldiers into the stable, which I did; and they were very angry with me for my rudeness.

'As soon as I came into the stable I took the bridle off the horses, and called the hostler to me to help me, and to give the horses some oats. And as the hostler was helping me to feed the horses, 'Sure, Sir,' says the hostler, 'I know your face?' which was no very pleasant question to me. But I thought the best way was to ask him, where he had lived—whether he had always lived there or no? He told me, that he was but newly come thither; that he was born in Exeter, and had been hostler in an inn there, hard by one Mr. Potter's, a merchant, in whose house I had lain in the time of war: so I thought it best to give the fellow no further occasion of thinking where he had seen me, for fear he should guess right at last; therefore I told him, 'Friend, certainly you have seen me then at Mr. Potter's, for I served him a good while, above a year.' 'O!' says he, 'then I remember you a boy there;' and with that was put off from thinking any more on it; but desired that we might drink a pot of beer together; which I excused, by saying, that I must go wait on my master, and get his dinner ready for him. But told him, that my master was going for London, and would return about

three weeks hence, when he would lie there, and I would not fail to drink a pot with him.'—pp. 470, 471.

At length the royal fugitive reached Brighton, and effected his escape in a small vessel, the captain of which instantly recognised him, as well as the landlord of the inn at which he supped. What would have been the effect of their discovering him to the authorities it is now vain to inquire. The nation required the bitter experience which was learnt between 1660 and 1688. It was to be disgraced, and to feel itself disgraced, before the eyes of Europe. The iron was to enter into its soul, and its noblest spirits to be cast out, imprisoned, and beheaded. For all this the life of Charles was needful, and it was therefore preserved as the disgrace and curse of the empire. We have happily outlived some of the follies of our fathers. Others yet survive, but let us hope that such another lesson will never be again required.

The narrative from which we have extracted is fraught with the deepest romance, and will be read at all times, and by all classes, with more than the interest of the strangest fiction. Mr. Bohn would do wisely to separate the 'Memoirs' from the other contents of the volume.

Art. IX.—*The Miscellaneous Works of the Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh.* In 3 vols. 8vo. London: Longman and Co.

These volumes belong in part to the recent series of splendid republications from the Edinburgh Review, and will be received with favour and thankfulness by a numerous class of readers. The separate publication of review articles has, till lately, been deemed too hazardous a speculation even for our most adventurous booksellers; and the consequence has been that a large mass of profound philosophy, accurate scholarship, varied literature, and splendid rhetoric, has lain entombed amongst the almost numberless volumes of our older periodicals. We are glad at the new order of things which has arisen, and hope the success of the reprints of Smith, Jeffrey, Macauley, and Mackintosh, and of our own Hall and Foster, will lead to similar selections from other journals. Such productions deserve a longer and more fruitful life than the ephemerical existence of a periodical, however eminent, can secure. A large portion

of English literature, after serving a temporary purpose, has hitherto been lost, the preservation of which would have been productive of the largest and most useful results.

The author of the present volumes possessed a higher reputation amongst his contemporaries than he will probably have with posterity. Few men of his day was thought of more highly, or had larger credit given to them. There were few things within his vocation, of which he was deemed incapable. What he accomplished received a generous interpretation, and was regarded as an earnest of the much greater things he could do. Men did not nicely weigh and measure the actual production, but looking at its kind and character, they concluded that he who had done a few things so well, was destined to achieve for himself a high name amongst the ornaments and instructors of his country. Nor was this feeling confined to any clique, however much indebted it may have been in its early stage to such patronage. It was more general than in almost any other case. Men of all grades, and of various shades of political opinions concurred in it; and it continued, without serious diminution, to the close of life. Now it is vain, it is mere folly, to allege, as some are obviously inclined to do, that all this was delusion, a common consent on the part of his compeers, to invest inanity, or even mediocre talent, with attributes incomparably above its nature. It was far too general an opinion to be based on the dictum of any coterie, or to have sprung out of the partialities of any political association. What Sir James Mackintosh did, though very limited, and disproportioned alike to his capabilities and his intentions, is yet sufficient to disprove the disparaging criticism in which some of our contemporaries are disposed to indulge. We could wish he had done more. We are ready to admit his culpability in having so far neglected the gift that was in him; but it is alike ungenerous and untruthful to allege on this account, that he was unworthy of his fame, and does not merit a high place amongst the *literati* of his day.

There are few public men for whom we entertain a more profound respect. His qualities were adapted to inspire it, and to mingle with the reverence due to intellect, the confidence awakened by integrity, and the attachment which candour and benevolence constrain. His varied knowledge and constitutional lore, the large and liberal views he entertained, his generous sympathy with English freedom, the soundness and impartiality of his judgment, his candour as a controvertialist, the scrupulousness with which he weighed conflicting evidence, and the obvious regret with which he drew unfavourable conclusions, all combined with his amenity and self command to secure a far larger share of esteem and attachment than falls to the lot of most

men. He was one of the most upright and clear-headed of our statesmen, and, amongst the followers of literature, was unsurpassed for candour and generous sympathy. Whatever may be thought of his individual judgments, no man doubted his solicitude to decide right.

It is not difficult to account for the high reputation of Sir James Mackintosh. It had its origin no doubt in the opportune service which he rendered to a powerful political party at a critical period of their history, or rather, to speak more correctly, such service secured him what he might otherwise never have had, a fair occasion for the exhibition of his powers. We shall presently have to speak of the circumstances under which his 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ' was published. At present we simply remark that the Whigs were staggering under the fierce onslaught of Mr. Burke, and were not slightly injured in the estimation of the more opulent and timid, by their supposed identification with the rough, masculine vigour, and democratic principles of 'The Rights of Man.' The appearance, at such a moment, of an advocate who could combine a logic as superior to that of their assailant, as his principles were sounder, and more constitutional, and whose style, though less splendidly imaginative, was at once lucid, chaste, and nervous, fit for 'ears polite,' and yet level to the apprehension of the popular mind, was an event calculated to awaken their gratitude, and to lead to the temporary apotheosis of their champion. What might have been expected, actually ensued. Mackintosh emerged from obscurity, and stood revealed a man of distinguished and noble parts. But for this, he might have remained unknown. His natural indolence would probably have prevented his forcing himself into notice, and he would have passed off the stage respected and admired by a contracted circle, but unknown beyond its limits. So much he owed to what men call fortune, but his meridian would soon have been attained, and an early decline have followed, had there been no inherent powers equal to his position. These were elicited by the occasion, and the estimation in which they were held up to his decease, by the most discerning of his contemporaries, may be safely taken as evidence of their rank.

In estimating the living reputation of Sir James Mackintosh, his conversational powers must be taken into account. To judge of it by his writings merely, is manifestly erroneous, and can only lead to false conclusions. It was based on the whole man,—on what he said, as well as on what he wrote, the philosophy he propounded in the company of the learned, the history he talked in the social circle, as well as the disquisitions, the biography, and narratives which he communicated to his

countrymen, through the press. Of the former, little survives him; but the report of those who knew him well goes far to justify the reverence in which they held his wisdom. 'In his most familiar talk,' remarks a friendly critic, whose admiration is equalled only by the keenness of his perception and the felicitous beauties of the sketch he has furnished, 'there was no wildness, no inconsistency, no amusing nonsense, no exaggeration for the sake of momentary effect. His mind was a vast magazine, admirably arranged. Every thing was there, and every thing was in its place. His judgments on men, on sects, on books, had been often and carefully tested and weighed, and had then been committed, each to his proper receptacle, in the most capacious and accurately constructed memory that any human being ever possessed. It would have been strange, indeed, if you had asked for any thing that was not to be found in that immense storehouse. The article which you required was not only there. It was ready. It was in its own proper compartment. In a moment it was brought down, unpacked, and displayed. If those who enjoyed the privilege—for a privilege indeed it was—of listening to Sir James Mackintosh, had been disposed to find some fault in his conversation, they might perhaps have observed, that he yielded too little to the impulse of the moment. He seemed to be recollecting, not creating. He never appeared to catch a sudden glimpse of a subject in a new light. You never saw his opinions in the making, still rude, still inconsistent, and requiring to be fashioned by thought and discussion. They came forth, like the pillars of that temple in which no sound of axes or hammers was heard, finished, rounded, and exactly suited to their places*.'

It is no uncommon thing for contemporary fame to exceed that which is posthumous, even in the case of minds of a distinguished order. Many things may prevent genius from leaving permanent memorials of its power; and whenever this is the case, coming generations will be destitute of the materials on which alone high fame can permanently rest. To go no further than our own times and circle, we may adduce the case of Robert Hall, than whom there has rarely visited our earth a more profound and expansive intellect,—a genius, before whose subtle glance germs of ethereal beauty and of recondite truths were more distinctly unveiled. Yet what will a coming generation know of the splendour and beauty of his intellect, com-

* Macauley's Essays, ii., p. 206. A similar opinion is recorded by another distinguished contemporary and friend. 'His mind,' said the Rev. Robert Hall, referring to Sir James, 'is a spacious repository, hung round with beautiful images, and when he wants one, he has nothing to do but reach up his hand to a peg, and take it down. But his images were not manufactured in his mind, they were imported.'—Hall's Works, vol. vi. p. 122.

pared with the revelation vouchsafed to those who gazed on his impassioned countenance as he delivered God's message of mercy to man, or who listened to his varied and profound philosophy when he met with kindred spirits in the social circle. Now so it was we affirm—without meaning to assert any close resemblance between their intellects—with Sir James Mackintosh. He wrote much, but he talked more, and his fame rested on the latter conjointly with the former. The men of his day, therefore, estimated him more highly than coming generations will do. This was inevitable. It grows out of the circumstances of the case, and ought not to be hurriedly dismissed as another proof of the world's unfairness.

It must not however be supposed, that Sir James did little with his pen. This was not the case; and the character of what he did, goes far to justify the opinion which his contemporaries formed of his powers. Considering his strong disinclination to the manual labour of writing, the necessities of his early position, the part he took in politics, his judicial occupation, and his broken health, we rather marvel at his doing so much, than at his not doing more. There were many excuses at hand to palliate, if they could not justify, his indolence; and the better elements of his nature must have struggled manfully to have achieved what they did. The contents of the volumes before us were the result, and we hasten to acquaint our readers with their character.

The *advertisement* of the editor informs us that, with the exception of the History of England, 'these volumes contain whatever is believed to be of the most value in the writings of Sir James Mackintosh.' They commence with the 'Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy,' originally prefixed to the Britannica Encyclopædia, and contain, in addition to various articles reprinted from the Edinburgh Review, and speeches delivered in the senate on various important questions, 'A Discourse on the Law of Nature and Nations,' the 'Life of Sir Thomas More,' 'Review of the causes of the Revolution of 1688'—previously published under the more ambitious title of 'History of the Revolution of 1688,'—and 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ.'

The last of these works was published first; and as it had much to do with the position and subsequent career of its author, it seems fairly entitled to priority of notice. It marks distinctly his political creed and party, and brought him into notice with more rapidity and effect, than his most sanguine moments had probably anticipated. It was published in April, 1791, and, as his son and biographer remarks, 'at once placed its author, at the age of twenty-six, in the very first rank of the

great party who were upholding in this country the cause of France, which could scarcely at that moment be said to have ceased to be the cause of rational freedom.' The copyright was sold to Mr. George Robinson for £30, but when the sale of the work was found so greatly to exceed the expectations which had been entertained, that sum was generously repeated several times. Three editions followed each other with rapidity, and the general effect of the work was to check the influence of Mr. Burke's 'Reflections,' and to show to the more thoughtful and candid, that, tried at the bar of enlightened philosophy and sound constitutional lore, the French Revolution, in its essential elements, was susceptible of a complete and triumphant vindication.

Most of Mr. Burke's countrymen had been taken by surprise at the appearance of his 'Reflections.' His former position as one of the leaders of opposition, and the vast services he had rendered to the cause of rational government, gave an air of inconsistency to his procedure greater than was warranted. Throughout his political career there had been much to predispose him to the part he now took, for 'an abhorrence for abstract politics, a predilection for aristocracy, and a dread of innovation,' had been amongst the more prominent articles of his creed. Hence he belonged to the aristocratic section of the Whig party, and uniformly opposed the more liberal views of Fox on the subject of parliamentary reform. Against such an opponent the 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ' was directed.

Though composed with rapidity, it evinced the soundest logic combined with the results of varied reading; a masculine eloquence, clear, sonorous, and earnest; an enlightened estimate of constitutional freedom, and a generous appreciation of the new prospects opening up to the world. Throughout the whole there was, moreover, a gentlemanly bearing, a courtesy of style which political controversialists had commonly disowned; a generous appreciation of the powers and honesty of his opponent, and a fearless assertion, even of unpalatable truths when deemed needful to the completeness of his vindication, or the consistency of his argument. The effect was instantaneous; and, on the fortunes of the writer, most propitious. He was immediately sought by the leaders of the Whig party. Fox, Grey, Lauderdale, Erskine, and Whitbread, solicited his acquaintance, and his company was requested at the Duchess of Gordon's routs. So far all was pleasing; and if further evidence of his success were needed, it is found in the clamour which was raised against him. Thus much respecting the history and general complexion of the work. There are several points mooted in it on which we should be glad to transfer the author's

reasonings to our pages. We must, however, impose restraints upon ourselves; but as the work is probably known to few of our readers, we shall make free with the following extract relating to church property, a subject evidently destined to engage the early attention of our countrymen, and on which all intelligent men should seek to obtain settled and satisfactory views.

The corn law is approaching its settlement, and no extraordinary endowment is required to perceive that the tithe system, and, indeed, the whole subject of church property, is destined to take its place in the public mind. Coming events cast their shadows before them, and men of all classes, dissenters especially, will do well to inform themselves thoroughly on all the bearings of this subject. Come to its consideration and settlement we must; and our policy will be wise, or foolish, as our knowledge is extensive, and our views well digested. We strongly recommend to our readers the careful perusal of this part of Sir James Mackintosh's work.

'The fate of the church,* the second great corporation that sustained the French despotism, has peculiarly provoked the indignation of Mr. Burke. The dissolution of the church as a body, the resumption of its territorial revenues, and the new organization of the priesthood, appear to him to be dictated by the union of robbery and irreligion, to glut the rapacity of stockjobbers, and to gratify the hostility of atheists. All the outrages and proscriptions of ancient or modern tyrants vanish, in his opinion, in comparison with this confiscation of the property of the Gallican church. Principles had, it is true, been on this subject explored, and reasons had been urged by men of genius, which vulgar men deemed irresistible. But with these reasons Mr. Burke will not deign to combat. 'You do not imagine, sir,' says he to his correspondent, 'that I am going to compliment this *miserable description of persons* with any long discussion?' What immediately follows this contemptuous passage is so outrageously offensive to candour and urbanity, that an honourable adversary will disdain to avail himself of it. The passage itself, however, demands a pause It alludes to an opinion, of which I trust Mr. Burke did not know the origin. That the church lands were national property was not first asserted among the Jacobins, or in the Palais Royal. The author of that opinion,—the master of that wretched description of persons, whom Mr. Burke disdains to encounter, was one whom he might have combated with glory,—with confidence of triumph in victory, and without fear or shame in defeat. The author of that opinion was Turgot! a name now too

* 'Church power,' remarks Sir James, in a subsequent part of his reasoning, 'unless some revolution auspicious to priestcraft, shall replunge Europe into ignorance, will certainly not survive the nineteenth century.'—p. 49.

high to be exalted by eulogy, or depressed by invective. That benevolent and philosophic statesman delivered it, in the article 'Foundation' of the Encyclopédie, as the calm and disinterested opinion of a scholar, at a moment when he could have no object in palliating rapacity, or prompting irreligion. It was no doctrine contrived for the occasion by the agents of tyranny: it was a principle discovered in pure and harmless speculation, by one of the best and wisest of men. I adduce the authority of Turgot, not to oppose the arguments (if there had been any), but to counteract the insinuations of Mr. Burke. The authority of his assertions forms a prejudice, which is thus to be removed before we can hope for a fair audience at the bar of reason. If he insinuates the flagitiousness of these opinions by the supposed vileness of their origin, it cannot be unfit to pave the way for their reception, by assigning to them a more illustrious pedigree.

'But dismissing the genealogy of doctrines, let us examine their intrinsic value, and listen to no voice but that of truth. 'Are the lands occupied by the church the property of its members?' Various considerations present themselves, which may elucidate the subject.

'It has not hitherto been supposed that any class of public servants are proprietors. They are salaried by the state for the performance of certain duties. Judges are paid for the distribution of justice; kings for the execution of the laws; soldiers, where there is a mercenary army, for public defence; and priests, where there is an established religion, for public instruction. The mode of their payment is indifferent to the question. It is generally in rude ages by land, and in cultivated periods by money. But a territorial pension is no more property than a pecuniary one. The right of the state to regulate the salaries of those servants whom it pays in money has not been disputed: and if it has chosen to provide the revenue of a certain portion of land for the salary of another class of servants, wherefore is its right more disputable, to resume that land, and to establish a new mode of payment? In the early history of Europe, before fiefs became hereditary, great landed estates were bestowed by the sovereign, on condition of military service. By a similar tenure did the church hold its lands. No man can prove, that because the state has intrusted its ecclesiastical servants with a portion of land, as the source and security of their *pensions*, they are in any respect more the proprietors of it, than the other servants of the state are of that portion of the revenue from which they are paid.

'The lands of the church possess not the most simple and indispensable requisites of property. They are not even pretended to be held for the *benefit* of those who enjoy them. This is the obvious criterion between private property and a pension for public service. The destination of the first is avowedly the comfort and happiness of the individual who enjoys it: as he is conceived to be the sole judge of this happiness, he possesses the most unlimited rights of

enjoyment, of alienation, and even of abuse. But the lands of the church, destined for the support of public servants, exhibited none of these characters of property. They were inalienable, because it would have been not less absurd for the priesthood to have exercised such authority over these lands, than it would be for seamen to claim the property of a fleet which they manned, or soldiers that of a fortress they garrisoned.'—vol. iii. pp. 41—44.

His views subsequently underwent considerable modification. This is not to be wondered at, nor is it generous, or even just, to indulge in severe reflections on this account. The atrocities which marked the course of the French Revolution sickened and disgusted him, and if, at the instant, he recoiled too far from his former position, it is only what the benevolence of his character, and the common infirmities of our nature might have led us to anticipate. He did not sufficiently discriminate between the Revolution and its agents,—the protest recorded against the oppression of ages, and the bad passions by which it was overclouded and disgraced. It is easy for us, who have witnessed the course of another half century, to condemn our fathers for their want of discrimination. We have seen the end of the tragedy, and may, therefore, be ready to assert that with all its horrors, the French Revolution has been a blessing to the world. But the men of that day were no prophets, and we need not, therefore, wonder at their being, for a season at least, confounded. Living amidst the reign of terror it was not unnatural that they should denounce, in terms too sweeping and indiscriminate, both the revolution and its agents. 'They alone,' said Sir James, 'knew my feelings, from whom no sentiments of mine could be concealed. The witnesses of my emotion on the murder of General Dillon—on the 10th of August —on the massacre of the prisons—on the death of the king, are now no more. But the memory of what it is no hyperbole to call my sufferings, is at this instant fresh. As often as I call to mind these proofs of deep and most unaffected interest in the fortunes of mankind, the indignation, the grief, the shame, which were not on my lips, but at the bottom of my heart, I feel an assured confidence of my own honesty of which no calumniator shall ever rob me.'

The rebound, however, was speedily followed by reaction, and Sir James was too honest to conceal the fact. 'I can easily see,' he said, when referring afterwards to the tone of his lectures on 'The Law of Nature and Nations,' that I rebounded from my original opinions too far towards the opposite extreme. I was carried too far by anxiety to atone for my former errors. In opposing revolutionary principles, the natural heat of controversy led to excess.' His final position was,

probably, midway between the opinions advocated in the 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ,' and those to which Mr. Burke had given his sanction.

His 'Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy,' was a vastly different work. It was prepared in the full maturity of his powers, and the subject was in happy keeping with the natural bent of his genius. 'My nature, perhaps,' he remarked in a letter to Mr. Hall, 'would have been better consulted, if I had been placed in a quieter station, where speculation might have been my business, and visions of the fair and good my chief recreation.' Such was his own impression; and the proposal, therefore, which was made to him in August, 1828, to write a dissertation for the seventh edition of the 'Britannica Encyclopædia,' in continuation of that of Mr. Dugald Stewart, could not have been wholly inattractive. He felt, however, the difficulties of his position, and having resolved to devote the remainder of his labours to British history, was induced, with considerable hesitation, to undertake the work. It was originally agreed, that the dissertation should include political as well as ethical philosophy; but his impaired health and parliamentary duties, led to the omission of the former, which is much to be regretted. The work was completed in the spring of 1830; and though the author did not accomplish his wish, 'to leave an edition of it, with such improvements as time, criticism, conversation, and reflection might suggest,' it constitutes one of the most attractive and useful pieces of philosophical criticism and history, which our language contains, betokening both vast reading and profound meditation. One or two brief extracts will best acquaint our readers with its character, and allure them to its perusal. We should esteem it a good omen, a sign of mental health, the earnest of a coming generation, more entitled to confidence and respect, if such works were in general request. We will simply premise, that our extracts are not taken from those passages which reflect most credit on the intellect of the author. We select such as have special interest to our readers. Referring to Thomas Hobbes, of Malmesbury, of whom we have recently heard, with no small surprise, as a believer in Christianity, Sir James observes:—

'A permanent foundation of his fame remains in his admirable style, which seems to be the very perfection of didactic language. Short, clear, precise, pithy, his language never has more than one meaning, which it never requires a second thought to find. By the help of his exact method, it takes so firm a hold on the mind, that it will not allow attention to slacken. His little tract on Human Nature has scarcely an ambiguous or a needless word. He has so great a power of always choosing the most significant term, that he never is

reduced to the poor expedient of using many in its stead. He had so thoroughly studied the genius of the language, and knew so well how to steer between pedantry and vulgarity, that two centuries have not superannuated probably more than a dozen of his words. His expressions are so luminous, that he is clear without the help of illustration. Perhaps no writer of any age or nation, on subjects so abstruse, has manifested an equal power of engraving his thoughts on the mind of his readers. He seems never to have taken a word for ornament or pleasure; and he deals with eloquence and poetry as the natural philosopher who explains the mechanism of children's toys, or deigns to contrive them. Yet his style so stimulates attention, that it never tires; and, to those who are acquainted with the subject, appears to have as much spirit as can be safely blended with Reason. He compresses his thoughts so unaffectedly, and yet so tersely, as to produce occasionally maxims which excite the same agreeable surprise with wit, and have become a sort of philosophical proverbs;—the success of which he partly owed to the suitableness of such forms of expression to his dictatorial nature. His words have such an appearance of springing from his thoughts, as to impress on the reader a strong opinion of his originality, and indeed to prove that he was not conscious of borrowing: though conversation with Gassendi must have influenced his mind; and it is hard to believe that his coincidence with Ockham should have been purely accidental, on points so important as the denial of general ideas, the reference of moral distinctions to superior power, and the absolute thraldom of Religion under the civil power, which he seems to have thought necessary, to maintain that independence of the state on the church with which Ockham had been contented.

'His philosophical writings might be read without reminding any one that the author was more than an intellectual machine. They never betray a feeling except that insupportable arrogance which looks down on his fellow-men as a lower species of beings; whose almost unanimous hostility is so far from shaking the firmness of his conviction, or even ruffling the calmness of his contempt, that it appears too petty a circumstance to require explanation, or even to merit notice.'—vol. i., pp. 59, 60.

A ready disposition is thus evinced to do justice to this celebrated writer, yet the following is the account given of the service he rendered to religion and religious freedom. The justice of the sketch, though contested by some modern critics, is fully confirmed by the writings of the philosopher of Malmesbury.

'Men he represented as being originally equal, and having an equal right to all things, but as being taught by Reason to sacrifice this right for the advantages of peace, and to submit to a common authority, which can preserve quiet, only by being the sole depositary of force, and must therefore be absolute and unlimited. The

supreme authority cannot be sufficient for its purpose, unless it be wielded by a single hand; nor even then, unless his absolute power extends over religion, which may prompt men to discord by the fear of an evil greater than death. The perfect state of a community, according to him, is where law prescribes the religion and morality of the people, and where the will of an absolute sovereign is the sole fountain of law. Hooker had inculcated the simple truth, that 'to live by one man's will is the cause of many men's misery:'—Hobbes embraced the daring paradox, that to live by one man's will is the only means of all men's happiness. Having thus rendered religion the slave of every human tyrant, it was an unavoidable consequence, that he should be disposed to lower her character, and lessen her power over men; that he should regard atheism as the most effectual instrument of preventing rebellion,—at least that species of rebellion which prevailed in his time, and had excited his alarms. The formidable alliance of religion with liberty haunted his mind, and urged him to the bold attempt of rooting out both these mighty principles; which, when combined with interests and passions, when debased by impure support, and provoked by unjust resistance, have indeed the power of fearfully agitating society; but which are, nevertheless, in their own nature, and as far as they are unmixed and undisturbed, the parents of justice, of order, of peace, as well as the sources of those hopes, and of those glorious aspirations after higher excellence, which encourage and exalt the soul in its passage through misery and depravity. A Hobbist is the only consistent persecutor; for he alone considers himself as bound, by whatever conscience he has remaining, to conform to the religion of the sovereign. He claims from others no more than he is himself ready to yield to any master; while the religionist who persecutes a member of another communion, exacts the sacrifice of conscience and sincerity, though professing that rather than make it himself, he is prepared to die.'—*ib.* pp. 61—63.

Amongst the opponents of Hobbes, a distinguished rank must be assigned to Cudworth, author of 'The Intellectual System of the Universe,' a work of prodigious erudition and of masculine intellect. Its influence was, for a time, proportioned to its merits, and went far to vindicate both ethics and religion, from the false reasoning and gross perversions of Hobbes. Its author had been trained in the English universities, during the ascendancy of puritanism, and was one of the most eminent members of the latitudinarian, or arminian party, at the time of the restoration. To an ardent love of liberty, imbibed from his calvinistic teachers, he united the experience of his own agitated age, and by his acquired and natural endowments was signally qualified for the work he undertook. Of the style of his masterly work, Sir James remarks:—

'The Intellectual System, his great production, is directed against

the atheistical opinions of Hobbes: it touches ethical questions but occasionally and incidentally. It is a work of stupendous erudition, of much more acuteness than at first appears, of frequent mastery over diction and illustration on subjects where it is most rare; and it is distinguished, perhaps beyond any other volume of controversy, by that best proof of the deepest conviction of the truth of a man's principles, a fearless statement of the most formidable objections to them;—a fairness rarely practised but by him who is conscious of his power to answer them. In all his writings, it must be owned, that his learning obscures his reasonings, and seems even to oppress his powerful intellect. It is an unfortunate effect of the redundant fulness of his mind, that it overflows in endless digressions, which break the chain of argument, and turn aside the thoughts of the reader from the main object. He was educated before usage had limited the naturalization of new words from the learned languages; before the failure of those great men, from Bacon to Milton, who laboured to follow a Latin order in their sentences, and the success of those men of inferior powers, from Cowley to Addison, who were content with the order, as well as the words, of pure and elegant conversation, had, as it were, by a double series of experiments, ascertained that the involutions and inversions of the ancient languages are seldom reconcileable with the genius of ours; and that they are, unless skilfully, as well as sparingly introduced, at variance with the natural beauties of our prose composition. His mind was more that of an ancient than of a modern philosopher. He often indulged in that sort of amalgamation of fancy with speculation, the delight of the Alexandrian doctors, with whom he was most familiarly conversant; and the Intellectual System, both in thought and expression, has an old and foreign air, not unlike a translation from the work of a later Platonist.'—ib. pp. 75, 76.

We are strongly inclined to furnish our readers with an extract from the sketch given of the Earl of Shaftesbury, whose philosophical writings are spoken of in higher terms than are now commonly used. We must, however, confine ourselves to the following notice of one of the most profound, original, and useful writers which the eighteenth century produced. Our reference is to Butler, the son of a presbyterian trader.

'His great work on the Analogy of Religion to the Course of Nature, though only a commentary on the singularly original and pregnant passage of Origen, which is so honestly prefixed to it as a motto, is, notwithstanding, the most original and profound work extant in any language on the philosophy of religion. It is entirely beyond our present scope. His ethical discussions are contained in those deep and sometimes dark dissertations which he preached at the Chapel of the Rolls, and afterwards published under the name of 'Sermons,' while he was yet fresh from the schools, and full of that courage with which youth often delights to exercise its strength

in abstract reasoning, and to push its faculties into the recesses of abstruse speculation. But his youth was that of a sober and mature mind, early taught by nature to discern the boundaries of knowledge, and to abstain from fruitless efforts to reach inaccessible ground. In these sermons, he has taught truths more capable of being exactly distinguished from the doctrines of his predecessors, more satisfactorily established, more comprehensively applied to particulars, more rationally connected with each other, and therefore more worthy of the name of 'discovery,' than any with which we are acquainted;—if we ought not, with some hesitation, to except the first steps of the Grecian philosophers towards a theory of morals. It is a peculiar hardship, that the extreme ambiguity of language, an obstacle which it is one of the chief merits of an ethical philosopher to vanquish, is one of the circumstances which prevent men from seeing the justice of applying to him so ambitious a term as 'discoverer.' He owed more to Lord Shaftesbury than to all other writers besides. He is just and generous towards that philosopher; yet, whoever carefully compares their writings, will without difficulty distinguish the two builders, and the larger as well as more regular and laboured part of the edifice, which is the work of Butler.' . . . .

'There are few circumstances more remarkable than the small number of Butler's followers in ethics; and it is perhaps still more observable, that his opinions were not so much rejected as overlooked It is an instance of the importance of style. No thinker so great was ever so bad a writer. Indeed, the ingenious apologies which have been lately attempted for this defect, amount to no more than that his power of thought was too much for his skill in language. How general must the reception have been of truths so certain and momentous as those contained in Butler's discourses,—with how much more clearness must they have appeared to his own great understanding, if he had possessed the strength and distinctness with which Hobbes enforces odious falsehood, or the unspeakable charm of that transparent diction which clothed the unfruitful paradoxes of Berkeley!'—ib. pp. 114, 123

We have indulged more freely than some may think advisable in extracts from this work, from an earnest solicitude to attract our readers to the study of the great productions with which it deals. We live in an age of action: events move rapidly about us: every thing is in motion: and the general temper and tendency of the age are in consequence unfriendly to calm and meditative study. The necessity of the day or hour is met, and this is so perpetually recurring as to require all the time, and to tax to the very uttermost the energies, of most men. Few have leisure, and still less inclination, to look beyond the passing hour. This is the case with literature and science, equally with any other human pursuit, and we are hereby in danger of being deluged by inanity and tameness,—the feeble productions of a

vapid and mediocre school. We are no enemies to popular literature. Our pages bear witness to this. Before it was lauded by the great, or aided by the erudite, we were amongst its advocates, and have continued such with growing zeal to the present day. In the height of our enthusiasm, however, we never regarded it as an unmixed good. We feared formerly, and we see now, that while it relieved from some evils, it threatened others, not equal, indeed, in magnitude, but of sufficient moment to call for serious attention. It requires but a superficial view of our present literature, to perceive that it is an attenuated and diluted thing compared with what it was in former times, when the master spirits of our race, under the inspiration of a pure and lofty ambition, poured forth the teachings of a wisdom drawn from the deepest musings of the human heart. Those days are past, nor would we, as a whole, have them back. They overlooked the interests and happiness of the many; sacrificing to the few, and constituting a period of idolatry as real, if not as sensual, as any other age of the world. Let us, however, take heed, lest in avoiding this evil we fall into another, not so palpably mischievous, though as certainly fraught, in its ultimate consequences, with what is pernicious. No greater evil—we speak not of the moral view of the case now—can befall the literature of a nation than that it should become a mere thing of merchandize,—a piece of handicraft to be worked for present pay, and to be produced with most ready skill for the first liberal bidder. Such a condition of things is charged with fearful peril. The evils flowing from it may not be visible at the moment. Generations may be needed in order to their full developement, but come they will, and with accumulative force. Their influence will be seen in an enfeebling of the national intellect—the corruption of its taste—the substitution of what is false and gaudy, for what is true and simple. Its standard of the beautiful and true being lowered, it will become the worshipper of gods strange and many. Hence will follow the deterioration of its practical wisdom and the pursuit of trifles; the craving for excitement will take the place of that healthful stimulus which leads to useful knowledge. The most effectual guard against such evils is found in the diligent study of those great productions with which our language is enriched. To many of these the dissertation before us constitutes an admirable introduction, and our object will be attained, if the extracts we have given induce our readers to make them the companions of their studies. Let such works be read and pondered over, and there will be a body and a soul, a massive weight, and yet a vital energy given, even to our popular literature, which will render it as useful as it may be attractive. We could wil-

lingly pursue this theme, but there are other topics to which we must advert.

Of 'The Life of Sir Thomas More' we have recently had occasion to speak, and shall therefore say nothing more at present than that it constitutes one of the most beautiful pieces of biography in our language. There was much in the character of the writer to induce intimate sympathy with his hero, and the light of genius mellowed and warmed by the purest admiration, is, therefore, diffused throughout the work.

Our remaining observations will be confined to the 'Review of the Causes of the Revolution of 1688.' This was a posthumous publication, and is, therefore, deficient, in some minor points, of the finish which would have been given by the final revision of the author. Such as it is, however, we receive it with gratitude, and hesitate not to assert that, for all the higher and more useful purposes of history, it is the best narrative of the period in question which we possess. We might have wished for more details, but the disquisitions are never wearisome, and for the most part are invaluable. Not one could be omitted without injury, and the light they reflect is just such as intelligent Englishmen needed. Great skill is shown in the disposition of the narrative, and passages might be quoted which, for skilful grouping, and beautiful and felicitous sketches, have rarely been surpassed. As the reign of James involves many questions pertaining to religious freedom, and the conduct of our nonconformist fathers; and as we are solicitous that our readers should be thoroughly acquainted with it, we shall adduce, for their information, the judgment of Sir James on some of these points.

James II. had two objects in view, the establishment of despotism, and the restoration of the papacy. In the pursuit of the first, he had the support of the Church of England, which had bound itself hand and foot to his service, by an officious avowal of the most servile tenets. Passive obedience and non-resistance were propounded by authority. The clergy were the zealous tools of an unprincipled and tyrannical court. The pulpit fulminated against English freedom, and Oxford, ever foremost in denouncing the political regenerators of mankind, sought to brand with infamy the choice spirits of the day. Had James been wise as he was merciless, he would have accomplished his crusade against civil freedom before he sought to alienate the secularities of the church. Had he done so, the result might have been doubtful. Churchmen would have cheered him on. The pulpit and the universities would have eulogised his piety and triumphed at his success. Many lives would have been lost, much blood would have been shed. A

long struggle must have ensued, and English freedom, when at length achieved—as achieved it would certainly have been—must have been purchased at a vast sacrifice of life and social well-being. Happily the stolid monarch took the other course, and the dynasty now occupying the throne, is proof of what followed.

'It may seem singular,' remarks Sir James in reference to this subject, 'that James did not first propose the repeal of the Habeas Corpus Act, by which he would have gained the means of silencing opposition to all his other projects. What the fortunate circumstances were which pointed his attack against the Test, we are not enabled by contemporary evidence to ascertain. He contemplated that measure with peculiar resentment, as a personal insult to himself, and as chiefly, if not solely, intended as a safeguard against the dangers apprehended from his succession. He considered it as the most urgent object of his policy to obtain a repeal of it; which would enable him to put the administration, and especially the army, into the hands of those who were devoted by the strongest of all ties to his service, and whose power, honour, and even safety, were involved in his success. An army composed of Catholics must have seemed the most effectual of all the instruments of power in his hands; and it is no wonder that he should hasten to obtain it. Had he been a lukewarm or only a professed Catholic, an armed force, whose interests were the same with his own, might reasonably have been considered as that which it was in the first place necessary to secure. Charles II., with a loose belief in popery, and no zeal for it, was desirous of strengthening its interests, in order to enlarge his own power. As James was a conscientious and zealous Catholic, it is probable that he was influenced in every measure of his government by religion, as well as ambition. Both these motives coincided in their object: his absolute power was the only security for his religion, and a Catholic army was the most effectual instrument for the establishment of absolute power. In such a case of combined motives, it might have been difficult for himself to determine which predominated on any single occasion.'—vol. ii. pp. 55, 56.

The policy of the monarch was soon evident. It was not in his nature to conceal it long. He would have done so had he been capable of it, not from honesty, but from interest; not that hypocrisy and falsehood were abhorrent to his nature, but that he was too short-sighted to calculate the probabilities of the future, and so completely surrendered to a besotted bigotry, as to be blind to the inevitable consequences of his actions, and reckless of the claims of truth and honour. The most infatuated of his sycophants could not fail to perceive the tendency of his measures. It was written as with fire, and combined the baseness of hypocrisy with an unscrupulous violation of the laws. The monarch proclaimed himself the friend of toleration. The

wolf put on sheep's clothing, the more readily to accomplish his design, and spoke a language and avowed a creed foreign from his nature. His purpose was to combine the nonconformists with the catholics against the hierarchy, and he therefore published 'A Declaration for liberty of Conscience,' in which he assumed to suspend the execution of all penal laws, and to grant permission to his subjects to meet and worship God according to the dictate of their consciences. We need not shew the falsity of all this. It is universally seen and admitted; or if there be any who still doubt it, they are obviously inaccessible to reason and evidence. The king's design was soon revealed. Catholics were appointed to benefices in the church, were recommended to the governors of the Charter-House, and were nominated to lucrative and influential posts at Oxford and Cambridge. This was touching the apple of the eye. It exhausted the forbearance of the church, and put in the foreground of the great struggle of English liberty, those very men who were most deeply and solemnly pledged to the king. Thus it frequently happens, in the course of an over-ruling Providence, that men are compelled to work out ends, the reverse of what they had intended. The church would have borne anything but this. Patriots might have been beheaded like Russell and Sidney, prisons have been crowded with nonconformists, whole districts have been surrendered to military violence, the ermine itself have been disgraced, the temple of justice profaned, by the brutal violence of Jeffries and the unscrupulous servility of other expounders of English law. All this, and more than this, may have occurred, and thanks would have been impiously rendered to Almighty God, for the blessing vouchsafed in the person and government of so religious and merciful a king. But the moment that royal hands were placed on the temporalities of the church,—when a portion of her revenues was sought to be conferred on the adherents of the papacy, her anger knew no bounds, and her sons became the loudest impugners of that prerogative which they had hitherto worshipped. The infatuated monarch was astonished at the hostile position taken up by the church, and was at no pains to conceal his feelings. Referring to this point of the history, our author observes—

'James was equally astonished and incensed at the resistance of the Church of England. Their warm professions of loyalty, their acquiescence in measures directed only against civil liberty, their solemn condemnation of forcible resistance to oppression (the lawfulness of which constitutes the main strength of every opposition to misgovernment), had persuaded him, that they would look patiently on the demolition of all the bulwarks of their own wealth, and greatness, and power, and submit in silence to measures which,

after stripping the Protestant religion of all its temporal aid, might at length leave it exposed to persecution. He did not distinguish between legal opposition and violent resistance. He believed in the adherence of multitudes to professions poured forth in a moment of enthusiasm; and he was so ignorant of human nature as to imagine, that speculative opinions of a very extravagant sort, even if they could be stable, were sufficient to supersede interest and habits, to bend the pride of high establishments, and to stem the passions of a nation in a state of intense excitement. Yet James had been admonished by the highest authority to beware of this delusion. Morley, Bishop of Winchester, a veteran royalist and episcopalian, whose fidelity had been tried, but whose judgment had been informed in the civil war, almost with his dying breath desired Lord Dartmouth to warn the king, that if ever he depended on the doctrine of non-resistance he would find himself deceived; for that most of the church would contradict it in their practice, though not in terms. It was to no purpose that Dartmouth frequently reminded James of Morley's last message; for he answered, 'that the bishop was a good man, but grown old and timid.'

'It must be owned, on the other hand, that there were not wanting considerations which excuse the expectation and explain the disappointment of James. Wiser men than he have been the dupes of that natural prejudice, which leads us to look for the same consistency between the different parts of conduct which is, in some degree, found to prevail among the different reasonings and opinions of every man of sound mind. It cannot be denied that the church had done much to delude him. For they did not content themselves with never controverting, nor even confine themselves to calmly preaching the doctrine of non-resistance (which might be justified and perhaps commended); but it was constantly and vehemently inculcated. The more furious preachers treated all who doubted it with the fiercest scurrility, and the most pure and gentle were ready to introduce it harshly and unreasonably; and they all boasted of it, perhaps with reason, as a peculiar characteristic which distinguished the Church of England from other Christian communities. Nay, if a solemn declaration from an authority second only to the church, assembled in a national council, could have been a security for their conduct, the judgment of the University of Oxford, in their convocation in 1683, may seem to warrant the utmost expectations of the king. For among other positions condemned by that learned body, one was, 'that if lawful governors become tyrants, or govern otherwise than by the laws of God or man they ought to do, they forfeit the right they had unto their government.' Now, it is manifest, that, according to this determination, if the king had abolished parliaments, shut the courts of justice, and changed the laws according to his pleasure, he would, nevertheless, retain the same rights as before over all his subjects; that any part of them who resisted him would still contract the full guilt of rebellion; and that the co-operation of the sounder portion

to repress the revolt would be a moral duty and a lawful servi< How, then, could it be reasonable to withstand him in far le important assaults on his subjects, and to turn against him la which owed their continuance solely to his good pleasure? Whe ther this last mode of reasoning be proof against all objections o not, it was at least specious enough to satisfy the king, when it agree with his passions and supposed interest.'—Ib. pp. 165—167.

The sketches of Baxter, Bunyan, and William Penn, ar admirable; evincing alike the candour and truthfulness, the enlightened philosophy and ready appreciation of excellence, under all its varied forms, by which the writer was so eminently distinguished. We must be content, however, to point them out to our reader, and pass on to other points of more public interest.

The Declaration of Indulgence placed the nonconformists in a perplexing and perilous position. On the one hand, they ha been long and cruelly persecuted by the protestant church despoiled of their goods, deprived of the rights of citizenship incarcerated in loathsome prisons, forbidden the exercise of thei ministry, and, in many cases, banished from the realm. The had vainly appealed to the compassion of the clergy. Insul had been added to wrong, and the intolerant and wicked polic of prohibiting the education of their children in what the deemed the truth of God, was distinctly avowed. So far, there fore, everything inclined them to act adversely to the church, an joyfully to avail themselves of any interval of repose, com whence it might. On the other hand, they could not recognis the king's dispensing power, without jeopardizing the liberty fo which such perils had been incurred, and laying the whol fabric of English law beneath the foot of the monarch. Futur evils were to be balanced against present relief, the tyrann that was hazarded against the liberty that was proffered. Th proper course would have been to meet, and worship accord ing to their convictions of duty, without thanking the king —to have availed themselves of the breathing time allowed without approaching the throne to acknowledge obligation, o uttering language which was friendly to prerogative in its con tests with freedom. This would have been the right course and it was that which the great body of dissenters pursued Some, however, proceeded much further; and while we regret we need not wonder at their having done so. The drowning man makes no inquiry respecting the hand which is stretche out for his rescue; the prisoner stops not to ask whether th door of his prison-house has been opened by authority; life o liberty is received with joyfulness, and it is not till afterward the reflection occurs, that some drawbacks may possibly b attendant on the boon conferred. So it was in the present case

The nonconformists had begun to despair. They had known a long night of terror, and saw no hope of escape but that which the monarch proffered. Had they, therefore, as a body, availed themselves of it, and in the first moment of their exultation have glorified the power by which it was conferred, their relentless persecutors should have been the last to pronounce their condemnation. To have done so would not have been wise, nor far-seeing, nor in the spirit of an enlightened and comprehensive fidelity to freedom; but the slightest charity should have sealed the lips of those wrong-doers who had made their cry ascend to heaven.

'The Nonconformists,' says Sir James Mackintosh, 'were thus acted upon by powerful inducements and dissuasives. The preservation of civil liberty, the interests of the Protestant religion, the secure enjoyment of freedom in their own worship, were irresistible reasons against compliance. Gratitude for present relief, remembrance of recent wrongs, and a strong sense of the obligation to prefer the exercise of religion to every other consideration, were very strong temptations to a different conduct. Many of them owed their lives to the king, and the lives of others were still in his hands. The remembrance of Jeffrey's campaign was so fresh as perhaps still rather to produce fear than the indignation and distrust which appear in a more advanced stage of recovery from the wounds inflicted by tyranny. The private relief granted to some of their ministers by the court on former occasions afforded a facility for exercising adverse influence through these persons,—the more dangerous because it might be partly concealed from themselves under the disguise of gratitude. The result of the action of these conflicting motives seems to have been, that the far greater part of all denominations of dissenters availed themselves of the declaration so far as to resume their public worship; that the most distinguished of their clergy, and the majority of the Presbyterians, resisted the solicitations of the court to sanction the dispensing power by addresses of thanks for this exertion of it; and that all the Quakers, the greater part of the Baptists, and perhaps also of the Independents, did not scruple to give this perilous token of their misguided gratitude, though many of them confined themselves to thanks for toleration, and solemn assurances that they would not abuse it.

'About a hundred and eighty of these addresses were presented within a period of ten months, of which there are only seventy-seven exclusively and avowedly from Nonconformists. If to these be added a fair proportion of such as were at first secretly and at last openly corporators and grand jurors, and a larger share of those who addressed under very general descriptions, it seems probable that the numbers were almost equally divided between the dissenting communions and the established church.*'—ib., pp. 189—191.

'* The addresses from bishops and their clergy were seven; those from corporations and grand juries seventy-five; those from inhabitants, &c.,

For a time the policy of the monarch appeared to be successful. Both James and his courtiers were deluded, and the reports forwarded to Paris and Rome were full of confidence and triumph. And yet they were on the eve of a fearful tempest. The surface was unruffled, but the waters below were deeply moved. Men's spirits were troubled within them, and the nobility and clergy having, for the first time, sided with the people, the result was not long in being ascertained. Statesmen would do well to ponder over the story of these times. It reads a salutary lesson, and may be studied with advantage by the men of our day. He must be dull of comprehension who does not trace some points of resemblance between the present condition of things and the state described in the following passage:—

'England perhaps never exhibited an external appearance of more undisturbed and profound tranquillity than in the momentous seven months which elapsed from the end of the autumn of 1687, to the beginning of the following summer. Not a speck in the heavens seemed to the common eye to forebode a storm. None of the riots now occurred which were the forerunners of the civil war under Charles I.: nor were there any of those numerous assemblies of the people which affright by their force, when they do not disturb by their violence, and are sometimes as terrific in disciplined inaction, as in tumultuous outrage. Even the ordinary marks of national disapprobation, which prepare and announce a legal resistance to power, were wanting. There is no trace of any public meetings having been held in counties or great towns where such demonstrations of public opinion could have been made. The current of flattering addresses continued to flow towards the throne, uninterrupted by a single warning remonstrance of a more independent spirit, or even of a mere decent servility. It does not appear that in the pulpit, where alone the people could be freely addressed, political topics were discussed; though it must be acknowledged that the controversial sermons against the opinions of the church of Rome, which then abounded, proved in effect the most formidable obstacle to the progress of her ambition.'—ib., p. 230.

Our space is exhausted, and we must reluctantly close. The impeachment and acquittal of the bishops are described with

fourteen; two from Catholics, and two from the Middle and Inner Temple. If six addresses from Presbyterians and Quakers in Scotland, Ireland, and New England be deducted, as it seems that they ought to be, the proportion of Dissenting addresses was certainly less than one half. Some of them, we know, were the produce of a sort of personal canvass, when the king made his progress in the autumn of 1687, 'to court the compliments of the people;' and one of them, in which Philip Henry joined, 'was not to offer lives and fortunes to him, but to thank him for the liberty, and to promise to demean themselves quietly in the use of it.' Wordsworth, vol. vi. p. 292. Address of Dissenters of Nantwich, Wem, and Whitchurch. London Gazette, 29th August.'

admirable skill, and the tolerant advances of the church to the sects she had persecuted—so disgracefully in contrast with what followed when the danger was past—are faithfully related, and furnish matter for comment, on which we could willingly dwell. We content ourselves, however, with pointing out these portions of the history, as well as the sketches given of the state of our prisons, and of the rise and constitution of the society of Jesuits, to the special attention of our readers.

We need scarcely add that the volumes under review should have a place in the library of every intelligent Englishman.

Brief Notices.

Church Stationery Prepared and Published by David Robertson, Bookseller to Her Majesty, Glasgow.

EVERY invention that facilitates obedience to the inspired command, 'Let all things be done decently and in order,' is of great importance to the churches. Certain forms are necessary in the management of business, and order cannot be maintained without the observance of them. These forms may appear trivial in themselves, yet deviation from them, or the systematic neglect of them, speedily introduces confusion, misunderstandings are created, and congregational unity and prosperity are retarded If the secular affairs of a church become entangled, its spiritual progress is impeded by such embarassment. Every arrangement in a roll-book that assists a pastor and his deacons in the visitation and inspection of the church, is of utility. In all the more essential departments of congregational business, the forms observed in the books published by Mr. Robertson, will be found to be most useful auxiliaries. Their designations, of which we subjoin a few, will sufficiently indicate their character:—'Communicants' Roll-Book'—'Elders or Deacons District Roll-Book'—'Clergymen's Visiting Book'—'Baptismal Register'—'Disjunction Certificate Book'—'Church Collection Certificate Book'—'Seat-Letting Book'—'Minute Book for Sessions and Presbyteries'—'Four Boards for Precentor's desk.' Their simplicity is rivalled only by their completeness; there is neither intricacy nor mystery in their arrangements. Their general adoption would both lessen labour and secure regularity, and we doubt not that their cheapness, added to their correctness, will soon bring them into extensive use. We account this '*Church Stationery*' among the many useful novelties of the present day, and sincerely thank the publisher for the care, skill, and taste which he has so successfully bestowed on these ingenious form-books. Congregations using them will find our recommendation to be far less than they merit.

The History of Egypt, from the Earliest Times till the Conquest by the Arabs, A D., 640. By Samuel Sharpe. A New Edition London: Moxon.

WE are glad to see a new edition of this work on our table. It is every way worthy of the distinction, though wanting some of the qualities by which popular favour is most easily won. It is a book of solid and pains-taking research, scrupulously honest, and of liberal views, The authorities relied on are appended, and every facility is given for the detection of error, where it exists, and the further prosecution, when desired, of any branch of the general history. Little comparatively is known of the history of ancient Egypt, though, as is noted by Mr. Sharpe, in his preface, it ranks next in importance to those of Judæa, Greece, and Rome. There is much in it to interest the general reader, and still more to engage the deepest study of those who are concerned, to trace the moral history of the human race. We recommend both the subject and the work to the early and favourable notice of our readers.

The Spirit admitted to the Heavenly House: the Body refused a Grave. Two Sermons, preached on the occasion of the death of the Rev. T. S. Guyer, of Ryde, Isle of Wight. With Notes. By Thomas Binney. London: Jackson and Walford.

WE are always gratified to meet the author of these sermons. Whether we agree with his opinions or not, whether we deem his views wise or unwise, his projects practicable or utopian, we always find his company agreeable, and his cogitations instructive. There is a freshness and honesty, a raciness of thought, and directness of purpose in Mr. Binney's compositions, with which it is eminently pleasing to meet. He is not one of a crowd, but possesses distinct personal qualities, an individual character, which is not to be confounded with the dull tameness about him.

These characteristics are strikingly visible in the present discourses, and give them a great charm. The occasion of the delivery of the sermons is well known, and the improvement here made of it is at once pertinent and effective. The preacher felt both the tenderness and the solemnity which were proper to his vocation, and he has reasoned and counselled accordingly. The first, a funeral sermon, is formed on 2 Corinthians, v. 1., and the other, in which the pretensions of the episcopal church of this country are tested, on Acts xx. 16, 17. We should be glad to see the second of these discourses printed in a detatched and somewhat different form. It deserves to live, and to have a wide circulation. Its spirit is thoroughly catholic, its reasonings are cogent, and its rebukes untinctured by bitterness. Would that the spirit it breathes, as well as the intellect it evinces, were more general amongst our churches.

A Course of Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature. By Augustus William Schlegel. Translated by John Black, Esq. Revised according to the last German Edition, by the Rev. A. J. W. Morrison, M.A. London: Henry G. Bohn.

THIS volume belongs to Bohn's 'Standard Library,' and will fully sustain the character of that admirable series. The lectures it contains have an extensive and very high reputation throughout the Continent of Europe, and will be read with great interest, and much advantage, by all who are engaged in literary investigations. They were delivered in the spring of 1808, to a brilliant audience at Vienna, and, on their subsequent publication, were received with marked approbation by the literati of Europe. 'I was at Vienna,' says Madame de Staël, 'when W. Schlegel gave his public course of lectures. I expected only good sense and instruction, where the object was merely to convey information: I was astonished to hear a critic as eloquent as an orator, and who, far from falling upon defects, which are the eternal food of mean and little jealousy, sought only the means of reviving a creative genius.' The object of the author, is both to take a rapid survey of dramatic productions of different ages and nations, and to develope and determine the general ideas by which their true artistic value must be judged?

China, and her Spiritual Claims. By the Rev. Evan Davis, late Missionary to the Chinese. pp. 134. Snow.

A USEFUL little work, well calculated to excite Christian compassion for a third of the human race.

Memoirs of Alexander Bethune, embracing Selections from his Correspondence, and Literary Remains. Compiled and edited by William M'Combie, author of 'Hours of Thought,' 'Moral Agency,' &c. pp. 390. Aberdeen: George and Robert King.

WE cannot better describe the subject of these Memoirs than in the words of the inscription placed upon his monument. 'With scarcely any school education, and under the pressure of poverty and the severest toil, he produced several works of much merit, illustrative of the character and manners, and conducive to the improvement, of his own class of society; and was as remarkable for his independence of spirit, and private virtues, as for his literary attainments.' The story of his life, and labours, affords a fresh illustration of what may be done in the cultivation of the mind, and the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties, by diligence and energy.' Mr. M'Combie has discharged his task with great judgment.

Old England's Alarum. pp. 51. Hatchard.

TRUTH and sense in a garb of vigorous verse.

Common Sense and the Rights of Conscience Vindicated, against Apostolical Succession, and other Pretensions of Spiritual Despotism. In a Series of Papers from 'The Independent Whig,' and other sources. Edited by Andrew Scott, Member of the Merchant Company and Chamber of Commerce. Edinburgh: pp. 412. Strange.

THESE are fresh, racy, and vigorous papers on a great variety of topics connected with ecclesiastical pretensions. It is seldom that those pretensions meet with an opponent combining so much force with so much severity. But they are things that require hard hitting.

Woes of War: a Poem, in Two Cantos: from an unpublished MS. written in 1813. By a late Medical Officer, R.N. pp. 30.

ONE of the woes of war, not alluded to in this production, we take to be the immense quantity of poetry, so called, for which it has furnished the occasion.

Silent Love: a Poem. By the late James Wilson, Esq., native of Paisley. Illustrated with Engravings in Outline, by Joseph Noel Paton, Esq. Fourth Edition. pp. 58. Paisley: Murray and Stewart.

MR. WILSON was born in 1749, acquired an independence as an apothecary, travelled for several years, and died of a decline in 1807. 'He was long observed to look solitary, and had scarcely a companion, and it was thought that some disappointment in love was the cause, but, as he had no confidant, the matter was never revealed.' He left behind him a poem, which the editor, his nephew, first saw in 1832. This poem contains an account of his feelings of strong attachment towards a lady, to whom 'he never told his love,' and who died while he was away from Scotland. It is by no means a common production. The author was inspired by something more than love in writing it.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

The Lives of Twelve Eminent Judges of the last and of the present Century. By William Townsend, Esq., M.A. 2 vols. 8vo.

Twenty-four Years in the Argentine Republic; embracing the author's personal Adventures, with the Civil and Military History of the Country, etc. By Col. J. Anthony King.

Tracts on Liberty of Conscience and Persecution, 1641—1661. Edited for the Hansard Knollys' Society, with an Historical Introduction. By Edward Bean Underhill.

The Life and Correspondence of John Foster: Edited by J. E. Ryland. With Notices of Mr. Foster as a preacher and a companion. By John Sheppard. 2 vols. 8vo.

The History of Civilization, from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution. By F. Guizot. Translated by William Hazlitt, Esq. Vol. I.

A Course of Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature. By Augustus William Schlegel. Translated by John Black, Esq. Revised according to the last German Edition, by the Rev. A. J. W. Morrison, M.A.

Sermons by the late Rev. David Welsh, D.D. With a Memoir; by A. Dunlop, Esq.

The Works of Walter Savage Landor. In 2 vols.

The English Hexapla, consisting of the Six Important Vernacular English Translations of the New Testament and Scriptures. Part x.

The Modern Orator. Edmund Burke. Part 19.

History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century. Vol. II. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, D.D. Translated by H. White.

Knight's Penny Magazine. Part v.

Political Dictionary. Part 13. First half.

The Pictorial Gallery of Arts. Part 17.

Life in California, during a Residence of several years in that Territory, comprising a description of the Country and the Missionary Establishments, with Incidents, Observations, etc. etc., illustrated with numerous Engravings, by an American; to which is annexed a Historical Account of the origin, customs, and traditions of the Indians of Alta California. Translated from the original Spanish Manuscript.

A Century of Scottish Church History; an historical sketch of the Church of Scotland, from the Secession to the Disruption; with an Account of the Free Church. By the Rev. James Dodds, of the Free Church, Belhaven.

John Knox, his Time, and his Work: a Discourse delivered in the Assembly Hall of the Free Church of Scotland, on 18th of May, 1846. By Robert S. Candlish, D.D.

Theological Essays: reprinted from the 'Princeton Review.'

The Earlier Prophecies of Isaiah. By Joseph Addison Alexander, Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton.

Christ's Second Coming; Will it be Pre-Millenial. By the Rev. David Brown, A. M.

Watson's Tutor's Assistant; or Complete School Arithmetic. Fourth edition.

The Israel of God: Select Practical Sermons. By S. H. Tyng, D.D.

An Exposition upon the Prophet Jonah. By George Abbott, D.D. Archbishop of Canterbury. A new edition, by Grace Webster. To which is added a Life of the Author. 2 vols. 12mo.

The Spirit admitted to the Heavenly House: the Body refused a Grave. Two Sermons preached on the occasion of the Death of the Rev. T. S. Guyer. With Notes. By Thomas Binney.

The Debater. A new theory of the Art of Speaking; being a Series of Complete Debates, etc. By Frederic Rowton.

The History of Egypt, from the earliest times till the conquest by the Arabs, A.D. 640. By Samuel Sharpe. A new edition.

The Biblical Repository and Classical Review. Edited by John Holmes Agnew. Third Series. Vol. ii. No. 2. Whole No. 62. April, 1846.

Village Tales from the Black Forest. By Berthold Auerbach. Translated from the German, by Meta Taylor.

Lectures on Divine Sovereignty, Election, the Atonement, Justification, and Regeneration; to which are appended Strictures upon recent publica-

tions, by Dr. Marshall and Mr. Haldane, on the Atonement, and upon the Statement of Dr. Jenkyn on the Influences of the Holy Spirit. By George Payne, L.L.D. Third edition, enlarged.

Phrenology considered in a Religious Light; or, Thoughts and Readings consequent on the perusal of 'Combe's Constitution of Man.' By Mrs. John Pugh.

The Mine of the Kingdom; or, Fellowship with Christ. By Rev. Robt. Sedgewick, Aberdeen.

The Gardener's Wife. A Memoir of Eleanor Elliott, who died in the Faith of Jesus, 30th August, 1843. By J. Oswald Jackson.

The Church in the Catacombs. A description of the primitive Church of Rome, illustrated by its sepulchral remains. By Charles Maitland, M.D.

On the Health of Towns, as influenced by defective cleansing and drainage; and on the application of the refuse of Towns to Agricultural purposes. Being a Lecture delivered at the Russell Institution, 5th of May, 1846. By Wm. A. Guy, M.B., Cantab.

Royal Gems from the Galleries of Europe. Engraved after National Pictures of the Great Masters. With Notes, Biographical, Historical, and Descriptive. By S. C. Hall, F.S.A. Part I.

The Christian in Palestine; or, Scenes of Sacred History, illustrated from sketches taken on the spot, By W. H. Bartlett, with explanatory descriptions. By Henry Stebbing, D.D. Part I.

Traditions of the Covenanters; or, Gleanings amongst the Mountains. By the Rev. Robert Simpson.

Horæ Apostolicæ; or, a Digested Narrative of the Acts and Writings of the Apostles of Jesus Christ. Arranged according to Townsend. By the Rev. W. Shepherd, B.D.

The Lord's Supper. By the Rev. David King, L.L.D.

Calvin and Servetus: the Reformer's Snare, in the Trial of Michael Servetus, historically ascertained. By the Rev. W. K. Tweedie.

The Odes of Horace, literally translated into English verse. By Henry George Robinson.

Recollections of Mexico. By Waddy Thompson, Esq., late Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Mexico.

Royal Gems from the Galleries of Europe, engraved after Pictures of the Great Masters. With Notices, Biographical, Historical, and Descriptive. By S. C. Hall, F.S.A. Parts II. and III.

The Christian in Palestine; or, Scenes of Sacred History. Illustrated from sketches taken on the spot, by W. H. Bartlett, with explanatory descriptions. By Henry Stebbing, D.D. Parts I.—III.

Gilbert's Modern Atlas of the World for the People; with an Introduction to the physical geography of the Globe, and an alphabetical Index of the latitudes and longitudes of 24,000 places. Parts I.—IV.

A new Universal Etymological and Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language, embracing all the terms used in Art, Science, and Literature. Parts IV.—VIII.

Apostolical Succession; or, a Challenge to the Clergy generally to produce their pretended spiritual Pedigrees, and to Michael Augustus Gathercole especially, to produce his. By W. Palmer, Chatteris.

Hogg's Weekly Instructor. Part XVI.

Giving Sight to the Blind, considered as a characteristic of Christ, and a twofold Miracle. By W. Escott Kirkpatrick.

Christian Discrimination; or, a Discourse on the things in Religion which differ. By the Rev. Henry Hollis.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR AUGUST, 1846.

Art. I.—1. *An Exposition of the Laws of Conference Methodism; as enacted by the Conference in* 1835; *proving them to be contrary to the Concessions granted in* 1797: *in a Letter, explanatory and expostulatory, to the Rev. W. M. Bunting; containing the true Reasons of the Author's Separation from the Conference Connexion; and a Defence of the Wesleyan-Methodist Association.* By the Rev. Robert Eckett. 8vo. pp. 64. Pearson, London. 1846*.

2. *The Round Preacher; or, Reminiscences of Methodist Circuit Life.* Small 8vo. pp. 364. Taylor, Bradford. 1845*.

THE unreflecting multitude are slow to recognise new combinations of power and influence. Methodism was a hundred years old, before it had impressed the public mind as a material

* The author of 'the Exposition of the Laws of Conference Methodism' is a minister in the Wesleyan-Methodist Association, and editor of the monthly magazine published by that body of Christians. He was provoked into print by the conduct of the Rev. W. M. Bunting, who endeavoured to prevent his name from being placed on one of the provisional committees of the Evangelical Alliance, by alleging that he had been 'deservedly excommunicated from the Wesleyan Connexion.' Although Mr. Bunting failed in his object, yet Mr. Eckett felt, that, after a statement so prejudicial to his character, he had no alternative but to give to the world his own version of the circumstances under which he was separated from the original body of Methodists, and united to the most recent of its numerous offshoots. The Wesleyan Conference have to thank the temerity of Mr. Bunting for the publication of a pamphlet which places their policy in no very favourable light. In 1835, they promulgated a sort of code of new laws, in many important respects at variance with another code adopted

element in computing the several forces of the community. And, even now, when its adherents are too considerable to escape the notice of the most indifferent, it is a thing of which

and promulgated by the Conference of 1797, and by which the Connexion was governed from that time till the year 1835. Mr. Eckett, who entered the Connexion, and filled simultaneously the offices of leader, local preacher, steward, and trustee, under the regime of 1797, had strong objections to the new regulations, as virtually a repeal of the old, and, being prevented by those very regulations from expressing his objections in a constitutional manner, had recourse to means of doing so open to him as the inhabitant of a free country. For this, he was summoned as a private member of the Wesleyan society before the authorized tribunal; and, his violation of the rules of 1835 having been proved, he was formally expelled by the fiat of his superintendent, and, in being expelled, was degraded from all his offices. Thus excluded from the parent body, he aided in the formation of the Wesleyan-Methodist Association, of which he may be regarded as one of the founders and most distinguished members. 'I acted,' he observes, 'in the way that Dr. Candlish, and other ministers of the Free Church of Scotland, more recently adopted to make known their differences with the church of Scotland, from which they have separated. Many respected ministers, both Independents and Baptists, willingly lent the dissenters from Conference Methodism their chapels, to hold meetings for the exposition of their sentiments and grievances: in like manner, many Conference Methodist superintendents have allowed Methodist chapels to be occupied by the ministers of the Free Church of Scotland. It is also worthy of remark, that the principles inculcated in both cases are somewhat similar. The Wesleyan-Methodist Association objected to the absolute authority claimed by the Methodist Conference to rule the societies according to the laws of 1835, and contrary to the laws of 1797; asserting that the lay officers of the societies should have an effective voice in the administration of discipline over the members of the societies: and the members of the Free Church of Scotland objected to the setting aside of the Veto Act, and claimed for the people the right of having an effective voice as to the appointment of their ministers. * * * * Let it therefore be remembered by Mr. Bunting and his brethren, that whatever measure of displeasure they may think themselves justified in manifesting towards me, they are equally entitled to receive equal displeasure from the ministers of the established church of Scotland. The same reasons which will justify the public exposure of the differences in the Scottish church, will justify the public exposure of, in my judgment, the not less serious evils contained in the present laws of Conference Methodism!' By the clearest and strongest evidence, Mr. Eckett proves,—that, on the death of Mr. Wesley in 1791, the preachers attempted to exercise over the people that absolute authority which had seldom been disputed to him; that the people resisted the attempt; that, in 1794, the preachers were obliged to make a show of concession; that, in 1795, further concessions were wrung from them; that, in 1797, the people, still dissatisfied, compelled the Conference to declare a sort of constitution; that, in 1828, a question arose between the preachers and the people as to the right interpretation of some of the articles in that constitution; that this question was from time to time debated with increasing bitterness; that, in 1835, the Conference terminated the controversy with new enactments, directly opposed to the view taken by the people of the disputed portions of the laws of 1797; and that, while the latter, fairly interpreted and acted upon, secured the just rights and liberties of the people, the laws of 1835 were entirely subversive of

the most observant know but little more than its existence. Our present design is to diminish an amount of ignorance so strange and culpable.

those rights and liberties, 'requiring such submission to ministerial authority as is inconsistent with the usages of all other protestant communities, and with the teachings of the Holy Scriptures.' These conclusions are sustained with an amount of proof perfectly irresistible. Mr. Eckett is master of his subject, and has treated it with a calmness that inspires confidence, and a perspicuity that promotes conviction. We are tolerably well versed in the controversy, and we know of no other publication in which it is so luminously illustrated. It forms an instructive page in the ecclesiastical history of the nineteenth century, though a page, in many respects, more suited to the fifteenth. But, while we thank Mr. Bunting for having provoked a publication so valuable and interesting, we (like its excellent author) 'must be permitted to say, that, unless such proceedings are carefully avoided, the movement now making for promoting Christian union, will tend to aggravate sectarian controversy and encourage the spirit of sectarian persecution.'

The author of 'The Round (or circuit) Preacher,' professes to give 'a faithful picture of the state of modern Methodism,' his moral being 'the dreadful evils which arise from schism.' But for one circumstance, we might suspect him to be the son of a Wesleyan minister, solicitous to prove the sincerity of his new-born churchmanship by reviling his father's religious connections. The circumstance referred to occurs in the 'Appendix, note A.', where we are told, 'My father was suspected of sympathising with a disaffected party at Leeds. The leader of this party was a Mr. Kilham, a travelling preacher. The introduction of an organ into one of the chapels at Leeds, was used as an occasion for the outbreak. They petitioned Conference for the removal of their grievances. And when they could obtain nothing more than their slight mitigation, they left the body, and, forming a new sect, assumed the name of the Methodist New Connexion.' A writer who knows no better than to confound the origin of the Methodist New Connexion in 1795, with the Leeds schism in 1827-8, which issued in the formation of the body called 'Protestant Methodists,' afterwards merged into the Wesleyan-Methodist Association of 1835,—must not expect to be regarded as giving 'faithful pictures of the state of modern Methodism.' Of his competency in other respects, we may judge from the first two sentences of 'Note B.' 'The term of probation lasts four years. When ended, the *novitiates* are received into full connexion by the imposition of hands.' It is evident the writer is, himself, a 'novitiate,' and will always remain a 'novitiate.' This ignoramus reminds us of a certain popular evangelical clergyman who entered the Church in revenge for being voted incompetent to the functions of a Wesleyan local preacher! At page 56, we have a sample of his *Cambridge* lore, where he describes a flashy local preacher 'with rings on his fingers, and chains crossing his waistcoat at *triangles*; and a huge bunch of seals and keys *suspended* to a black watered ribbon!' 'The Round Preacher' is a vulgar caricature, purporting to contain the autobiography of a superfine son of a Wesleyan, who, before he had ceased to be a 'novitiate,' grew disgusted with the associations of his office, and seceded to the Established Church. The selection of characters is made with a view to accumulate upon the head of Wesleyanism every thing mean, base, sordid, grovelling, and ludicrous. Such traits may, no doubt, be found within the Wesleyan body; but they equally occur in all bodies: even the Church of England has its Gathercoles. 'The Round Preacher' allows to Wesleyanism no alloy of good,

We shall not enter into the history of the rise and progress of Methodism; for that would carry us far beyond the limits prescribed. Nor shall we be tempted to treat the subject controversially; which would be attended with a like result. Our simple purpose is, to furnish a succinct description of METHODISM AS IT IS, drawn from personal knowledge and observation, and from other sources of undeniable authenticity.

The supreme governing authority in the Wesleyan body, of which we now speak, is *the Conference*, at once the legislature and the high court of appeal.* Ministers and members have no alternative but to do its bidding. It is composed exclusively of the clergy. No private member, no layman, is admitted, even as a spectator. It sits with closed doors, jealously guarded. The *legal* Conference consists of a hundred ministers, vacancies being filled up partly by election, and partly according to seniority; but all who have been received into full connexion

represents rare instances as common characteristics, magnifies every real defect, introduces upon the scene the pure creations of the author's distempered fancy, and spoils those few passages which approach to 'a faithful picture,' with dashes of gross calumny and exaggeration. 'The preaching couple' is, for the most part, a sheer fabrication. The preaching of women is discouraged, and not, under any circumstances, permitted, without the joint approval of the superintendent and the quarterly meeting. We doubt if there is now a single voucher in the Connexion for the *Rev.* 'Mrs. Sleekface.' The author designs the feigned conversion of her daughters to reflect discredit upon the mother, and to excite sympathy for the amiable and oppressed hypocrites; whereas the effect is exactly the reverse: the mother's previous anxiety and subsequent joy make us forget her sordid temper and Caudle-like ebullitions; while the deliberate deception practised by the daughters excuses, if it does not vindicate, the severity of the maternal rule. The description of a love-feast is one of the truest things in the book, especially the speech of the little old woman who pinched herself to pay her class-money, making 'sure she should never be a loser for 't i' the end, *as the preachers allas tells us*:' but even this is marred with many improbabilities. The attempts to hit off Dr. Newton, the late 'Billy Dawson,' and some other platform speakers, under slight changes of name, are miserable failures; but the doings of 'Mr. Rivers, the converted squire,' though, through the native incapacity of the artist, wanting in graphic force, are by no means over-drawn. The volume terminates with three colloquies between the author and John Wesley's ghost, introduced to make him eat his own words against the exclusive claims of episcopal ordination, condemn modern Methodism as wholly alien from his design, and encourage the interlocutor in conforming to the Established Church. How particularly well qualified Mr. 'Sparks' is to give verisimilitude to such scenes, will be apparent to those who know that Mr. Wesley was of *Zacchean* stature, when we mention that he describes the apparition as 'a *tall* personage coming towards him.' In one word, 'The Round Preacher' is a pointless Parthian arrow!

* 'An appeal to any civil jurisdiction is a violation of an established rule of our society, as well as of the law of the New Testament; and he who takes such a step, forfeits his right of appeal to the Conference.'—*Grindrod's Compendium*, p. 30.

(alias, ordained) have the privilege of a vote; except that only those who have been fourteen years in the ministry, can join in the election of the president and the secretary, and in elections to fill up the legal hundred: even the youngest minister, however, may be present.' The votes of the Conference at large, which generally numbers from four hundred to five hundred ministers, subsequently receive the formal ratification of the legal Conference, the constant presence of forty of whom is necessary to render the acts of the Conference valid. The sittings are annual, in July and August, usually occupying from two to three weeks, and are held in rotation in London, Manchester, Liverpool, Bristol, Sheffield, Leeds, Birmingham, and Newcastle-on-Tyne. By means of almost unexampled order and industry, and of a well-digested scheme of preparatory committees, a vast complexity of business is transacted with equal exactness and dispatch. Of what is done, no more transpires by authority than it is deemed expedient to insert in the published selection from the 'Minutes.' For example: 'Are there any complaints against any of our preachers? Answer: *They were examined one by one**.' The most important and difficult business of the Conference is the stationing of the ministers. But this work is facilitated by the appointment of 'representatives,'—representatives, not of the people, but only of their brother ministers in various localities,—who constitute 'the stationing committee,' and submit their rough draft of the stations for final revision by the Conference. The people, in their several circuits, are indeed permitted to petition the Conference for this minister or against that; but their petitions are not always regarded, and they have ultimately no choice but to receive and support such ministers as it may please the Conference to send them. This unique body reigns equally supreme in all other connexional concerns; enacting new laws, or repealing old; determining finally every question of doctrine, discipline, or finance; appointing to every ministerial office; and, in short, exercising a sovereign sway in all the affairs of the community†.

The Conference is itself, however, subject to rule—the rule of one of its own members. In every deliberative assembly there will naturally arise leading minds—individuals whose superior talents, knowledge, wisdom, judgment, or discretion, are gene-

* Minutes of Conference, *de anno in annum*.

† We learn from Mr. Grindrod (note, pp. 9—10) that the Conference affect a 'parliamentary verbiage.' The speakers used to say, 'this house,' and 'this or the other side of the house;' but they have lately substituted 'this Conference.' The members still addict themselves to audible expressions of applause and disapprobation, which Mr. Grindrod censures with all the unction of a vicar-apostolic. One of the authorised rules of debate is, 'Be quite easy, if a majority decide against you!'

rally acknowledged, and gain for them the confidence of those of their compeers whose opinions they reflect. Thus we see Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, and Lord George Bentinck, the accredited leaders of different sections of the House of Commons; as also, before the disruption, Drs. Chalmers and Cooke were severally at the head of the non-intrusionists and moderates in the general assembly of the church of Scotland. But we almost uniformly find, that the tendency of such arrangements to degenerate into an autocratic despotism, is checked by the division of legislative assemblies into opposing, and consequently neutralizing parties. In the Wesleyan Conference this can hardly be said to be the case. That body being, as we have seen, composed of ministers, to the entire exclusion of the laity, not only as members, but even as spectators, the ordinary occasions of party strife are, for the most part, cut off. An *esprit de corps*, not surpassed in cohesive force by that which animates and binds together the compactest of the monastic orders, is naturally developed; and each man, having entered the Wesleyan ministry with a full knowledge of the prerogatives and powers claimed for it, so far from being under any temptation to introduce discord into councils which have for their prime end the preservation of the system in its integrity, is rather engaged by his very position to promote an hierarchical unanimity.

These circumstances must be taken into the account, in considering the absolute sway exercised by the celebrated JABEZ BUNTING in the affairs of the Wesleyan Connexion. It is a favourite boast with the loose-tongued Wesleyans, that the president of their Conference possesses more power than the Archbishop of Canterbury; but Dr. Bunting possesses more power than the president, except when he happens himself to occupy the chair,—an honour that has fallen to his lot more frequently than to that of any other man, living or dead. This imputation, as though it implied disgrace, has often been denied; but its truth is too notorious to need the support of oaths or affidavits. At present, the presidential chair is worthily filled by a gentleman of independent mind, whose election was proclaimed as a triumph over the great leader of the body; but we have no doubt that he permitted it, willing, though at the expense of a construction unfavourable to himself, that the established clergy, who have of late been troublesome to our Wesleyan brethren as well as to other nonconformists, should learn a lesson from the elevation of an avowed and a sturdy dissenter to the conferential chair. The venerable JACOB STANLEY is no mere puppet, moving as the wires are pulled; but, even during *his* year of office, the Connexion has remained, as every

Wesleyan knows, really under the government of its permanent dictator, whose talents and (we are bound to add) whose virtues have raised him to this high position.

JABEZ BUNTING was born about the year 1780, at or near Monyash in Derbyshire. His father was by trade a tailor, and in humble circumstances. Both his parents were members of the Wesleyan society; and by his pious mother he was named *Jabez* soon after birth. The family removed to Manchester while he was yet a child; and his first teacher was John Holt, a Wesleyan local preacher, who kept a school in Oldham-street. He was afterwards admitted into the free grammar-school, where he is said to have attracted the attention of the celebrated Dr. Percival, founder of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester; who, perceiving him to be a sharp boy, took him into his service, and ultimately employed him as an amanuensis. It is a sufficient proof of his good conduct, that his old master appointed him one of his executors. In this situation, the education of young Jabez proceeded, if not with scholastic regularity, yet in such a manner as to elicit and cultivate his peculiar talents. While reaping its advantages, he was so happy as to avoid its disadvantages. Though surrounded by Unitarians, of whom his learned patron was one, he, at an early period, joined the Wesleyan society. Among his first religious associates, was the late Mr. James Wood, of Manchester, who remained his bosom friend through life, seconding him in his plans for the benefit of the Connexion with almost unequalled munificence, and considered as having had more influence with him than any other layman in the body. But the turning point in the history of Dr. Bunting is traceable to the appointment of the Rev. William Thompson to the Manchester circuit in the critical year 1797-8. This Methodist sage, who presided at the first Conference after Mr. Wesley's decease, took young Jabez by the hand, and is supposed not only to have given him the rudiments of his Methodistico-legislative learning, but also to have inspired him with a *passion* for such pursuits. Under the auspices of this Mentor, he entered, in 1799, upon itinerant life. His first circuit was Oldham; his first superintendent, the Rev. John Gaulter,—a man of gentlemanly manners, amiable disposition, various though crude attainments, and who used to boast that he 'loved every pin and screw in Methodism.' The youth of Jabez, his talents, and his easy, graceful, serious, warm, and natural address, procured him a second year's appointment to Oldham. The present century he began in Macclesfield, where, also, he spent two years, during which he escaped being sent by Dr. Coke on a mission to Gibraltar, and

fell into the toils of love. The Wesleyan Connexion owe it, perhaps, to the clever woman who became his first wife, that he did not devote himself to missionary labour. Nor is this the only obligation conferred upon them by the late Mrs. Bunting, who, both as a wife and as a mother, was peculiarly adapted to aid in the formation of a character for public life. Through the influence of the Rev. Walter Griffith,—a man who united the gentlest manners with the firmest principles, and of whom it is recorded that he deliberately refused to meet death with his faculties clouded by opiates,—Mr. Bunting passed from Macclesfield to London, where his reputation was already such that he preached before the Sunday-school Union, a discourse published by request under the title of 'A Great Work.' After a sojourn of two years in the metropolis, he was removed to Manchester, where he first distinguished himself as an advocate for ecclesiastical order, in a joint pamphlet against some troublesome insurgents called 'the Bandroom party.' From this time, although still young, he may be regarded as one of the leading men in the Connexion. No man ever rose so rapidly. By unprecedented strides, he stepped successively into the highest offices. With every fresh circuit, he gained new and more extensive popularity; and, while a general favourite among the people, as speedily acquired the almost universal confidence of his ministerial brethren. They recognised in him one who had well studied the Wesleyan economy, who possessed a remarkable talent for government and administration, and who was capable of comprehending in his grasp the largest interests, prompt in fertile expedients for every emergency, and far-sighted in his estimate of the future. Four times has he been elected to the chair of Conference; and for many years he has filled the two most distinguished permanent offices in the Connexion,—those of President of the Wesleyan Theological Institution, in its two branches at Richmond and Didsbury, and of Principal Secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. Resident in London, but at liberty to travel when and where he pleases, his sagacious eye is constantly cast over all the interests of the Wesleyan church; information pours in to him from every corner of the kingdom and from every quarter of the globe; and often as the Conference comes round, he astonishes yet more and more his admiring and confiding brethren, with his intimate and perfect knowledge of the affairs of their whole body, and with the unhesitating and almost unerring wisdom that enables him to surmount every difficulty, anticipate every necessity, and satisfy every demand.

Of the mode and character of his administration there are various opinions, modified by the aspects under which it is

viewed, the feelings of parties, and their opportunities of information. Some are altogether eulogistic, others qualify their commendations with a dilution of censure, while others again see more to censure than to applaud. 'During the last thirty years,' says the late Rev. Edmund Grindrod,* 'our legislation bears intrinsic evidence of being the production of one superior mind. Other parties may have contributed original suggestions and emendations. But it is obvious that one master hand, for the last generation, has framed the great majority of the acts of our Conference. Besides many minor regulations dispersed through our annual minutes, the invaluable system of finance, particularly in the department of the Contingent Fund, the entire constitution of the Missionary Society, of the Theological Institution, and of our Sunday Schools, were framed by the same honoured minister. May the future leaders in our spiritual Israel be adorned with the same virtues which have so eminently characterised his honourable and useful career!'

With this brief testimony, which, though it proceeds from a gentleman who owed a great deal to the object of his eulogy, is by no means overcharged, may be contrasted that of another writer†, who has had equal opportunities with Mr. Grindrod of forming a correct judgment, without, however, having equal inducements to take a favourable view,—who, indeed, acknowledges that, 'as an individual, he is in love with neither the spirit nor the policy of the gentleman in question.' By this critic he is regarded as a ruler, a politician, and a financier. As a ruler, he is deemed despotic both by nature and from art. This temper is thought to have involved him in numerous Wesleyan broils,—in the band-room fracas, at Manchester; in the squabble about teaching writing on Sundays, at Sheffield; in another Sunday-school agitation, during his second station at Manchester; in the miserable organ schism, at Leeds; and in the famous prosecution of Dr. Warren, wherein he was right enough as to the man, but very far wrong as to the principles. As a politician, he has credit for great foresight, caution, judgment, and what, but for the influence of religion, would degenerate into low cunning; and, 'being fond of his own measures, he is naturally jealous of those of others, and not always nice, either as to means or expression, in the way of opposition.' His chief excellence is thought to lie in the exchequer department. He is *au fait* at estimates, and considerably up to ways and means. His calculations can seldom be impugned, and his budget generally passes without a division, although the conse-

* Compendium of the Laws and Regulations of Wesleyan Methodism. Introduction. 1842.

† Manuscript, 1844.

quent monetary pressure may sometimes elicit a few murmurs. It is questioned whether he has not devoted himself too much to the mint, anise, and cummin, and too little to judgment, mercy, and truth; too much to the income and expenditure of the Connexion, and too little to the spiritual advance or decline of the people; too much to the pocket, and too little to the heart. He is more than suspected of an idolatrous homage for the great and rich. His vote for Lord Sandon in 1833, is remembered against him by others besides anti-slavery men; nor do his selections for the chair at the annual meetings of the Wesleyan Missionary Society always escape animadversion. He may be influenced by the colour of men's politics as well as of their money; but, in the furtherance of his plans, he is observed too frequently to associate with himself men of large property and little piety. His eloquence is of a high order, but it is that of a pleader rather than an orator; and, especially in later life, his public career has been much more that of a man of business, than of a minister of religion. Among the connexional measures of which he is the author, are enumerated,—the sanction of organs in chapels; the law which qualifies ministers of fourteen years' standing to vote in elections to the 'high offices'* of president and secretary; the holding of public missionary meetings, which began at Leeds, and which was for some time strongly opposed by many of the older and more influential ministers; the appointment of a separate house and premises for the missionary secretary and the business of the Missionary Society; the establishment of the Theological Institution, which, however desirable in itself, was carried with a high hand; the stationing of the president in London, on his election to office; with many other measures of minor significance. It is added, in proof of his forecast, that there is hardly one measure of his, by which he has not personally profited. The fourteen-year men, outvoting the 'grave and reverend,' but no longer 'most potent seniors,' immediately rewarded his successful exertions, by putting him into the presidential chair, to which he had paved for himself this shorter road. The missionary meetings resulted in the secretaryship. Mission premises gave additional permanency to the office, with a station in London. And the Theological Institution involved his appointment to the presidency thereof. His policy, it is remarked, never quits him.† By various contrivances, he has managed, without directly trenching on Methodist law, to neutralise, for the furtherance of his designs, the itinerant principle. Nearly half his connexional life has been spent in

* Grindrod, p. 3.

† See 'Fly-Sheets,' No. II., p. 15, respecting Mr. Fowler.

London. The law is, that no man shall stay longer than three years in a circuit, nor return to it till after the lapse of eight years; but, by dividing London into many circuits, he has made it possible for a minister, like Cowper's fire-side traveller, to pass a great part of his *itinerant* career without once getting into a railway train, or, like the hand of a clock, to reach the utmost circumference without straying from that influential centre. By these and similar arts, he has obtained such a position as to get himself and his immediate friends placed on all the connexional committees. Thus the metropolis has become the seat of empire for the *imperium* as well as for the *imperio*;* only, the former being an ecclesiastical affair, the council chamber is found, not in Downing-street, but in the more appropriate locale of *Bishops*gate. Some of the arts attributed to him are vulgar enough, and would almost be dignified by being described as 'low cunning.' He waits till others have spoken in the Conference, to have the advantage of making the last impression. He defers, till near the close of its sittings, when the majority of the brethren have gone home, his more questionable measures. At the Conference of 1843 or 1844, for instance, he is said to have obtained by this wretched stratagem, a veto for the London committee, authorizing them to reject a candidate for the ministry, after having passed not only the Quarterly Meeting, not only the District Meeting, but even the Conference itself,—a point opposed by different district committees the year before, when hinted to them in a printed circular. He is regarded as having too much lost sight of the true ends of Methodism, as a system for the conversion of men, in his prevailing desire to aggrandise it in the eyes of the public. Hence, it is alleged, there is a great deal of glare and glitter about his measures. Every thing is calculated to strike and impress. The Centenary Hall was designed to make folk stare. 'Is not this great Babylon that I have built?' Every connexional office, from the highest to the lowest, has participated in his spirit, and been invested with an authority challenging awe, and adapted to extort obedience from fear, rather than to induce it from love; he himself being more feared than loved by his brethren. His close study of public events, and his frequent attendance in the gallery of the House of Commons, are thought to have been made subservient to his purposes. He is charged with having brought the politician and the statesman into the church, and with turning to account any hint or lesson in tactics, policy, finance, or government, which his quick observation may have picked up in the purlieus of parliament. It is not denied that his

* Southey, in the Preface to his Life of Wesley, designates the Wesleyan body as an '*imperium in imperio*.'

administration, 'with all its blemishes,' has been productive of 'great good;' but it is bitterly lamented that his line of procedure has had the effect, even within the walls of the Conference, of fostering 'the spirit of suspicion,' in place of 'the frankness of brotherhood.' In fine, so far as the present authority deponeth, 'Dr. Bunting's power is unbounded, and is often withering in its effect on free discussion,—too great, indeed, for the safety of the body and for the comfort of his brethren; and he will serve as a warning to them in future, to check the risings of any other aspirant who may seek to tread in his steps. So much for the ONE MAN who is *alone* amidst the thousands of our Israel, standing like a tall column in the centre of a vast plain, *seen* by all and *over* all.'

The foregoing sketch of the man who has mainly contributed to make Methodism what it has become during the first half of the nineteenth century, is obviously one-sided; and, though, it may be, perfectly true in each particular, is so largely composed of objections, apart from what is praiseworthy, as to produce an effect which neither honest truth nor equal justice would quite warrant. We have seen each side presented by itself: let us now see both sides together—if possible, a true picture of the whole man, nothing extenuating nor setting down aught in malice. There lies upon our table an anonymous volume,* in which, under the mysterious heading 'No. I. * * * * * * *,' we find a sketch of character which we have no hesitation in applying to the subject in hand. The volume itself excited, on its publication, so lively an interest in Wesleyan circles, that every one was curious to ascertain the pen from which it had proceeded; and we believe an investigation not easily to be paralleled beyond the walls of the Holy Inquisition, was instituted in the Conference itself, with the view, if possible, to decide the interesting question. For our own part, we never had a doubt upon the subject. It is said that only an Apelles can paint an Alexander: sure we are that none but the man himself could paint with such literal fidelity as we discover in one of the hundred portraits of this Wesleyan gallery. Why the Conference should have been in such a taking about these 'takings,' we never could make out. The limner holds a free, yet faithful pencil; and his sketches, though spirited, are not exaggerated: even when sarcastic, he is not acrimonious. Dr. Bunting's sycophants may foolishly resent any thing which intimates his kinship to the fallen race of Adam; but he is himself too magnanimous to wish, like Wolsey, to be portrayed only on the better side of his face, well aware that such a step would warrant less flattering painters in exhibiting the worse alone. The fair-dealing artist of whose full-length painting

* Wesleyan Takings, 2d edition, 1840.

we now propose to give a reduced drawing, has avoided both extremes. He begins by describing the gentleman for whose actual name, instead of the needless superscription 'This is a lion,' he has substituted the complimentary symbol of *seven stars*, as a luminary in the Wesleyan sky which early reached its zenith. He did not rise to his pre-eminent altitude by a succession of slow and progressive steps, but started up to it at once. Yet he really disregards popularity. Excepting his incomparable judgment, he is not so much remarkable for the brilliancy of any one trait, as for the rare combination and harmonious constellation of all. He has undertaken nothing in which he has not succeeded; and, severe as he sometimes is, and not over solicitous to heal a wound after he has made it, he has never violated a single principle of honour, justice, or the higher dignity of man. His influence has never been known to wane. His measures, always well matured, are generally fortified by a case of necessity for their ultimate adoption; and, though sometimes they are prematurely pressed, and enforced with arguments more taking and plausible than solid and convincing, yet the multitude are, by skilful generalship, surprised into their adoption. His paramount authority is admitted, and perceived to be extremely liable to abuse; yet, how has he obtained it? Not by fraud, not by misconduct; but by devoting his superior talents to promote, not selfish objects, but the best interests of the Connexion. As a speaker, his peculiar strength is in reply. See him in the Conference. There he sits on the platform. With hand behind ear, he gathers the words of the brother who is speaking. Are any of his favourite views impugned, his keen grey eye shoots lynx-like along the line of sound, and quails or rouses the speaker. At length, all else have spoken, and the *rex idem hominum Dominique sacerdos* rises to his feet. All is silence and expectation. The feelings of the previous speakers refer quite as much to themselves as to the subject; and all are sensible that 'the fate of the question absolutely hangs upon his breath.' He never approaches a subject without illuminating it, and rarely retires from the field without conquest; followed by the applauding smiles of his friends, and leaving the opposing powers in a state of suspense or blank astonishment. 'For reply, we never heard a near approach to him. His replies are like the set speeches of some of our first speakers; so full, so regular, so neat, so consecutive, so pertinent, so easy, so ready.' He has the reputation of being arbitrary and personal; but he is at least disinterested,* and, in a case of culpability, will as soon fly in the face of a friend as of a foe. 'Meet him as an opponent, and he is

* See, however, 'Fly-Sheets,' No. II., p. 5, note, and p. 22. See, also, pp. 7, 8, for a curious note.

terrible; take him as a friend, and success is certain; even to men of minor talents, over whom he may extend the fostering shadow of his wing.' In speaking, natheless, he never soars, being without the requisite pinions,—fancy, imagination, genius. His mind is purely metaphysical; but he is always clear, luminous, and instructive, displaying the results of meditation rather than of reading. His speaking, ever spontaneous, is by turns pathetic or powerful. In prayer, he is remarkably fervent. His writings are few, and are not likely to become more numerous. His fame will never extend beyond the limits of his own communion; but, in the list of its men of renown, the name of BUNTING will rank next to that of WESLEY.

If this brief and imperfect sketch of the redoubtable chief of the Wesleyan Connexion should have been tedious to the reader, our apology is, that a description of METHODISM AS IT IS without a somewhat particular mention of the man who has *made* it what it is, would have been as defective as the play of Hamlet with the Prince of Denmark omitted.

The *District Meeting*, already incidentally referred to, comes next to the Conference. It is understood to have been devised by the gentleman who inducted Dr. Bunting into the Wesleyan mysteries. It bears a relation to the Conference, analogous to that which Synods in Scotland bear to General Assemblies. Like the Conference, it is composed of ministers exclusively, except that certain lay-officers are occasionally present during the transaction of purely financial business. England is divided into twenty-nine districts, passing under the names of the chief towns comprised within them, as 'The London District,' 'The Manchester District,' 'The Hull District,' and so on. In this court, all the regular ministers within the bounds of the district, have a seat; but probationers have no vote. Its sessions recur twice a year; once before the Conference, to prepare the business of the district for its review; and a second time afterwards, to arrange the financial affairs of the district. Each district has its chairman, (invested with a kind of prelatical rank and episcopal authority,) and its financial secretary, both of whom are appointed by the Conference; the chairman, however, being liable to deposition by the district meeting, and to all its ordinary powers, in common with his brethren. Besides the regular meetings, provision is made for Special, Mixed, and Minor District Meetings, under special and extraordinary circumstances.

At the regular district meetings in May, a minute inquiry is instituted into the character and conduct of each minister, and the result reported to the Conference. The principal questions are: '1. Is there any objection to his moral and religious character? 2. Does he believe and preach *our* doctrines? 3. Has

he duly observed and enforced our discipline? 4. Has he [no matter how long he may have been in the ministry] competent abilities for our itinerant work?' Separate answers to each of these questions in relation to each of the ministers (in number from twenty to fifty), are expected to appear in the district minutes. If during the previous year any minister have married, it is inquired whether he has married 'in the Lord;' and, if not, he is reported to the Conference. And, even though he have married 'in the Lord,' yet, if he 'took a step towards marriage, without first consulting with his brethren, with the superintendent,' or 'chief pastor' in each circuit*, 'in particular,' but 'not excluding his other ministerial colleagues,' the Conference is to be informed that this 'important direction has been violated.' We presume it is the object of this regulation to promote *mariages de convenance* among the ministers, and especially to prevent them from marrying out of the Connexion, which is expressly condemned as 'highly inexpedient and dangerous.' Any minister who marries a woman without her parents' consent, is, on proof thereof, liable to be excluded from the Connexion; but the rule is rendered ambiguous by qualifying clauses, and of this ambiguity a very respectable minister reaped the advantage, who ran away with a rich heiress in the north. If any minister is found to have engaged in trade, he is to be excluded from the itinerant plan. Ministers are forbidden to issue political circulars addressed to Methodists distinctively. Summary proceedings may be instituted against delinquent ministers without previous notice; and any man who refuses to take his trial, is, *ipso facto*, suspended till the Conference. It is a principal part of the business of the district meeting to examine persons approved by the March quarterly meetings of their respective circuits, and recommended by their respective superintendents, for admission as probationers into the regular ministry. A most searching string of interrogatories is put, relating to their conversion, *present* Christian experience, call to the ministry, proved capability and usefulness in preaching, theological opinions and reading, familiarity with Mr. Wesley's writings, knowledge and approval of the Methodist discipline and readiness to observe and enforce it, belief in the perpetual and universal obligation of the Christian sabbath, and willingness to be employed by the Conference 'in any part of the world.' The following questions are also asked: 'Are you under any matrimonial engagement? Do you take no snuff, tobacco, or drams? Are you free from debt?' Although these

* The superintendent has a kind of archidiaconal authority over the other ministers in his circuit, and over its affairs in general. The other preachers are pledged 'reverently to obey their chief ministers;' which means the superintendent of the circuit, and the chairman of the district.

questions are somewhat precise and minute, and are sometimes, as to some of them at least, evaded, yet their importance is self-evident, and has often been demonstrated in the history of the Connexion. From the days of Mr. Wesley, the Conference has anxiously aimed to guard against the scandals arising from fickleness and flirtations on the part of young ministers in relation to women. On this subject, other denominations might learn a useful lesson from their practice. Some of their rules may seem over-prying, and are doubtless liable to vexatious and annoying abuse; yet, when it is considered that the Connexion takes upon itself the separate maintenance of every minister's wife, and that the usages of Methodism bring her into contact with the interests of the body at nearly as many points as her husband, it is but reasonable that the authorities should have some guarantee for her character being such as will comport with her circumstances; nor ought the prohibition of marriage during the period of ministerial probation (four years), to be invidiously compared to the enforced celibacy of the Romish priesthood, since it would be unreasonable to expect the Conference to support a man's wife until the man himself has been commended to their definitive approval; to say nothing of the *double* disappointment of a rejected candidate, who should have taken to himself a wife on the faith of his acceptance. The aim of the Conference would seem to be, to fulfil, without overstepping, the twofold maxim :—

> 'Choose not alone a proper mate,
> But proper time to marry.'

We can assure our fair friends, that this part of the Wesleyan practice, so far from being tainted with Malthusian rigour, is dictated quite as much by a tender regard for their sex as by considerations of mere ecclesiastical convenience. There is no class of offenders with whom the body deals more severely than with those who are unfaithful to the vows of love. One of the greatest lights of the Connexion, notwithstanding his high promise, most narrowly escaped exclusion on the charge of having 'two strings to his bow;' and we believe that every clear case of positive unfaithfulness is mercilessly visited with the extreme penalty. The law against snuff and tobacco, on the contrary, too frequently terminates in *smoke*. A gentleman who, though now filling high office in the Connexion, is not too old to have been but a boy when it first became the fashion for 'prentice lads to puff cigars, had contracted the habit of smoking before he began to preach, and well knew that he should be confronted with the tobacco question. 'I take you to witness,' said he, on the day of his examination, (and, taking the pipe out of his mouth as he spoke, he laid it on the table,) 'that I

now give up smoking.' On the strength of this resolution, he boldly faced the testing interrogatory, though how he shaped his negative we cannot precisely say. All we know is, that, before night, he called the same company to witness, (and suited the action to the word,) that he had taken to smoking again!* Similar, though not quite so equivocal, is the story which Adam Clarke (author, by-the-bye, of a pamphlet rivalling King James's 'Counterblast' in its diatribes upon the votaries of the weed) narrates concerning himself. On the day appointed for his final examination by the Conference, he was walking with another minister in the streets of Bristol, when a beggar asked an alms; and, having no copper about him, he borrowed a halfpenny of his companion to relieve the case. As he relates, just before the question 'Are you in debt?' came upon him, it flashed across his memory that he had not refunded; but he answered with an air of quiet confidence: 'Not a *penny!*'

The special examination of probationers is renewed by the district meeting from year to year. Imprimis, each of them is required to deliver to his chairman a list of the books which he has read in the interval,—a regulation which, if it seem rather inquisitorial, has the compensating advantage of fortifying young minds against temptation, and of guarding embryo divines against allowing Dickens and Eugene Sue to rival too much Butler and Howe, while it needs not prevent them from agreeably diversifying Mr. Wesley's Sermons with his 'Harry Earl of Moreland!' Were the questions which the Methodist novice has to answer from year to year compared with Andrew Steinmetz's account of the Jesuits' noviciate, it might be difficult to decide which is the more rigid course of discipline. Those questions imply, among a multitude of other things, that the candidates rise at a certain hour (we believe four in summer and five in winter); that they retire for private devotion at fixed hours twice a day; that they meditate at set times, by a fixed rule; that they fast every Friday, taking water-gruel in the morning, dining on potatoes, and, if they want it, eating three or four ounces of flesh in the evening; that, at other times, they eat no flesh suppers, nor more at each meal than is necessary; and that they drink neither wine nor ale, much less spirits. In the fourth of these annual examinations, each probationer brings himself under promise to 'preach *every morning and evening* when opportunity serves.' We believe opportunity seldom serves, now-a-days, in the *morning*; but

* The late Rev. Daniel Isaac was both a great wag and a great smoker. 'Ha! there you are,' cried a lady, who surprised him one day with a pipe in his mouth, 'at your idol again!' 'Yes, madam,' returned he coolly, '*burning* it!'

there are very few *evenings* indeed, on which a Wesleyan minister has not a preaching engagement.

The financial business of the district meeting comprehends the receipt and payment of the Yearly Collection; the investigation of the claims for ordinary deficiencies, (i. e., the excess of liabilities over assets in circuits not able wholly to support themselves,) and the extraordinary deficiencies, (i. e., extra expenses incurred in travelling, by affliction, and other miscellaneous causes); the provisional apportionment of the Children's Fund and the School Fund (for the maintenance and education of ministers' children); the consideration of chapel cases, whether for relief, building, purchase, or enlargement; and the examination of applications for assistance from supernumerary ministers or ministers' widows and orphans.

Various other matters engage the attention of these synodical assemblies. It is their duty to ascertain who of their own number are prepared to engage in foreign missions, what employment each of them has, both on Sundays and on work-days, and what new arrangements are required as to the bounds of each circuit; to make a complete collection of the circuit and district statistics; to elect one of their number to represent the district in the stationing committee at the Conference; and to determine what other ministers shall attend its sittings.

The session of the ordinary district meeting terminates with 'the serious reading and devout consideration of an inimitable compendium of the Wesleyan pastor's duties, drawn up and passed at the Conference of 1820,'—a copious document, which may be regarded as referring, under its thirty distinct heads, to what is desirable rather than to what is attainable. For instance, the resolution to 'have recourse, even in our old established circuits, to the practice of preaching out of doors,' and, 'at least in every large town, to establish weekly meetings for the children of our friends, according to our ancient custom.' This authoritative document contains a passage strikingly indicative of the hierarchical claims of the Wesleyan Conference; 'While we readily and cheerfully protect all our members in meetings in which we preside, in the exercise of such functions as belong to them, according to our laws and general usages, let us not forget that we are under solemn obligations to conduct ourselves on such occasions, not as the mere chairmen of public meetings, but as pastors of Christian societies, put in trust by the ordinance of God, and by their own voluntary *association with us*, with the scriptural *superintendence of their spiritual affairs*, and responsible to the Great Head of the church for the faithful discharge of the duties of that trust.'

The *Financial District Meetings* take place in September, and, after having provided for the carrying out of the pecuniary measures of the Conference, arrange for the holding of missionary meetings for the year ensuing.

The *Special District Meeting*, designed for the settlement, subject to appeal on either side, of differences arising during the intervals of Conference, consists of all the ministers of the district in full connexion, with the addition of four other ministers, chosen in equal numbers by the parties in dispute from any portion of the Connexion, with liberty to the president to take the chair, and call in the secretary of the Conference as his official adviser. Mr. Grindrod thus describes the occasions for which this extraordinary tribunal was intended: '1. When a majority of the members of our local tribunals, or circuit courts, are so misled or corrupted as to resist or desert their pastors in the administration of discipline, and set at defiance the constitutional forms of proceeding against offenders. This was the case at Leeds, in 1827.—2. When a preacher, especially a superintendent, has proved notoriously unfaithful to the trust reposed in him, and, abetted by faction, is spreading revolt and rebellion in the societies in which he stood engaged to the Conference to maintain the entire economy of Methodism. Such was the state of things in the First Manchester circuit in 1834-5.'*

The *Mixed District Meeting* is so called from the circumstance of its being composed of ministers and laymen. It is an expedient first suggested by disputes, at the close of the last century, between the trustees of chapels and the preachers appointed to those chapels, in relation to the administration of baptism and the Lord's-supper therein, and to other matters. It is based upon the principle of enabling, on the one hand, the lay officers connected with a particular society or chapel, (for a circuit comprehends several societies and chapels,) to bring to the bar a minister to whom are imputed delinquencies of which his ministerial brethren decline to take official cognizance; and of protecting, on the other, such accused minister from being summarily ejected from the pulpit on the sole authority of the trustees and other officers connected with the chapel. For this purpose, it is ordered, that, if the majority of the trustees, or the majority of the stewards (deacons) and leaders of any society believe, that any preacher appointed for their circuit is immoral, erroneous in doctrine, deficient in abilities, or has broken any of the rules for the settlement of such disputes as those referred to, they shall have authority to summon the travelling preachers

* Compendium, p. 108.

of the district, and all the trustees, stewards, and leaders of that circuit, to meet in their chapel under the presidency of the chairman of the district; and, if the majority of the meeting are convinced of the justice of the accusation, the offender is to be considered as removed from that circuit, and the district meeting (that is, the ministers apart from the lay officers) may either effect an exchange between him and some other moveable minister, or may suspend him altogether till the Conference.

The *Minor District Meeting* was instituted to meet special cases, in which, to avoid inconvenience, expence, or needless publicity, a select tribunal might be deemed preferable to the convocation of the whole district. It is of two kinds: the first is for the trial of a minister accused of immorality, and for the settlement of differences between two ministers in the same district; the second, to hear appeals from accused members of society against sentence of expulsion, and 'from superintendents of circuits against apparently factious verdicts of leaders' meetings, or for refusing to give any verdict at all.' In all these cases, an appeal lies to the regular district meeting as well as to the Conference. The minor district meeting consists of five ministers; the two parties in dispute choosing two each, and the chairman of the district, or, should he be himself a party, a superintendent chosen by the other members of the court, to preside, with a casting vote. It is worthy of observation, that, in the second sort of minor district meetings, the appeal of a layman is from the sentence of one minister to the judgment of five ministers, two of whom are selected by his accuser; while that of a minister is from the verdict or resolution of a court composed of laymen, to the judgment of a smaller court composed wholly of brother ministers! The same remark applies, and with increased force, when the appeal is carried up to the regular district meeting or to the Conference, both being exclusively ministerial bodies.

We come now to those of the Wesleyan church courts which may be paralleled in the Presbyterian polity, in reference to their composition as well as to their relative place in the ecclesiastical scheme. The highest of these is the *Quarterly Meeting*. As the Presbytery of Edinburgh is composed of the ministers and officers residing in that city, so the Wesleyan quarterly meeting of Edinburgh is composed of the ministers and lay officers within the bounds of the circuit of which that city is the centre. This meeting forms, in one respect, a singular exception to the Wesleyan economy, in which, for the most part, everything is strictly defined. We find nothing in the books, however, defining the composition of the quarterly meeting, which varies according to local circumstances. In some cir-

cuits, it is a kind of open meeting, at which even non-official members may be present; but, in general, it extends or is confined to the officers in the circuit, consisting of ministers, local (or lay) preachers, trustees, stewards, and leaders. In former times, this meeting used to turn its attention to all sorts of subjects, and, in periods of excitement, afforded an opportunity to the laity, of expressing, through their officers, their opinions and feelings, not only concerning matters peculiarly affecting their own circuit, but also on the affairs of other circuits, and of the whole Connexion. Mr. Grindrod, who had had bitter experience of the troublesome interference of *undisciplined* quarterly meetings, contends, not simply for restricting them within the narrow sphere of their own circuits, and prohibiting them from expressions of connexional sympathy, but also for reducing their component parts to more manageable dimensions. 'That trustees, local preachers, and class-leaders, should be *represented* by members of their own bodies, at the quarterly meeting, is readily admitted; but that all persons filling those offices should be at liberty to exercise its franchise, [although *all* the ministers* and *all* the stewards are,] is neither a right nor a safe state of things. In times of peace and tranquillity, [as though the Wesleyan Connexion were a body politic, and must be *governed* accordingly,] no serious inconvenience results from this loose and undefined composition of our quarterly meetings; but, in those *periods of agitation* to which our connexional principle seems to render us liable, its consequences are often very painful and injurious.'† The Conference, sympathizing in the views here expressed, has not indeed attempted a rigid definition as to the composition of this important meeting, (the time for doing that does not seem to have yet arrived,) but has narrowed the sphere of its operations: and accordingly we read, that the quarterly meetings 'have [now] no right to interfere with the affairs or disputes of any other circuit than their own;' and that 'they cannot now [even] address the Conference by memorial, or otherwise, on general connexional matters; that *privilege* (!) being, by the regulations of 1835, [made in consequence of the last 'period of agitation,'] intrusted to our special

* If any minister be obliged to withdraw from a quarterly meeting during the transaction of its business, (although many points may arise, during the discussion of which, delicacy would dictate his voluntary withdrawment,) the meeting is, *ipso facto*, dissolved; and he himself, for consenting to withdraw, liable to due censure at the ensuing Conference. Moreover, the Conference recommends it to the superintendents of circuits to invite, on all important occasions, [i.e., whenever a disturbance is apprehended,] the chairmen of their respective districts to be present at their quarterly meetings!

† Compendium, p. 129.

circuit meetings,'*—of which hereafter. The quarterly meeting never did possess any judicial authority. Its proper business is with the financial affairs of the circuit. It audits the accounts of the stewards, adjusts the claims on the Contingent Fund for the consideration of the district meeting, and deliberates on proposals for chapel building, enlarging, etc. Large circuits cannot be divided into smaller without its approval, which is also necessary before the superintendent can propose a candidate for the regular ministry to the Conference.† It may likewise suspend, for one year, in its own circuit, the operation of any new rule enacted by that assembly, but without 'making it a cause of contention;' and it has 'a right to petition the Conference, from year to year, on the appointment of preachers' to the circuit; but the circuit stewards, themselves the nominees of the superintendent, 'possess exclusively (according to Mr. Grindrod) the right of nomination.'

The *Special Circuit Meeting*, according to Mr. Grindrod, was principally designed 'to afford to the well-affected and peaceable portion of our lay-officers, reasonable facilities for expressing their views and opinions on connexional interests to the Conference.'‡ This new court is thus constituted. After the close of the June quarterly meeting in every year, the superintendent is enjoined to detain all the stewards present; (the stewards being his own nominees, and holding office, not, like the leaders, during good behaviour, but only from year to year;) to ascertain from them, whether, in that circuit, there is any considerable dissatisfaction with any existing rules, or any prevalent desire for new ones; and, if a majority or considerable proportion of them answer in the affirmative, and are of opinion that the occasion demands the calling of a special circuit meeting, the superintendent is directed and required to summon it. It is to consist of all the regular ministers in the circuit, (in full work or supernumerary,) of the circuit stewards, of the town stewards, of country stewards in the proportion of one for each society of fifty members or upwards, of all men class-leaders and local

* Compendium, p. 29.

† 'If, on mature deliberation, it is the conscientious conviction of a majority of the members of a quarterly meeting, in any given instance, that the person proposed to them does not possess the requisite qualifications, and they do therefore pronounce such a judgment, the superintendent's nomination is, as a matter of course, set aside, and he cannot proceed, in that case, *that year*; if, on the other hand, a majority declare in favour of the candidate, their jurisdiction then terminates, and *the ultimate disposal of him from that time rests with the ministry*. In no case does the quarterly meeting propose or recommend; its province is merely to approve or reject the nomination of the superintendent.'—*Grindrod*, p. 25.

‡ Ibid., p. 159.

preachers of ten years' continuous and uninterrupted standing in their offices, and of the trustees of the town chapels, and one trustee of each of the country chapels, (if settled on the Conference plan,) being members of society; the superintendent to take the chair *ex-officio*, or, in his absence, some other minister appointed by him. The only power entrusted to the court thus constituted, is that of memorialising the Conference,—a power to be exercised within the following limitations. The superintendent must have three days' notice of the specific point to be mooted, otherwise the meeting falls to the ground; all memorials are to be confined to such changes only as are 'consistent with the essential principles of Wesleyan Methodism, and within the pale of our established constitution;' the special meeting of one circuit is not to intermeddle with the affairs or proceedings of any other circuit (the Conference as well as the State having its *Correspondence Laws)*;* and, lastly, the rules sought to be repealed, altered, or enacted, are to be such only as relate to 'the government of the societies at large;' 'for,' adds the Conference, 'the disciplinary jurisdiction of the preachers over each other, and their right of regulating among themselves all that relates peculiarly and specifically to the Christian ministry and the pastoral office, are *not to be considered as subjects open to the official interference by memorial of the meetings so constituted.*' Such are the 'reasonable facilities' afforded to the Wesleyan body for acting upon their hierarchy. For example: the expulsion of members on the sole authority of the minister is regarded as 'an essential principle,' a part of the 'established constitution,' peculiarly and specifically relating to 'the pastoral office:' consequently, an alteration in this respect can never even be discussed in a regular meeting of Wesleyans!†

The *Leaders' Meeting* may be compared to the kirk session of

* 'How different the law of Conference Methodism from what might be expected to exist in a '*connexion!*' One would suppose, that, if one part of a connexion suffered, or thought itself to be oppressed, that, at least after it had made its appeal to the preachers in the district meeting, and to the Conference, the case might be made known to and considered in the official meetings of other circuits, for the purpose of their expressing, in a proper way, their opinion to the Conference. Happily, such liberty is allowed to the subjects of this realm, in all cases, as to the law of the land and its highest administration. But it is absolutely forbidden in Conference Methodism!'—*Eckett*, p. 48.

† Mr. Eckett's pamphlet contains a masterly exposure of the futile character of this new-fangled contrivance for more effectually suppressing the complaints of the people, under pretence of providing an opportunity for their utterance. How, he asks, are the stewards to know that there is considerable dissatisfaction, or a strong and extensive wish for change, when every means is adopted to prevent discussion? Why, again, is the new meeting restricted to four days out of the three hundred and sixty-five,

Presbyterians; only the latter has larger powers. This Wesleyan court is composed of the class-leaders, men and women, connected with each society, or chapel, in a circuit. There may be, consequently, as many leaders' meetings in a circuit as there are societies or chapels; a society consisting of those church members in regular attendance at any one chapel. The class-leaders of a circuit have no aggregate meeting. The leaders' meetings are held weekly. The superintendent, or other ministers of the circuit, preside over them, and the connexion of the society-steward with the administration of the Poor's Fund gives him a seat in the meeting. The following are the powers and duties of those who compose the leaders' meeting. Leaders and stewards can be neither appointed nor removed from office without their consent to the nomination or judgment of the superintendent in each case; 'excepting,' as Mr. Grindrod states, 'when the crime proved merits exclusion from membership; in which case, the superintendent [who is the sole judge] can, at once, depose the offender from office and expel him from the society.'* The leaders are to inform the minister of any that are sick, or that walk disorderly, and to pay over to the stewards their week's class-money, exhibiting their books; and the ministers are to examine those books, both in order to ascertain the attendance of the members on their classes, and also in order to see that the weekly contributions have been duly paid for the support of the gospel, or, in other words, for their own maintenance. The morality, punctuality, etc., of all the leaders, are made the special subject of half-yearly inquiry. The leaders' meeting have a right to declare any person on trial (probation) improper to be received into society; and, after such declaration, the superintendent cannot admit the person; but, remarks Mr. Grindrod, 'the power to admit still rests with the pastors. The leaders have a power, *when appealed to*, to say who shall *not* be admitted into society; but it is for their ministers to say who *shall* be admitted.' As to the exclusion of members from the society, the general rule is, 'that no person shall be expelled for immorality, till such immorality be proved

i.e., to not less than seven, nor more than ten days from the day of the June quarterly meeting? Then, the superintendent, or his deputy, can at any time dissolve the meeting by vacating the chair, the meeting having no power to appoint a chairman. If a memorial be adopted, it must be signed 'forthwith,' and placed 'immediately' in the superintendent's hands, without receiving the signatures of absent parties. But what with the formalities imposed, and the limitations fixed, Mr. Eckett is of opinion, that, while, on the one hand, there is no chance of a meeting, on the other there is nothing left open for discussion, 'what is given by one breath of the Conference, being taken away by its successor.'—Pp. 49—57. And yet how plausible the representation made by Mr. Rule in pages 78—9, of his 'Wesleyan Methodism!'

* Compendium, p. 140.

to the satisfaction of a leaders' meeting.' But, in 1835, the Conference adopted some voluminous regulations on the subject, of which, as the point is one of importance, and one which strikingly illustrates the genius of Wesleyan Methodism, it shall be our care to present an accurate analysis.

The superintendent may, if he think proper, exclude a member from society '*quietly*, and as a matter of course, by the preacher's withholding his society-ticket, and erasing his name from the class-book.'* Among the special grounds of exclusion are enumerated, marrying with an unbeliever, keeping or hiring a dancing-master, dealing in accommodation bills, and fraudulent bankruptcy. But the excommunicated party may demand a trial at the leaders' meeting of the particular society with which he was connected. If a majority of the leaders shall be satisfied that sufficient proof is adduced to establish the facts alleged against the individual, and shall give a verdict to that effect, then the leaders' meeting has discharged its whole part, and the case is left in the hands of the superintendent, on whom devolves the sole right and duty of deciding on the measures to be adopted towards the offender in consequence of the verdict of the leaders' meeting. 'These duties and functions the Conference can on no account consent to abandon, or permit to be frittered away; for that would seriously endanger ***** *the rights, liberties, and spiritual privileges of our people!*' afterwards explained to mean 'the *protection* of an accused individual from the effects of personal prejudice and irritation,' etc.; thereby implying, that a member whom the superintendent may have already excluded previously to his appeal to the leaders' meeting, requires the protection of the said superintendent (dispassionate man!) from the personal prejudices of the one or two dozen leaders to whom he has himself appealed! No sentence of expulsion, however, is to be pronounced by the all-powerful superintendent in the same meeting of the leaders as the trial, nor until at least one week after. In difficult or doubtful cases, he is directed not to pronounce sentence without *privately* asking information from individual leaders, or other members of society! In every case of proposed expulsion, he is also to consult his own colleagues. The expelled member,

* 'As a specimen of the nature of Methodistical rules, for the disregard of which members of the society may become thus subject to excommunication, I again quote the following:—'Let no man, nor number of men, in our Connexion, on any account or occasion, circulate letters, call meetings, do or attempt to do anything new, till it has first been appointed by the Conference.' Now, since the passing of the rules of 1835, some members have been put on trial charged only with violating this rule, (which, I confess, appears to me to outrage all decency,) and for its alleged violation have been expelled.'—*Eckett*, pp. 37-8.

having appealed in vain to the powerless leaders' meeting, may prosecute his appeal, if he pleases, to the district meeting, (which may be an appeal from one minister to forty,) and, failing there, to the Conference (an appeal from forty ministers to four hundred). But, if he prefers it, he may, in the first instance, carry his case before a minor district meeting, as described above, with whose decision the appellant may either rest satisfied or appeal onwards to the regular district meeting and the Conference, the like privilege being reserved for the reverend respondent. Reverse the case, and suppose that the leaders' meeting either return a verdict unfavourable to the superintendent's views, or, disapproving of his conduct in the matter, decline to return any verdict at all. In this case, the Conference affords 'the same facilities of redress to a superintendent' as to an excluded member; namely, appeal to a minor district meeting; only it does not clearly appear, whether,—two of the four brother ministers, who, in addition to the *ministerial* chairman, become thus the judges of his quarrel with the (*lay*) leaders, having been selected by himself,—the other two are to be appointed by the leaders, by the individual they have dared to 'protect' from 'the effects of personal prejudice or irritation,' by the complaining superintendent, or by whom else. If the minor district meeting fail in satisfying either party, the way lies open for appeal to the superior courts, terminating with the Conference.

The document here analysed, like all the more modern acts of the Conference, presents a singularly wordy combination of preamble, enactment, and proviso, with exposition, paraphrase, reasoning, declamation, and hortation. The smallest fry could not well escape through the meshes of a net like this; in which we read, 'The New Testament *law of purity*,'* etc., its often repeated *law of peace and godly quietness*, and its *laws of courtesy, brotherly kindness*, and mutual *charity*, as well as its direction that 'all things' should 'be done decently and in order,' and its requirement of reasonable submission, on the part of church members, to the scriptural 'rule' of those who are 'over them in the Lord,'—these are *standing enactments* of the gospel, binding on all Christian communities, and therefore binding on the Methodist societies, without exception. ANY OBSTINATE VIOLATION OF THEM MUST BE SUITABLY VISITED,' etc. We leave our intelligent readers to form their own opinion of a system of discipline like this.

The *Local Preachers' Meeting* is composed, as the name imports, of local preachers; that is to say, of those individuals in each circuit, who, not devoting themselves wholly to the mi-

* The *italics* are as in the original text of the Conference Minutes.

nistry, or, rather, not changing their place of abode or relinquishing their secular avocations, consent, without fee or reward, and often without being refunded expenses out of pocket, to supply the pulpits of the circuit according to appointment from sabbath to sabbath, and sometimes on week-nights also. Of this truly meritorious order of Christian ministers, the Rev. John Gordon, now a Unitarian minister at Coventry, but formerly a Wesleyan minister, bore the following testimony at a recent meeting of the Unitarian Association. He was stating the reasons that led him to expect considerable accessions from the Wesleyan body:—'The other ground on which he rested his opinion was, the peculiar constitution of Methodism in raising up a body of local teachers in every circuit or division. There was thus formed a strong body of individuals accustomed on every sabbath-day to occupy the pulpit in places of worship. They were thinking men, so far as matters of religion were concerned; and there was no other sect in the kingdom possessed of such a body of men, habituated to reflect on subjects of this kind. People were disposed to look upon Methodists as an ignorant body of men; but he could tell them, that, so far as his own experience went, he never knew a Methodist circuit where there was not some individual connected with the local preachers able to read the Greek Testament in the original—(hear). Therefore he thought that he was right in saying, that Unitarianism, when it could get hold among such a body of men as this, was more likely to spread among them than in any other class of the Christian community.'

The local preachers meet quarterly, under the presidence of the superintendent, supported by his ministerial colleagues. Local preachers are appointed at this meeting, after six months' probation, on which they cannot enter without the superintendent's sanction, and during which it is his duty to hear them preach at least one sermon. If, after due examination before the assembled brethren, *the superintendent is persuaded* that a candidate possesses suitable qualifications, he proposes him to the meeting, who may accept or reject the nomination according to their views. Although travelling preachers are exempted from meeting in class, local preachers are not excused from so doing. No local preacher is allowed to preach in another circuit without producing a note of recommendation from his own superintendent, and having the consent of the other. Neither can a local preacher hold a love-feast without his superintendent's consent; and, although we find no direct inhibition, we know that they are never permitted to administer baptism and the Lord's Supper, the celebration of which is, by rule, confined to ministers in full connexion. They are responsible to their

own meeting for their official conduct, and undergo examination every quarter as to character, faith, and duties; but, as private members of the society, they are subject, in common with all others, to the jurisdiction of the superintendent and of the leaders' meetings to which they respectively belong. The state of the congregations to which they minister, (chiefly, though not always, in the villages,) is inquired into, and the superintendent consults with them as to putting new places upon the Plan. The 'Plan' is a tabular arrangement of the supplies for all the chapels in a circuit during a quarter or half a year; from which it may be seen at a glance by what minister or local preacher any pulpit will be supplied on any Sunday or other day of the period. The appointments are at the discretion of the superintendent, who, however, may consult the feelings both of his immediate colleagues and of the local preachers. These last are very numerous, and are, if possible, more essential to the operations of Wesleyanism than even their ordained, and therefore 'reverend' brethren.

The *Trustees' Meeting* deserves notice as a further exemplification of the centralising principle of the Wesleyan Conference, which, through its superintendents, exerts a paramount authority and control over every department. The trustees, alone, have to do with nothing but the execution of their trusts. They must be members of the society, and their trust deeds must be according to the Conference plan; by which they incur heavy personal liabilities on the good faith of that body, (though, of course, with their eyes open to the fact,) the Conference not only reserving to itself full authority to dictate where, when, and how each chapel shall be built, by whom it shall be occupied, under what circumstances it shall be altered, enlarged, sold, or mortgaged; but also decreeing that its superintendent ministers shall, *ex officio*, be the chairmen in all the trustee meetings of their respective circuits, and shall exercise, either in person or by deputy, the ample controlling powers studiously secured to them by deed. The pew-rents generally go to meet the interest of borrowed money and other trust liabilities, which on Wesleyan chapels are notoriously heavy. The trustees can never acquire the right of appointing to chapels, except in certain very remote contingencies,—such, for example, as the utter extinction of the Conference. It being necessary to insure an adequate supply of responsible trustees, they are, as a class, regarded with more consideration than ordinary members. A local preacher, as we have seen, is liable to expulsion by the superintendent, especially if confirmed by the adverse verdict of a leaders' meeting; but, according to a rule enacted when the trustees made a formidable demonstration of independence

(1794), and which the Conference, notwithstanding the Leeds and Manchester schisms, has not ventured to alter, 'no trustee, *(however accused, or defective in conforming to the rules of the society,)* shall be removed from the society, unless his crime, or breach of the rules of the society, be proved *in the presence* of the trustees and leaders.' For leaving this vague rule unaltered, however, there may be more reasons than one. Cases have occurred of a superintendent getting rid of a troublesome trustee, by contending that he (the superintendent) was the sole judge whether he had proved his own charges, and exercising his high prerogative accordingly.

Having unavoidably devoted so much space to a view of the *disciplinary apparatus* of the Wesleyan Connexion, we shall be obliged to glance but very cursorily at those institutions which develop its *financial arrangements and resources.* The Conference makes no boast of its voluntaryism, but contrives, on the contrary, to let it be known to ministers of state, colonial assemblies, municipal corporations, and other public bodies, that 'the smallest contribution will be thankfully accepted,' provided its most perfect hierarchy be not impinged upon. Still the Wesleyans quite outvie all other denominations, unless we except the Roman Catholics, in the practical development of the voluntary principle. The immense amount of their chapel and other real property, which has been estimated at more than three millions sterling, is entirely the result of this principle; while the annual revenue of the body, from every source, is probably not much less than a million. The income of their missionary society for the year 1845-6, was more than £112,000.; in 1840, by a mighty effort, £171,687 of chapel debts was extinguished; and the Centenary Fund fell little short of a quarter of a million. Of the product of the weekly pence and quarterly shillings (these are *minima*) contributed in the classes, of the Yearly Collection made in the same way, and of the July Collection in all the congregations, some conception may be formed, when it is known that they suffice for the maintenance in far greater *average* comfort than any other body of Christian ministers (the clergy of the Established Church not excepted), of more than fifteen hundred ministers, with their wives and families.* To all these sources of income, may be added the profits of the Book-room, the Theological Institution Fund, the Children's Fund, the General Chapel and Education Fund, and the Worn-out Ministers' and Ministers' Widows' Auxiliary Fund, with legacies, and other occasional contributions. All the funds of the Connexion are managed by mixed committees of ministers and laymen; but the ministers invariably preponderate, and every connexional

* Perhaps no *married* minister receives less than an equivalent to £175 per annum; perhaps none more than £350.

[illegible]

[illegible] where
[illegible] Wesleyans [illegible] receive an
[illegible] edilecti[illegible] parents.
[illegible] lected.
[illegible] for [illegible] sons, and
[illegible] education [illegible] sons of
Wesleyan [illegible] been negle
[illegible] The last [illegible] shows, that
[illegible] thousand [illegible] schools,
[illegible] chers, and [illegible] thou
[illegible] it was determined within s
[illegible] hundred day schools: and, in
[illegible] termination has been more
[illegible] schools are conducted on
[illegible] instruction given in Wesl
[illegible] ly denominational: so that
[illegible] and maintain the evil as we
[illegible] sect in which these element
[illegible] haps in any other religious
[illegible] es.
[illegible] Wesleyan education, we are
[illegible] cial economy of the body w
[illegible] ety it is managed. We allud
[illegible] ment of the Children's Fund
[illegible] ceive something for the mai
[illegible] dren, from birth to the age
[illegible] umber of children to be prov
[illegible] calculation made on this bas
[illegible] ety that should provide for
[illegible] the result was one hundred
[illegible] ld. This mode of distribu
[illegible] eas men with large families
[illegible] nts of moderate resources, t
[illegible] ents either party from seen
[illegible] tion, 'Happy is the man

[illegible] establishment. Its offi
[illegible] st be a minister), a corp
[illegible] ittee (all of whom are
[illegible] nd dispensers of the de
[illegible] ch over with at least s
[illegible] mes, which Dr. Campb

Nor does the Theological Institution, with its two colleges, the one containing forty students, the other thirty-four, speak less favourably for the improving taste, as well as the sustained energy, of the Wesleyan Church. The Richmond edifice is the admiration of all beholders, and, although in some respects the committee have had successive trials to contend with, yet the classical and theological tutors, both ministers of the general body, are gentlemen whose proved characters and respectable attainments afford every guarantee for the efficient management and complete success of the college. At Didsbury, the Conference has been still more fortunate, the amiable and learned Dr. Hannah being most esteemed where he is best known.

Kingswood and Woodhouse-grove Schools are of more ancient date than the theological seminaries. The former of the two, indeed, was established by Mr. Wesley himself, and the latter was added early in the present century. These institutions are sustained by special subscriptions, and by an annual collection in all the chapels, not unaided by the contributions of the ministers themselves, and are wholly devoted to the instruction of their sons. In each of them provision is made for about a hundred scholars, who enter at the age of eight, and quit on attaining fourteen, being, in the mean time, educated, boarded, and clothed, at the expense of the several establishments. Each school has efficient masters, and is under the superintendence of a senior minister, who takes the title of Governor. The education, in both classics and mathematics, is quite equal, so far as it can go with boys of fourteen, to that given at the first-rate public grammar schools; and extensive observation enables us to add, that nearly all the *alumni* of these excellent seminaries find their way into the superior walks of commercial or professional life. Not a few of them have become the chief ornaments of their paternal order, while no inconsiderable number have completed at Oxford and Cambridge the literary career commenced at Kingswood and Woodhouse-grove. There is no point on which an honest Wesleyan will be found so sore as on this. He will tell you, with tears in his eyes, that the professor of pastoral theology in the university of Oxford is a Kingswood scholar, and that the professors of theology at Richmond and Didsbury have each of them a son, who has graduated at Oxford, and has there learned to regard his venerable father as an 'unauthorised teacher.' And yet, strange to say,

The directors of the Wesleyan Proprietary school at Sheffield have made it a *sine qua non*, that the head master shall be a graduate of either Oxford or Cambridge, while, absurdly enough, the governor and chaplain is a plain, but distinguished Woodhouse-grove boy. At Taunton, where there is a similar establishment, the

proprietary body have displayed more consistency; and hence the office of instructors is in that valuable institution filled with able men who were themselves educated in the connexional academies. We believe it is in contemplation to set up other schools of this order in various parts of the kingdom, where the sons of influential and affluent Wesleyans may receive an education in harmony with the predilections of their parents. In Dublin, this has already been effected.

Nor, while providing instruction for their own sons, and promoting plans for the better education of the sons of their wealthier hearers, have the Wesleyan ministers been neglectful of the interests of the poor. The last return shows, that they have established more than four thousand Sunday schools, with nearly eighty-two thousand teachers, and five hundred thousand scholars. At the close of 1843, it was determined, within seven years, to form at least seven hundred day schools; and, in less than half that period, the determination has been more than half carried into effect. These schools are conducted on the Glasgow system. The religious instruction given in Wesleyan schools of every class, is strictly denominational; so that they may be expected to propagate and maintain the evil as well as the good which characterizes a sect in which these elements are more largely mingled than perhaps in any other religious system of ancient or modern times.

In dismissing the subject of Wesleyan education, we are reminded of a feature in the financial economy of the body which shows with what skill and nicety it is managed. We allude to the constitution and apportionment of the Children's Fund,—a fund from which ministers receive something for the maintenance of each of their children, from birth to the age of twenty. The total probable number of children to be provided for, is annually supposed, and calculation made on this basis of the number of members in society that should provide for one child. At the last Conference, the result was one hundred and thirty-four members to one child. This mode of distribution equalizes the burden; and, whereas men with large families were formerly objects of dread to circuits of moderate resources, they are now in a position which prevents either party from seeming to cast a doubt upon the declaration, 'Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them!'

The Book-room is an important establishment. Its officers consist of a book-steward (who must be a minister), a corps of editors (also ministers), and a committee (all of whom are ministers). These are the guardians and dispensers of the denominational literature, which they watch over with at least sufficient jealousy. Besides a host of magazines, which Dr. Campbell's

successful experiments have confessedly multiplied,* they continually bring out new editions to meet perpetual new demands for the standard works of the Connexion. The publications of the book-room are put into circulation through the superintendents, who have 12½ per cent. on all sales effected. The number of religious tracts, on which no profit is allowed to the superintendents, issued in 1841, was 1,326,049. All aspiring Wesleyan authors who seek denominational patronage, are glad to bring out their brochures with the official *imprimatur;* but it is by no means granted indiscriminately. Some of the finest works that ever came from a Wesleyan pen are in the *index expurgatorius* of the book-committee. They may perhaps sell, but they certainly declined publishing, Dr. Adam Clarke's Commentary. Their refusals are not always taken very quietly—*genus irritabile vatûm!* Brother B——, who was a rather ostentatious gentleman, had written a book about something or other, which he offered to the book-room. After waiting till his patience was fairly exhausted for an answer, he made peremptory application for the return of his manuscript, declaring, with manifest indignation, that he would publish it on his own bottom. The official of that day, who was a bit of a wag, drily replied, that, in his opinion, he could not do better!

We close our enumeration of the economical arrangements of Wesleyanism, by mentioning the Committee of Privileges, with which the successful opposition to Sir James Graham's Factories Education Bill and to Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst's Charitable Trusts Bill, has made the public familiar. This important and watchful body enjoys the able assistance of several gentlemen learned in the law, among whom we have no difficulty in recognizing some who may, perchance, have robbed a bird's nest in Esholt Wood, or bathed in the fast-flowing Aire.

The Wesleyan Methodists are strongly attached to their own modes of worship and means of grace; and, in this respect, there yet exists considerable, perhaps insuperable opposition of sentiment, between the bulk of the people and at least their leading ministers. The ruling party have long cherished a desire to introduce into all the chapels the regular church service. In the metropolis, and in some of the chapels in a few large towns, the morning service is constantly used, but nowhere the evening. So sensible is the Conference that read prayers are generally obnoxious to the Wesleyans, that it has never yet ventured to go beyond a 'recommendation' of their adoption. Various indications show, however, that its motto is *Nil desperandum.* Portions of the burial, baptismal, marriage, communion, and

* '*Early Days*' has already reached 50,000 monthly: what may it not be in *later times!*

ordination services, are used on appropriate occasions; and, by way of accustoming the people to the full service, its use has by recent enactment been made obligatory, on certain great occasions during the sittings of the Conference, when those two 'grand metropolitans of all the tribe,' the president and the ex-president, are the principal officiators. The stealthy multiplication of organs, and the gradual introduction of chants in the form of tunes adapted to metrical hymns, are also probably designed to pave the way for the more complete churchification of the body. The genius of the Methodist people, however, must be wholly changed before this can be effected. Even in City-road chapel, where, until within a few years, the prayers had been read from the beginning by ordained clergymen, it has never been found possible to get the congregation together much before the conclusion of the prayers and the commencement of the extempore services. No class of nonconformists are more strongly attached to free prayer than the Methodists, whose notions of its exercise, moreover, are such as to make it more difficult for them than for any other class to reconcile themselves to forms of prayer. Let any man enter a Wesleyan chapel in those districts where Wesleyanism has its strongholds; and the tone of the minister's prayers, with the multiform responses of the congregation, will convince him that they could not easily be drilled into the icy fervours of a tautologous litany. The wrestling style of the minister, excited to a pitch of agony by the sympathetic interjections of his hearers, forms the greatest possible contrast to the parrot-like monotony of a decent liturgy. Nor is it always necessary that the minister should himself be loud and obstreporous, to inspire the people with enthusiasm. We remember being in Brunswick Chapel, Liverpool, (a very elegant structure, and filled with a very genteel congregation,) when the late Mr. Pipe, a remarkably mild and quiet man, was offering up the concluding prayer. In a strain of deep solemnity he was imploring the Divine Being to assist the congregation in repelling the assaults of Satan, when a man, in a conspicuous part of the place, shouted out at the top of his voice, 'Ey! punch him i' t' guts, Lord!' Such *naïve* and energetic comments are frequent and diversified during prayer; nor, even during sermon, can the warm and simple-hearted people always restrain themselves from throwing in an approving observation. A minister was one day preaching to a country congregation, in Yorkshire, on the forgiveness of injuries, and had just remarked, that the best way of disposing of one's enemies was, not to slay them with the sword, but to kill them with kindness, when an honest man in the gallery rapturously exclaimed in a loud voice, 'Ey! that 's t' reight way, lad!' But this feature in the Wesleyan character is most

fully brought out at love-feasts. These gatherings are exceedingly popular in most parts of the Connexion, and many a Wesleyan will, in all weathers, walk a dozen miles rather than miss a love-feast. What renders them attractive is, the sort of saturnalian license allowed in them. Any person present, male or female, is permitted to rise and make a declaration of personal experience. Some of the narratives thus given are deeply affecting, others are rather grotesque. In many circuits, there is a class of people who seize upon these occasions for cutting a figure. While one of them tells his oft-repeated tale, the rest, like claqueurs at a play, support him with their plaudits. We have more than once heard 'loud cheering' at a Wesleyan love-feast, intermingled with individual cries of 'Weel dune, Joe, lad!' 'Praise God, Thomas!' We scarcely dare give specimens of the more *outré* speeches uttered on these occasions, lest too extensive an infereuce should be drawn from them. Let one suffice. A woman, with every appearance of sincerity as well as earnestness, was relating, that, on the morning of that very day, she had risen betimes for private devotions, which she conducted so audibly as to wake her husband, who upbraided her with having got up at a needlessly early hour, and desired her to return to bed. She continued, however, in prayer, and presently, to conclude the narrative in her own words, 't'Holy Sperrit cam intul my sowl like watter gangin' out o'n a bottle, goggle, goggle, goggle!' 'Praise the Lord, lass!' immediately resounded from a hundred voices, while a sympathising murmur ran through the whole audience. Scenes like these, though not unusual enough, even in the largest towns, to occasion surprise, are, of course, much more frequent in rural districts, where language and manners are less polished and more simple. But they are not universal; still less are they universally approved. They meet with the most indulgent toleration from those ministers who are themselves warm-hearted men, while others of a graver character and more refined and dignified demeanour embrace suitable opportunities of keeping them in check. The late Mr. Stephens was a minister of this stamp. This excellent man, of whom we can give no better idea than by saying, that he much resembled the Rev. William Jay, was in the Leeds circuit during a period of religious excitement. Every night prayer-meetings of an enthusiastic description were held in the chapel over which he had special jurisdiction, and were protracted to a late hour, a practice which he felt it his duty publicly to rebuke. Near midnight, his tall figure, crowned with an erect tuft of greyish hair, was seen rising above the pews, and, on a break in the rapid succession of spontaneous prayers, his solemn voice was heard pronouncing the Benedic-

tion. This hint not being taken, he followed it up with a strong intimation of his opinion, that it was more than time for the parties present to be surrounding their family altars. Even this was disregarded; when, quite losing patience, he declared it to be his conviction, that no *good* spirit could actuate heads of families in such neglect of domestic duties. The words were hardly uttered, when a pert little fellow, one of the foremost of the revivalists, jumped upon a bench, and, with his arms a-kimbo, called out, 'If t' divvel be here, he's i' thy toppin'!' This impudent sally turned, as we say, the laugh against Mr. Stephens, who wisely ceased contending with them. Upon the whole, it may be doubted whether the Wesleyan ministers take sufficient pains to regulate the ebullitions of untutored zeal. We do not forget the depths of moral degradation from which Wesleyanism has raised the miners of Cornwall and the colliers of Newcastle; but, notwithstanding the rudeness of the materials to be wrought upon, we question whether the softening influence which true religion, still more than other civilizing agencies, must exert upon the human character, has in such quarters been exhausted. If, however, we wish to know what is the present feeling of the Wesleyan Conference with regard to scenes of noise and excitement under the notion of revivals, we have only to follow the peregrinations of the Rev. Mr. Caughey, whose religious orgies have attracted the ridicule of the gay and the lamentations of the serious. From the towns which he has visited,—Hull, Sheffield, Birmingham, Nottingham, and others,—it is evident, that his extravaganzas are sanctioned by authority. Now, we have read an account of his exhibitions at Birmingham, written, not by an enemy to religion, but by a devout Christian; and we affirm without hesitation, that scenes just as questionable are of familiar occurrence in most parts of the Connexion during periods of excitement. Mr. Caughey may regard himself as an extraordinary person; but we can assure him that his most wonderful exploits might easily be paralleled by incidents in the lives of such men as David Stoner, William Bramwell, and (the late) John Smith. Far be it from us, however, to question the genuineness of Methodist revivals. There are tares among the wheat. Some hasty professions of conversion may be made, which are as hastily falsified. In other cases, hypocrisy may put on the garb of earnestness. But the more villainous the counterfeit, the more valuable the true coin. It is not worth while to imitate the less precious metals. The genuineness of Methodist revivals may be tested by their fruits; and we could easily put our fingers upon some of the most eminent men in

the body, who professed to be converted in boyhood at a revival, and who have never swerved from that profession.

Hitherto we have sketched only, or chiefly, the more obvious features of Wesleyan character. Let it not be supposed, that noise, bluster, and coarseness, are its predominant traits. While there is no lack of audible responses during public prayer, yet there is much also of 'the speechless awe that dares not move.' While Wesleyan ministers know how to preach excitingly, and possess a peculiar facility in getting at the hearts of their hearers, they are not less remarkable for being able to sound the depths of Christian experience, to elucidate and enforce the practical bearing of Christian doctrine, and to feed the church of God. And, after all that has been said to the contrary, much observation and some experience have convinced us, that the more private means of grace which the Wesleyan Connexion has more largely provided and more sedulously cultivated than any other modern denomination of Christians, are admirably adapted to promote the growth of religious character, and bring it to a ripe maturity. The Class-meeting has been much maligned by enemies and misunderstood by less unfriendly critics. It is as remote as possible from the popish confessional. It is neither more nor less than a meeting expressly for prayer and religious conversation. Much reason have we dissenters to regret that we have no similar means of mutual edification. We have our social parties, it is true; and religious topics are casually introduced; but, as it is not *understood* that we meet for religious conversation, we consume the hours in miscellaneous chat. Now, the Methodist class-meeting shuts you up to religious topics; and so, in general, the hour is well spent. A great deal, no doubt, depends upon the leaders; and the ministers, by whom they are nominated, are under some temptation to select men who will be easily controlled, instead of looking wholly to their fitness for directing a religious conversation, and giving religious counsel in a diversity of cases. But, under the guidance of a judicious person, we cannot conceive of a device better adapted than the Methodist class-meeting to promote the ends of personal religion. We give equal praise to the Public and Private Bands. The public band (a somewhat neglected institution) meets weekly on Saturday, and is composed of those members of society who profess to enjoy a clear evidence of their acceptance with God.* It is, in point of fact, a minor love-feast, only far more quietly conducted. But perhaps the private

* No person, according to an old law, is allowed to meet in Band who does not leave off drams, snuff, and tobacco,—a trio which always go together in Wesleyan anathemas.

band would be found, on due inquiry, to be, of all the Methodist institutions, the most favourable to Christian holiness. It is composed of not more than three persons of either sex, who agree to meet weekly at each other's houses for prayer and pious conversation. It is cultivated most by the gentler sex; and to this source more than to any other mere instrumentality we have been accustomed to refer the many eminent examples of female piety with which Wesleyanism has abounded, from the days of Mary Fletcher and Esther Ann Rogers, down to the present time. We should not doubt of finding more than one acknowledged model of the *Christian lady* in nearly every Wesleyan circuit. No where have we seen woman more 'adorned with every grace,' than among the well-educated Wesleyan families. The Methodist matron may be described as of pure, yet sprightly conversation; of simple, yet dignified manners; of chaste, yet elegant attire; a pattern of neatness and order; pious without pretence, and uniting cheerfulness with the priceless ornament of a meek and quiet spirit. In some, indeed, there may be discovered a tinge of mysticism, and a secret sympathy with the sentimental raptures of Mrs. Rowe and Madam Guion; but, in general, the tone of their experience is subdued, while their holiness, not waiting for formal profession, beams forth in the mild radiance of a dutiful discharge of relative obligations.

But we are in danger of extending this sketch beyond due bounds; and, although conscious of having very imperfectly executed our design, we must rest content with drawing to a close in a few observations.

Upon a review of the facts, we cannot fail to be struck with the immense power wielded by the Wesleyan Conference. Territorially covering every parish in England, and pushing its conquests, like the state, into every quarter and corner of the earth; with 1,685 ministers under its orders, 15,000 local preachers, and 30,000 leaders, stewards, and trustees; with 468,313 members of society acknowledging its sway, and perhaps 2,000,000 hearers affording their countenance; with millions of property under its control, and an annual revenue of hardly less than one million at its disposal;—it presents to the reflecting mind an aspect adapted to impress with awe, largely mingled with anxiety. And when we consider that all these means and agencies are put in motion by one central impulse, and guided and controlled by one central hand, that anxiety is ready to become alarm. Could we but be sure that this stupendous and smoothly-working machinery is constantly used for the production of unmixed good, alarm would give

place to rejoicing. But we cannot so delude ourselves. Collect from preceding facts the connexional engagements of the ministers; and it will be seen, that their occupations must resemble those of county magistrates, town-clerks, parish overseers, and so forth, much more than the legitimate functions of the Christian pastorate. We know that many of them are learned divines, and a still greater number energetic and edifying preachers; we know that their Arminianism is not tainted with Pelagianism, and that their notions of Christian perfection are not, as is imagined, inconsistent with human pravity; we know, too, that, with a tact that implies the presence of a presiding genius, their ranks are constantly recruited with every variety of talent; but we also know, that they are encumbered with too much secular business, are invested with too much power, are too much infested with a crowd of parrot-like imitators of their leading preachers, are far too exclusive in their views of Wesleyan excellence and of ministerial authority, and are too much cut off, by their itinerant plan, from the play of those sympathies than which nothing is more essential to the success of ministerial labours—that, in one word, they are too much under the influence of these and other deteriorating forces, to permit the hope of anything like the full weight of their power and influence being ever directed towards the great ends of a gospel ministry and a Christian church. So far as those ends are concerned, we do not mean to deny, what we have above acknowledged, the existence of much true and deep piety in the Wesleyan Connexion; but, although not now so narrow and exclusive as in former days, it still too largely partakes of a feeling of unparalleled excellence, while, owing to causes already indicated, its general tendency is to decline into a cold and formal profession. Upon society at large, Wesleyanism no longer acts so vigorously as once it did. The additions to its numbers are comparatively small, sometimes counterpoised by positive declension, and often concealing, under an aspect of aggregate success, ominous instances of local inertia or retrogression. Its territorial comprehensiveness, combined with the activity and ostentatiousness of its central administration, may yield such compensation as the increase of public admiration can afford for the diminution of religious usefulness; but Wesleyanism, like every other thing human, seems destined to decay, and is now, to all appearance, in the portentous stage of worldly respectability. The question remains, what is likely to be its influence in the State. To this topic a whole paper might be profitably devoted; but we must dismiss it in a single sentence. Had the people who compose the body free scope for the manifestation of their sentiments, we cannot doubt that the

influence of Wesleyanism would be freely given to all measures for the reform of abuses, for the improvement of the physical and moral condition of the community, and for the abolition of every law and every institution which interfere with the fullest extension of our civil and religious liberties. But, tied down as the Wesleyans are by laws which prevent them from moving hand or foot, and by usages which beget and maintain a servile spirit, the country and the legislature must receive their notions of the state of opinion in the Wesleyan church from the Conference and its emissaries. Nor can we expect that those who have contrived to build, even upon the foundation of the voluntary principle, so compact a structure of priestly authority in their own favour, will ever exert their political influence in support of any line of state policy, which might afterwards be quoted as a precedent for the entire subversion of their lordly hierarchy. In a word, the Wesleyan system is at once the best and the worst of its kind—the worst in reference to ecclesiastical government, the best in relation to practical efficiency; the good resulting mainly from abundant lay agency, the bad from boundless clerical assumption. They who shall adopt the good and reject the bad, will make a nearer approximation to the standard of Christian utility than has been witnessed since apostolic times.

Art. II.—1. *The Dog.* By William Youatt. 8vo. pp. 268. London: C. Knight and Co. 1845.

2. *The History of the Dog.* By W. C. L. Martin. (Knight's *Weekly Volume,* xliv.) London, 1845.

THE physical constitution of the earth, and the qualities of the various beings that cover its surface, point to the great truth that this globe was especially designed for the habitation of man. There is perhaps no instance of this providential arrangement more striking than that furnished by the race of animals whose history is the subject of the works before us. Whilst other quadrupeds, by the texture of their skins or the wholesomeness of their flesh, have been fitted for man's use, the mental faculties of the dog are evidently adapted, in a remarkable manner, for the same purpose. We do the dog great injustice if we suppose that his character has been the result of training merely, and that he is the useful servant of man only because man has made him so. The dog has certain inherent qualities, without which the most expert training would have been perfectly useless. Almost every other animal regards man as its natural enemy, viewing him with fear or attempting to injure him, whilst the various kinds of dog are distinguished by their

tractable disposition and high susceptibility of improvement, and throughout the world they naturally and willingly render their best services to the human race. It is this feature in their character which renders the history of their habits, at all times, interesting, and which will secure for the volumes before us a considerable amount of attention. We owe both of them to the same indefatigable publisher. Mr. Youatt's appears under the auspices of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and is a work of greater pretension than the 'shilling weekly volume.' It contains an account of the different varieties of the dog, illustrated with excellent wood-cuts, and interspersed with information for the especial benefit of sportsmen. Rather more than half the volume is devoted to the diseases of the canine race, with directions for treatment, &c., supplied by Mr. Youatt's experience as a veterinary practitioner, which—however valuable to a dog-doctor—is not remarkably entertaining to the general reader. Mr. Martin's little work is of a more popular character. It is well written, full of interesting details, and worthy of a place in the very useful series of which it forms part.

The origin of the dog has been the occasion of considerable controversy; but we think the difficulty has chiefly arisen from the disposition manifested by naturalists, to trace the different varieties to one source. It has been assumed that every kind of dog, at present existing, must have had a common origin, and that the remarkable varieties, which are found in the structure and habits of different individuals, may be traced entirely to the influence of climate, and other peculiar circumstances. We are aware of the great disposition always manifested in domesticated animals to vary from their original type, especially when for successive generations efforts have been made to produce and perpetuate certain varieties, but after making every allowance, in this respect, we think there remains abundant evidence to show that there were several original types or species of dog. We believe that almost every portion of the globe had its peculiar race of these animals, which roamed wild through districts, where no human foot had trod, and, alike untamed by domestication and independent of its benefits, prowled in the forest, or chased their prey in packs. When man extended his dominion over the earth, and sought to make the various products of nature subservient to his wants, he would quickly discover that the qualities of the dogs fitted them for his service. The intercourse of various nations would subsequently lead to the mixture of the different species, the production of varieties, and to their general distribution throughout the globe. Some original types would be entirely lost, whilst other new forms of a

mixed character would be perpetuated. If this hypothesis be correct, it may naturally be expected, that in the most isolated and barbarous nations some of the peculiar species, indigenous to them, ought still to be found. And such is the fact. In Australia, for instance, a part of the world which up to a comparatively recent period has been in a great measure distinct from the rest, and whose indigenous animals must therefore have continued to exist very much in their primitive state, we actually find a species of dog obviously different from all others. This is the dingo, called by the natives of New South Wales, 'warragul,' which roams through the wilds of Australia, hunting in small companies and preying upon kangaroos and the flocks of the settlers. Mr. Youatt states, that 'when Van Diemen's Land began to be colonized by Europeans, the losses sustained by the settlers by the ravages of the wild dogs were almost incredible. It was in vain to double the number of shepherds, to watch by night and by day, or to have fires at every quarter of the fold; for these animals would accomplish their object by stratagem or force. One colony lost no fewer than 1,200 sheep and lambs in three months; another colony lost 700.' As the colonists increased in numbers they were enabled to cope with this formidable enemy, until the dingo is now only met with in the interior of the island, and his ravages have nearly ceased. It seems to be more untractable than any other kind of dog.

On the discovery of South America, the natives were found in possession of a species called the aguara, very different from any of the European domesticated varieties. It has been described by Buffon and Colonel H. Smith.

In North America, there are the hare Indian dog, the Esquimaux, the black wolf-dog of Florida, Techichi of Mexico, and probably several others decidedly of indigenous extraction.

The original dog of the South Sea Islands, which was found there on the arrival of the Europeans, is evidently a distinct species, although it is now being merged with various mongrel breeds, imported from Britain and other countries. It is called the poé *(canis pacificus)*, and is 'of small size, indolent, with short crooked legs, erect ears, sharp muzzle, and of a reddish colour.' It is now rare, and will in a short time, no doubt, be lost as a distinct species; an occurrence which, judging from the above description of its qualities, can scarcely be deplored.

The immense continent of India presents us with several distinct species of dog, probably little altered from their original type. Sumatra and Java, also, have each at least one peculiar species. In Beloochistan, the woody mountains of south-eastern Persia, a powerful dog exists, which is called the 'beluch,' and

is said to hunt in packs of twenty or thirty, pulling down and tearing a buffalo or bullock with the greatest ease.

We may also refer to the sheep of Syria (*c. acmon*), and the deeb of Egypt (*c. anthus*), as being probably distinct species, indigenous to those districts.

While we are thus able to distinguish the original types of several species of dog peculiar to various countries, it is not surprising that we find much more difficulty with those of Europe. The indigenous races must have been scattered, at an early period, over the entire continent, and, as a necessary result, must have soon been considerably modified by interbreeding with each other and with foreign species, brought from distant countries, in the course of Roman conquest, or European enterprise. It appears, therefore, very probable, that several of the original types, from which our present domesticated races have sprung, are now entirely extinct, whilst training, together with other circumstances, acting upon many successive generations, have furnished the existing varieties with qualities which none of the parent stocks possessed.

With these facts before us, we cannot assent to the opinion, that all kinds of dog were originally derived from the wolf. Professor Bell, who is the highest authority in favour of this theory, has urged arguments in support of it, which appear to us inconclusive. He assumes what is, in fact, the matter of dispute; and taking for his premises, that there was only one original progenitor of the dog, that certain varieties now wild were formerly domesticated, (of which he has not the slightest evidence,) and that of these the dingo of Australia has reverted the most completely to the original type, he concludes that as the dingo approaches nearest to the wolf, the case is made out! The only other points which he relies upon, are the similarity which exists between the osteology of the dog and the wolf, the fact that the two will breed together, producing fertile progeny, and that the period of gestation is the same in both. In reply to this, it is only necessary to say, that dogs and wolves are closely allied species, and, of course, approximate in many important particulars. Even admitting the fact of the fertility of the mixed progeny—which exists, if at all, only in a low degree —we are by no means prepared to concede that this is a proof of specific identity. On the contrary, we are quite convinced, that a similar result not unfrequently occurs with animals belonging to *very closely allied*, although perfectly distinct, species. There is, however, a structural difference between the dog and the wolf, which is alone sufficient to demolish the theory; the eye of every known species of dog, in all parts of the world, has a circular pupil, whilst the form or position of that of the wolf is

invariably oblique. Mr. Bell meets this fact by an amusing piece of special pleading: 'although,' he remarks, 'it is very desirable not to rest too much on the effects of habit on structure; it is not, perhaps, straining the point to attribute the forward direction of the eyes in the dogs to the constant habit, for many successive generations, of looking towards their master, and obeying his voice.' Whatever may be thought as to Mr. Bell's 'straining the point,' we can only say that, in our opinion, the 'straining' of the dog's eye, in the manner suggested, is utterly impossible.

The advocates of the lupine origin of the dog appear to overlook the fact, that the geographical distribution of the canine race extends to every climate, whilst the true wolves are restricted to certain parts of the globe. Nor can we imagine how it is possible to account for the great difference between the disposition of the dog and the wolf, on the assumption that they are identical, especially as there is abundant evidence to show that, from the earliest ages, the dog was known and valued as the trusty friend of man, whilst the most ancient notices of the wolf mark it as possessing the same character which the present race manifest. Under what circumstances then, and at what period, were the good qualities of the dog engrafted on the savage untractable temper of the wolf? This great contrast between the mental constitution of the two animals, is, in our opinion, quite as conclusive an evidence of their specific distinction, as even organic differences. Philology affords additional evidence of the same fact, as Colonel H. Smith gives numerous examples to prove that the ancient names of the dog were never confounded with those of the wolf, and expresses his opinion that, 'a thorough philological inquiry would most assuredly show, that in no language, and at no period, did man positively confound the wolf, the jackal, or the fox, with a real dog.'

Amongst the ancient Egyptians the high sagacity, courage, strength, and docility of the dog, secured for it even religious veneration, and cities and temples were erected in its honour. The god Anubis was represented with the body of a man and the head of the dog; as was also Thoth, or Sothis, another Egyptian deity; and the worship of the canine race gave a peculiar distinction to Hermopolis the Great. At a subsequent period, Cynopolis (the city of the dog) was erected as a signal mark of public respect for this animal. Juvenal wrote:—

'Oppida tota canem Anubim venerantur, nemo Dianam.'

From Egypt the canine worship was introduced into Rome, according to the testimony of Lucan, who said:—

'Nos in templa tuam Romana accepimus Isin,
Semi-canes que deos.'

But, it was not only in temples that the dog received marks of respect and reverence. The Romans often placed a figure of one at the feet of their household gods; and Herodotus tells us that, in his time, amongst the Egyptians, the people of every family in which a dog died, solemnly shaved themselves in accordance with their usual custom of mourning.

Even in our own times, it is said, the dog still receives divine honours from the inhabitants of Japan, whose god Amida, in form similar to the 'half-dog deities' of Egypt, is represented covered with a royal mantle and seated upon a horse with seven heads. 'Devotees drown themselves with many ceremonies to his honour. Moreover, as a tribute of respect to this strange deity, the different streets of each town, according to Kæmpfer, contribute to the maintenance of a certain number of dogs: they have their lodgings, and persons are especially appointed to take care of them when sick.' (Martin, p. 35.)

Nor were divine honours the only mark of respect paid to these animals in former ages; for if we may credit Pliny and Plutarch, regal authority was entrusted to them, and a certain tribe of Ethiopians bowed their necks before a crowned majesty, whose growl was death, whose bark was forbidding, and whose wagging tail marked for dignity and rewards the royal favourites! The ministers of the state were a number of cunning priests, who doubtless found no difficulty in making the regal commands suit their own interests. Yet, it may be questioned, whether the four footed monarchs did not fulfil their high office quite as worthily as many other dynasties of prouder pretensions.

In the midst, however, of regal and divine honours, the dog experienced other and very different treatment. With strange inconsistency, he was sacrificed by the Romans to the deity that bore his form. Dogs also fell victims in honour of Pan, during the lupercal feasts of February; and in Greece, Proserpine, Lucina, Mars, Hecate, with other divinities, were similarly propitiated.

The Israelites, during their captivity in Egypt, must have frequently witnessed divine honours paid to the dog; and it was probably to prevent their adopting idolatrous customs of a similar character that they were taught to regard it as an unclean animal; and, in consequence, no dog was suffered to come within the precincts of the temple. The dislike and contempt with which dogs were regarded by the Jews, is shown by the fact, that they were never used in the chase,* nor kept in the

* Dr. J. Kitto is of a different opinion; but his arguments do not appear to us satisfactory: and considering the known feeling of the Jews against the dog, conjoined with the absence of the slightest evidence that it was used by them for hunting, we think we have a right to assume the contrary.

houses, but were suffered to roam, almost wild, through the cities in their search for food. David refers to this in Psa. lix. 6, 14, 15, where he compares violent men to dogs, which 'go round about the city,' 'wandering up and down for meat,' and growling if they were not satisfied. The name of an animal so much detested was soon used as a term of reproach; compare 1 Sam. xvii. 43; xxiv. 14; 2 Sam. ix. 8; 2 Kings, viii. 13, &c. Evidences of a similar feeling are given in the New Testament, see Phil. iii. 2, and Rev. xxii. 15. From the Jewish religion, the Mohammedans derived a similar contempt for the dog, and they, as well as the Hindoos, regard it as an unclean thing whose slightest contact is pollution. Hence it is, that in Egypt where formerly temples were devoted to his worship, cities raised to his honour, where his death was mourned as a calamity, and his sacred mummy preserved for ages,* the poor dog is now avoided in the streets, driven from human habitations, and his name is used as a mark of the greatest abhorrence. The influence of the new dispensation has not removed the Judaical stigma, so that in the mouth of Christian, Mohammedan and Hindoo, the terms 'dog,' 'cur,' 'puppy,' 'dog-cheap,' 'dog of an infidel,' &c., have all a like significancy by no means creditable to the animal, whose qualities, nevertheless, have been of great service to mankind.

The Greeks and Romans cultivated several kinds of dog, some of which 'were used in chase of the wolf and wild boar, others in pursuit of the stag or roe, others as guardians of the flock, and others as watch-dogs in fortresses and citadels. The Greeks appear to have had greyhounds, and wolf-like hounds with erect ears, and watch-dogs, of wolfish aspect, with erect ears also.' The citadel of Corinth was guarded externally by an advanced post of fifty dogs, which, on one occasion, during the drunken somnolency of the garrison, had to defend the place against the attack of an enemy. Forty-nine out of the fifty lost their lives after a valiant resistance, and the survivor, whose name was Soter, retreated to the citadel. The soldiers, alarmed by him, roused themselves to action and repelled the enemy. The dog was rewarded by the grateful senate with a silver collar, inscribed, 'Soter, defender and preserver of Corinth.' A marble monument was also erected to commemorate the names and glorious achievement of the fifty canine heroes.

Dogs were frequently used in ancient times for purposes of

* Sir I. G. Wilkinson says that the mummies of dogs still found are mostly of the 'fox-dog;' and Mr. Martin states, that he has seen in the British Museum mummies of a small red dog, probably of the same species.

war, and Herodotus states that the Satrap of Babylon kept so many Indian dogs, that four large towns were exempted from all taxes on the condition of providing for these animals. War-dogs were armed with spiked collars, and sometimes with coats of mail,* and their savage attacks would, no doubt, add considerably to the horrors of barbarian warfare. On more recent occasions, and to the disgrace of our own country, bloodhounds 'were set on the tract of fugitives after a lost battle, and were used in the furious wars between England and Scotland, when Wallace fought for freedom, and Bruce for a throne. Henry VIII. employed them in France, and Elizabeth in Ireland, where the Earl of Essex had no less than eight hundred of them in his army.' (Martin, p. 19[illegible].)

Mr. Martin, describes a mosaic pavement which has been discovered at Pompeii, 'on which is represented a Roman watch-dog, with a spiked collar, and fastened by means of a chain, underneath his feet is written *Cave canem*, Beware, the dog.' It is remarkably stout and muscular, with a tail somewhat fringed, a large head, long and broad muzzle, and sharp erect ears. The general aspect is wild and savage.' (p. 60.)

In addition to the guardianship of houses, and their services in the chase or in war, the strongest and most ferocious dogs were highly valued for the combats of the amphitheatre. Nor was it only in life that these animals administered to the gratification of the polished citizens of Rome and Greece, for they were served up at table, and, according to Pliny, roasted puppies were considered exquisite! A cooked dog was thought worthy of a high place at sumptuous feasts, and at the festivals in honour of the pontiff's consecration.

Amongst various nations a similar taste still prevails,—the Chinese fatten dogs for the table on vegetable diet—with the South Sea Islanders the Poé is a favourite dish,—in Guinea, dog's flesh is in high estimation,—and Mr. Fraser relates, that during the Niger Expedition, a fat and handsome English dog, belonging to one of the officers, was stolen by the natives to gratify the luxurious palate of the King at Coomassie! Our Jewish prejudice against the flesh of this 'unclean' animal is not a little shocked by these practices. Yet there have been instances of Englishmen who have had sufficient philosophy to conquer the aversion, and assert that they have enjoyed the meal. Foster in his 'Voyage round the World,' urges that Nature has intended dogs for food by making them so prolific, and Mr. Wilson, in his 'Essays on the Origin and Natural

* 'An antique bronze found at Herculaneum, and now in the museum of Naples, represents mailed dogs attacked by soldiers armed with various weapons.'

History of Domesticated Animals' takes the same view, and expresses his opinion, that there is no reason why the practice of eating dog's flesh should not be more extensively adopted. It is certainly remarkable, that whilst Europeans have lost the Jewish aversion to hog's flesh, they maintain that against the dog; still we must confess, that our own philosophy is by no means strong enough to overcome the disgust which the latter delicacy excites.

We may now glance at a few of the valuable services which are, at the present time, rendered by dogs in the different parts of the world. And commencing with the northern regions, we find that throughout Siberia, and in Kamtschatka, there are several breeds of large wolf-like dogs, used during winter for drawing sledges over the hardened snow. The ordinary load for five dogs is about two hundred or two hundred and fifty pounds, exclusive of the sledge and driver, and they will travel from sixty to one hundred miles per day. Mr. Martin has quoted from Admiral Von Wrangell's 'Expedition to the Polar Seas,' a very interesting account of the dogs in those regions:—

'Of all the animals that live in the high north latitudes,' the admiral remarks, 'none are so deserving of being noticed as the dog. The companion of man in all climates from the islands of the South Seas, where he feeds on bananas, to the Polar Sea, where his food is fish, he here plays a part to which he is unaccustomed in more favourite regions. Necessity has taught the inhabitants of the more northern countries to employ these comparatively weak animals for draught. On all the coasts of the Polar Sea, from the Obi to Behring's Straits, in Greenland, Kamtschatka, and the Kurile Islands, the dogs are made to draw sledges, loaded with persons and goods, and for considerable journeys. These dogs have much resemblance to the wolf. . . . . Those born in winter enter on their training the following autumn, but are not used in long journeys until the third year. The feeding and training is a particular art, and much skill is required in driving and guiding. The best-trained dogs are used as leaders, and as the quick and steady going of the team, usually of twelve dogs, and the safety of the traveller, depend upon the sagacity and docility of the leader, no pains are spared in their education, so that they may always obey their master's voice, and not be tempted from their course when they come on the scent of game. . . . . In travelling across the wide tundra, in dark nights, or when the vast plain is veiled in impenetrable mist, or in storms or snow-tempests, when the traveller is in danger of missing the sheltering powarna, and of perishing in the snow, he will frequently owe his safety to a good leader. If the animal has ever been in this plain, and has stopped with his master at the powarna, he will be sure to bring the sledge to the place where the hut lies deeply buried in snow; when arrived at it he will

suddenly stop, and indicate significantly the spot where his master must dig.'—*Martin*, pp. 110—113.

The Esquimaux dog is of very great use to the natives around Baffin's Bay. It provides them with clothing and food by the capture of the rein-deer, and, by its keen scent, detects the seals that lie concealed in holes under the ice of the lakes. The Esquimaux, in their summer excursions, load their dogs with provisions, &c., hung in paniers across the back, and in winter, harness them to the sledge.

In the dreary regions of Patagonia and Terra del Fuego, the savage inhabitants derive so much advantage from these animals in the guardianship of their huts, and in procuring their precarious supply of food, that they set a very high value upon them. So much is this the case, that in times of famine, they sacrifice old women and become cannibals, rather than destroy a single dog, for say they, 'Dogs catch otters; old women are good for nothing!'

In Western Asia, the Turkoman hordes, and the wandering tribes of Persia, use a breed of wolf-like dogs for the guardianship of their flocks of sheep and cattle. The duties of these dogs are simply to watch over and protect the flocks.

A much more responsible office is intelligently filled by the shepherd's dog of this country, which gathers the wandering sheep, and drives them in the right direction. Buffon, with his usual inaccuracy of judgment and partiality for fanciful theories, was of opinion that the European shepherd's dog approached the nearest to the primitive type, and ought therefore to be regarded as the original species from whence all the present varieties have sprung. Mr. Martin well refutes this hypothesis, and we give his remarks, as they form an interesting description of some of the most important services rendered by the dog to his master:—

'That Buffon's theory is altogether fanciful and erroneous, every naturalist of the present day will freely admit; so far from being the nearest to the original type of the dog, if great cerebral development and intelligence are to be received as tests of cultivation, we must regard the shepherd's dog as one of the most remote of our breeds. . . . . How this dog can become converted, as Buffon says, into the hound in temperate climates, into the greyhound and Danish dog in the east, and in the west into the mastiff and bull dog, is beyond our comprehension; for ourselves, we look upon the shepherd's dog, when pure, as it is in Scotland, and the wild hilly tracts of Northumberland, Cumberland, Derbyshire, etc., as the representative of a breed as distinct as that of the terrier or mastiff. . . . . Its powers of intellect are directed to one object, and, like its master, it is shrewd, prompt and observant. Its eye, often overshadowed

by shaggy hair, is bright and sparkling; it understands every signal; it obeys on the instant, and manages its work with marvellous tact and celerity. This done, it returns quietly to its master, with the air of one conscious of having done his duty. . . . . Where flocks are of large extent, and have to be watched during the night, and in cases where several hundred weaning lambs, wild and capricious, demand the care of the shepherd night and day—when winter storms of snow come on, and the scattered sheep have to be hastily collected and brought to a place of security, it is then that the shepherd feels to the full the value of his dog. A circuit of miles on the dreary hills or mountain-side, or over vast and trackless downs, has to be taken, and that without loss of time; to the dog is this duty entrusted, and well does he perform his office; not a sheep belonging to his master's flock is missing—unless, indeed, any have been stolen or killed—the whole are gathered together without intermixture with the sheep of other owners.'—*Martin*, pp. 132—134.

This description of the qualities of the shepherd's dog may be illustrated by a very interesting account of the important services rendered, on one occasion, to James Hogg, the Ettrick shepherd, by his dog 'Sirrah.' It is given by Mr. Youatt:—

'On one night, a large flock of lambs that were under the Ettrick shepherd's care, frightened by something, scampered away in three different directions across the hills, in spite of all that he could do to keep them together. 'Sirrah,' said the shepherd, 'they're a' awa!'

'It was too dark for the dog and his master to see each other at any considerable distance, but Sirrah understood him, and set off after the fugitives. The night passed on, and Hogg and his assistant traversed every neighbouring hill in anxious but fruitless search for the lambs; but he could hear nothing of them nor of the dog, and he was returning to his master with the doleful intelligence that he had lost all his lambs. 'On our way home, however,' says he, 'we discovered a lot of lambs at the bottom of a deep ravine, called the Flesh Cleuch, and the indefatigable Sirrah standing in front of them, looking round for some relief, but still true to his charge. We concluded that it was one of the divisions which Sirrah had been unable to manage, until he came to that commanding situation. But what was our astonishment when we discovered that not one lamb of the flock was missing! How he had got all the divisions collected in the dark, is beyond my comprehension The charge was left entirely to himself from midnight until the rising sun; and, if all the shepherds in the forest had been there to have assisted him, they could not have effected it with greater promptitude. All that I can say is, that I never felt so grateful to any creature under the sun, as I did to my honest Sirrah that morning.'—*Youatt*, pp. 62, 63.

Mr. Hogg's experience taught him to believe that a single shepherd with his dog could accomplish more in gathering a flock of sheep, than twenty shepherds could do without dogs,

and he further expresses the opinion that the additional cost which would be incurred, in the absence of these animals, by the employment of herdsmen to manage the sheep, to gather them from the hills, force them into houses and folds, and to drive them to markets, would be more than the profits of the whole flock would be capable of maintaining.

We have yet to refer to the invaluable services, rendered by the dog, in the preservation of human life. We might fill our pages with illustrative anecdotes. On many occasions, drowning men, apparently without the slightest prospect of deliverance, have been saved by the noble efforts of these faithful animals. In cases of shipwreck, when the sea has been rolling fearfully with the raging storm, the Newfoundland dog has fought his way through the waves, and fetching a rope from the vessel, has formed a communication between the despairing sailors and the shore—thus preserving them from destruction.

In addition to these instances, it is only necessary to mention Mount Saint Bernard, to recall to our readers a vivid recollection of the inestimable services rendered by the dogs of that frozen region. Mr. Youatt says :—

'On the top of Mount St. Bernard, and near one of the most dangerous passes, is a convent, in which is preserved a breed of large dogs trained to search for the benighted and frozen wanderer. Every night, and particularly when the wind blows tempestuously, some of these dogs are sent out. They traverse every path about the mountains, and their scent is so exquisite that they can discover the traveller, although he may lie many feet deep in the snow. Having found him, they set to work, and endeavour to scrape away the snow, uttering a deep bark that reverberates from rock to rock, and tells those who are watching in the convent that some poor wretch is in peril. Generally a little flask of spirits is tied round the neck of the animal, by drinking which the benighted traveller may recruit his strength, until more effectual rescue arrive. The monks hasten in the direction of the sound, and often succeed in re-kindling the vital spark before it is quite extinguished. Very many travellers have been thus rescued from death by these benevolent men and their intelligent and interesting quadruped servants'—*Youatt*, p. 52.

One of these Bernardine dogs preserved the lives of not less than *forty* persons, and in consequence of his services received a medal as a badge of distinction, which was tied round his neck. He, at length, was killed by the fall of an avalanche, whilst he was engaged in his noble vocation. His form is preserved by a beautiful engraving, which 'represents him as saving a child which he had found in the Glacier of Balsore, and cherished and warmed, and induced to climb upon his shoulders, and thus preserved from, otherwise certain, destruction.'

The reference we have just made to the services rendered by the different species of dog naturally suggests the consideration of their mental faculties, without which those services would be impossible. To say that their conduct is the result of 'instinct,' is to make use of an unmeaning term, that gives no definite idea of the facts of the case. The dog is distinguished by its susceptibility of educational influences. It can acquire information, can act in unusual circumstances with remarkable sagacity, is affected by the various emotions displayed by its master, and can appreciate, in a remarkable degree, the connexion between certain causes and their effects. Its powers of memory include places, persons, time, and events; it displays anger and love, jealousy and joy, gratitude and revenge, a sense of responsibility, the feeling of shame, and love of approbation, together with a warmth of affection that ends only with death, a nobleness of disposition, and the forgiveness of injuries, that might almost justify its claim to the possession of virtue.

It would require much more space than we have at our command to do justice to this part of our subject. The works before us afford ample evidence that we have not over estimated the mental qualities of the dog. Of course, great variation, in this respect, is manifested by the different species, and even amongst individuals of the same race. The possession of intelligence is found to correspond with cerebral development. Amongst the spaniel tribe (of which the St. Bernard and Newfoundland dogs are favourable examples), the brain is the largest.

The fact that dogs dream is a sufficient evidence that their mental capacity is very much superior to that of other animals. It may, perhaps, be questioned whether their visions consist of anything more than the memory of past occurrences, though we are ourselves disposed to think that the simple ideas received through the senses and impressed on the memory, recur during sleep, and form new combinations of fancied events.

Sir Walter Scott entertained the belief that dogs understand, to a great extent, human language in conversation. Dr. Gall held a similar opinion; and, in his work, *Sur les Fonctions du Cerveau*, makes the following statement: 'I have often spoken intentionally of objects which might interest my dog, taking care not to mention his name, or make any intonation or gesture which might awaken his attention. He, however, shewed no less pleasure or sorrow, as the case might be; and, indeed, manifested by his behaviour that he had perfectly understood the conversation which concerned him.'

An account which strikingly confirms Sir Walter Scott's opinion is furnished by Mr. Youatt. It is too long to be

quoted here, but is well authenticated by the editor of the *Lancet*, and is a most remarkable instance of the amount of education of which dogs are susceptible. It will be found at pp. 108—110 of Mr. Youatt's volume. There appears to us no difficulty in believing that the dog may learn by experience to attach a certain meaning to peculiar sounds as readily as to peculiar signs. We have seen a friend of our own excite his dog to violent barking merely by the utterance of the word 'Ring,'—that being the name of another dog, which disputes the mastery of the village with our friend's favourite. If he merely points to the ring on his little finger, it has the same effect; and there can be no doubt that in one case the sound, and in the other the signal, is understood by the dog as a reference to his rival.

Dogs may be excited to anger by the violent tones of the human voice, and, more especially when young, they will whine if spoken to in a plaintive, commiserating manner. They understand, too, the expression of reproof, of playfulness, and of encouragement, and the cry of distress.

Two instances are related by Mr. Southey in his *Omniana*, of dogs that could count the days of the week. The first went every Saturday to cater for himself in the butcher's shambles; and the second, which had belonged to an Irishman, would never touch a morsel of food on a Friday. Other similar examples are furnished by Mr. Martin, which it is unnecessary to quote.

There are many cases on record that display, in an affecting manner, the strong attachment with which the dog regards its master. Faithful to him in life, it has followed him to the grave, has refused food, and wasting its last energies in the vain attempt to reach the body has, at length, fallen a victim to inconsolable grief. In other instances, where sudden accident or wounds in battle have left the corpse exposed on the ground, the dog has watched by it incessantly, day and night, and has died in its protection.

When guiding a blind beggar, the dog often evinces a great amount of sagacity; and a case is recorded by M. Blaze, where a dog, after the death of its master, commenced begging on its own account. M. Blaze, who saw the dog himself, states that it stood on its hind legs whilst the horses of the diligence were being changed; and, when he threw a sou on the ground, it ran off with it to the baker's, and brought back a piece of bread, which it forthwith devoured.

An account is given by Mr. Youatt of a Highland cur, which noticed a man pocket a bridle in Lord Fife's stables; and, by barking and biting at him, excited the suspicion of the servants,

and the theft was discovered. Dogs have thus not unfrequently been instrumental, under various circumstances, of fulfilling the ends of justice by the detection of criminals.

Our readers will perceive from the previous remarks, that we fully appreciate the good qualities of dogs. We think it desirable, however, to say, that we have no wish to encourage the prevalent custom of keeping an unnecessary number of these animals. It is a custom which we cannot but regard as highly reprehensible and dangerous. In the present state of society it can find little justification. The dog, without whose services many savage tribes, and the inhabitants of the Polar regions, could scarcely exist, becomes of less use with every advance of civilization, until, at length, it has scarcely any real value, except in the guardianship of lonely houses, or as the assistant of the shepherd and drover.

We freely admit that these animals deserve the affection of man more than any other quadruped, and this might be a reason why a human being cast on a desert island, and separated from his fellows, should rejoice in the companionship of a brute capable of attachment—still, we think there can be no such excuse in the midst of civilized society. We estimate the qualities of the dog highly, very highly, but we believe that our sympathies may find ampler scope amongst beings whose qualities are immeasurably higher. When we desire the society of an intelligent attached companion, we prefer a man to a dog.

We have not unfrequently been disgusted at observing the manner in which pet-dogs have been treated by persons claiming the distinction of peculiar refinement. Still we might probably have endured all this without remark—and borne, too, without complaint, as one of the suffering public, the annoyance occasioned by the mongrel curs which infest the streets of every town and village in the kingdom, were there no real danger in the absurd custom of keeping these animals. But let any one read Mr. Youatt's chapter on 'Rabies,' or pay attention to the awful accounts of hydrophobia which occasionally appear in the newspapers, and he will begin to think that the practice ought to be checked. For our own parts, we much question whether the horrible death of a single human being from the effects of canine madness does not more than counterbalance the entire advantages, derived by all the inhabitants of this kingdom, from the whole tribe of poodles, curs, and bull-dogs. The evil has really become a serious one, and should be put down.

Art. III. *An Introduction to the critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures.* By Thomas Hartwell Horne, B.D. Ninth edition, corrected and enlarged. 5 volumes, 8vo. London: Longman and Co. 1846.

THE 'Introduction' of Mr. Horne has now reached the ninth edition, a fact sufficiently indicating the extensive circulation and ample patronage which the book has obtained in this country. When first published, it was of much less extent; but each successive edition has increased in size, in consequence of the accumulation of new materials, especially the publication of new books connected with the Scriptures, whose titles are generally inserted in the Bibliographical Appendix. The work has been very useful to students and ministers of the gospel in different ways. It embraces an extensive range of subjects, more indeed than belongs to the department of 'Introduction,' according to the German idea of it. It brings together a great amount of information from many sources, which will frequently be found profitable to the intelligent reader of the Holy Scriptures. It exhibits a digest of the contents of numerous books, or, at least, portions of them; and there are copious references to authorities, for the benefit of such as may desire to study more profoundly or extensively the various topics touched upon by the writer. The labour bestowed on the work has doubtless been great, and the materials within reach of the author immense. Great patience, industry, and research, have been expended upon it. The number of persons whom it has excited to inquiries connected with the Bible, must be very considerable. The esteemed writer is therefore entitled to the gratitude of the Bible-reading public for volumes which have been well received, not only on account of their intrinsic value, but because they constitute the only Introduction to the entire Scriptures originally written in our own language.

But with all the valuable and excellent matter contained in the work before us, it is marred by serious defects. It will never commend itself to the approbation of those who are conversant with the Introductions of Eichhorn, Michaelis, Jahn, De Wette, Hug, Hävernick, Schott, Feilmoser, Credner, Neudecker, Guerike, Scholz, and Herbst. It is pervaded neither by accuracy nor by depth of learning. It is far behind the improved state of 'Introduction' in the present day. In the estimation of all sound and comprehensive scholars, it belongs to a bygone period. The authorities cited and relied on are far from being the best. Weight is attached to the remarks of men who should never have been mentioned in the character of

scholars. The author has attempted too much; and in so doing, has failed. He has read extensively, without digesting the results of his reading. He has amassed materials, without sifting them in his own mind, or giving them the hue and form of an independent intellect. Few men are masters of many subjects; and Mr. Horne is no exception. Indeed, he appears to be complete master of none of the numerous topics which he proposes to discuss. Had he been so, he would probably have advanced our knowledge of them, or have placed them in a strong and novel light. To say that the book has gained the public favour is saying little for it, when we consider how small is the number of competent judges in regard to so many departments. It is apparent to us, that the author is not acquainted with German books, or familiar with German literature. Hence he is often ignorant of the best materials from which to derive his knowledge of a subject. He is also very moderately acquainted with Latin works published on the continent; a circumstance manifestly unfavourable to the character of his own. English books are the sources from which he has chiefly drawn his materials. And we are constrained to add, with some degree of reluctance, that even the best English works are sometimes neglected. Mr. Horne is familiar, for instance, with single sermons proceeding from bishops and other dignitaries of the Established church, and with volumes of discourses published by the national clergy; but he is not always familiar with the books and writings of Dissenters, even when they might be of considerable assistance in correcting errors into which he has fallen, or of leading him in the right way. In this respect there is a degree of culpability which can hardly be excused. Hence he has made little, if any, use of a great number of articles in Kitto's Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature, although his articles on the same subjects are miserably defective or exceedingly incorrect. So also Dr. Pye Smith's 'Scripture and Geology,' which would have prevented serious errors had Mr. Horne consulted it, is quite unheeded. How ridiculous to argue against the particularity of the deluge in the unphilosophical mode exemplified in the first volume; or to adopt, at the present day, after what Dr. Smith and others have collected from the writings of naturalists, a statement formerly made by Dr. Hales, '*can we doubt of its* (the ark) *being sufficient to contain eight persons, and about two hundred or two hundred and fifty pair of four-footed animals; a number to which, according to M. Buffon, all the various distinct species may be reduced, together with all the subsistence necessary for a twelvemonth?*' Hence too, he has made no use whatever of Davidson's Lectures on Biblical Criticism, and of the same

author's Sacred Hermeneutics; although the latter work in particular, is not unknown in Germany.

We must confess our great disappointment in the book before us, even in the new edition. There is no *substantial* improvement in it. There are additions, it is true, the most material of which relate to the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament; but additions are not always improvements. Why should the old text have been retained in many instances where it is defective and incorrect? Why did not the author re-write the whole? Truly it needs to be re-written, with the exception perhaps, of the first volume, which is the best. The second volume is the worst of all.

Scholars will not be satisfied with stereotype or all but stereotype works treating of subjects which are every year investigated afresh, and to which something new or important is constantly being added. If the intelligent public rely on the statements of stationary men, they will be often misled. In short, Mr. Horne cannot be taken as a safe or correct guide. He has moved on too slowly. The growing literature of the Bible has got far ahead of him, and he will hardly overtake it. He has, indeed, lost sight of it. At one time it might have been apprehended, when he was a younger and more vigorous man; but he will never reach it now.

It is unnecessary to substantiate the truth of our remarks by examples taken from the pages of these volumes. Proof in abundance is at hand. What will be thought, for instance, of the man who writes on the Targums without knowing anything of *Zunz's* 'Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden,' that profoundly learned work which has thrown so much light on some of these Chaldee paraphrases? What can be said of him who writes a history of the Septuagint version in perfect ignorance of *Frankel's* 'Vorstudien?' Who, but Mr. Horne, would now compile his account of the Samaritan Pentateuch from Le Clerc and Kennicott, rather than from *Gesenius's* masterly treatise, and others by which it has been succeeded? Who, save he, would venture to affirm, that Boehmer holds Paul to be the founder of the church at Colosse, when the reverse is the fact? What will the reader think of one who, after the researches of *Kopp, Gesenius,* and *Hupfeld,* gravely advocates the view propounded by Joseph Scaliger, that 'Ezra, when he reformed the Jewish church, transcribed the ancient characters of the Hebrews into the square letters of the Chaldæans: and that this was done for the use of those Jews who, being born during the captivity, knew no other alphabet than that of the people among whom they had been educated. Consequently, the old character, which we call the Samaritan, fell into total disuse?'

Take the following additional examples, snatched at random from among multitudes, as specimens of the author's candour, accuracy, and competency.

'It appears from the contents of this epistle, that, not long after the Galatians had embraced Christianity, a certain Judaizing teacher or false apostle had either crept in or risen up among them, who, to advance his own doctrine, questioned St. Paul's apostolical authority, insinuating that Peter and the apostles of the circumcision were superior to him, and consequently much more to be regarded. It was further insinuated that they never preached against the circumcision of Gentile converts: but that it was a doctrine peculiar to Paul, who was only an apostle of men, and had not such extraordinary powers and illumination as had been conferred on the other apostles. The false teacher seems even to have intimated, that St. Paul did himself, secretly and at some times, preach the necessity of circumcision to the Gentile converts; though generally, and at other times, he insisted on the contrary. In short, the false apostle was desirous that all Gentile Christians should submit themselves to circumcision, and consequently oblige themselves to observe the whole law of Moses, as if the gospel of Jesus Christ alone were insufficient to justify and save them. . . . . From the expression of St. Paul, in Galatians v. 9, 10, it is probable that this disturbance in the Galatian churches was made by one Judaizing teacher only, and not by several zealots, as some commentators have supposed; and from what is said in chap. vi. 12, 13, it appears that he was a man of immoral character, who acted not from any religious views or motives, but from vain-glory and fear; that he might conciliate the favour of the Jews by increasing the number of proselytes, and so escape the persecutions raised by the unbelieving Jews against St. Paul and those who adhered to his doctrines.'—vol. iv. p. 370.

Dr. Benson writes thus:—

'The occasion of the epistle was his having heard that a certain Judaizing Christian, a false apostle, had either crept in or rose up among them, who called in question his [St. Paul's] apostolic authority; insinuating that 'St. Peter and the apostles of the circumcision were much more to be regarded, and superior to him. That they never preached against the circumcision of the converts from among the idolatrous Gentiles; but that it was a doctrine peculiar to Paul, who was only an apostle of men; and had not such powers and illumination as the other apostles. Nay, he seemeth to have intimated that Paul himself did, secretly, and at some times, preach up the necessity of circumcision to the Gentile converts; though generally and at other times, he insisted upon the contrary. The sum of the matter was, that the false apostle was very desirous to have made all the Gentile Christians submit to be circumcised; and so to have bound themselves to observe the whole law of Moses; as if the gospel of Christ alone and of itself had been insufficient to justify and save them.

'That it was but one Judaising Christian who made all that disturbance, appeareth probable to me from what the apostle had said, Gal. v. 9, 10:—'A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump. I trust in the Lord concerning you that you will not be of a different mind from me; but that he who troubleth you will fall under the condemnation he deserves, whosoever he be.' And he seemeth to have been a man of an immoral character, from what is said, chap. vi. 12, &c., as not acting from religious views and motives; but out of vain-glory and fear, to curry favour with the Jews by increasing the number of proselytes of righte-

ousness; and so escape the persecution which the unbelieving Jews frequently raised against St. Paul and such as adhered to the doctrine which he preached.'—*Benson's History of the First Planting of the Christian Religion*, vol. ii. pp. 119, 120. London, 1735.

Surely it would only have been fair in Mr. Horne to have written with inverted commas the words which we have quoted from him. The original will be discovered at a glance in Benson. And yet the latter is never mentioned in text or note of the entire section relating to the epistle to the Galatians. Thus the *plagiarism* is manifest.

'Its [the epistle to the Colossians] genuineness was never disputed.' (vol. iv. p. 380.)

This assertion is contrary to fact. Not to speak of Schleiermacher, who evidently entertained doubts of it, Mayerhoff wrote a treatise to prove it supposititious. See Mayerhoff's 'der Brief an die Kolosser mit vornehmlicher Berücksichtigung der drei Pastoralschreiben geprüft. Berlin, 1838.'

'Father Morin refers it [the Gemara of Jerusalem] to the fifth century.' (vol. ii. p. 417.)

This is incorrect, for Morin refers it to the *seventh* century. The most probable opinion founded on internal evidence and confirmed by Maimonides *is not given by our author*, viz., that this Gemara was composed towards the end of the last half of the fourth century.

'The Gemara of Babylon was compiled in the sixth century.' (vol. ii. p. 417.)

This statement also is incorrect. The Babylonian Gemara was begun by R. Asche, who died A. D. 427, and was completed A. D. 500.

'Again in Exodus xii. 40, we read, *the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years*. But this is not true, for it was only *two hundred and fifteen years*, &c.' vol. ii. p. 265.

Here the Hebrew text is perfectly correct, and consequently our English received version. It is true, that *the sojourning* of the children of Israel was four hundred and thirteen years; and this is what the text states. It is *not* true, that the Israelites *dwelt in Egypt* four hundred and thirty years; *but the Hebrew text does not say so.*

Mr. Horne puts upon the words an interpretation which they positively and expressly reject, and then boldly exclaims, 'this is not true.'

In page 270 of the fourth volume are mentioned two descriptions of the Nazarenes, as also two classes of the Ebionites.

All this is drawn from the air. The fathers did not always distinguish between the Nazarenes and Ebionites, the names being often used loosely. Strictly speaking the Nazarenes and Ebionites differed in some important points; but that there were two classes of each, is a discovery yet to be made by Neander, Gieseler, and Guerike.

'The genuineness of chapters xv. and xvi. [of the epistle to the Romans] has been of late years impugned by Heumann, Semler, Schott, and Eichhorn.' (vol. iv. p. 354.)

According to the use of the term *genuineness* in the work before us, this assertion is untrue. Not one of the four writers mentioned has impugned the genuineness (authenticity) of the two chapters in question. Heumann looked upon chapters xii.—xv. as another letter written subsequently to the preceding, and the sixteenth chapter as two postscripts; but he did not question their Pauline origin. Semler judged the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters to be two different appendices; but he held that they were written by Paul. Schott regarded the sixteenth chapter as made up of fragments of a smaller epistle written by Paul at Corinth to some Asiatic church. Eichhorn thought that the fifteenth chapter was composed on a supplemental piece of parchment; and that chapter xvi. 1—20 was a letter of recommendation for Phœbe, not intended for Rome. The first writer who threw out suspicions against the authenticity, or as Mr. Horne would say *genuineness*, of the two chapters, was Professor Baur of Tübingen.

'When Antiochus Epiphanes conquered the Jews, about the year 163, before the Christian æra, he prohibited the public reading of the law in the synagogues, on pain of death. The Jews, in order that they might not be wholly deprived of the Word of God, selected from other parts of the sacred writings, etc.' (vol. iii. p. 267.) The opinion here stated, which was originally a *conjecture* advanced by Elias Levita, has been long ago exploded. So far from having any foundation, it is rather opposed to 1 Maccabees i. 41, etc., and Josephus Antiq. xii. 5, 4 (see De Wette's Einleit. sixth edition, § 78).

After mentioning Saadias's Arabic version of the Pentateuch and of Isaiah, Mr. Horne adds, 'Saadias is also said to have translated the book of Job and *the Psalms*.' (vol. ii. p. 2, 32.) We should like to know who the person was that said he translated the Book of Psalms. No traces of his Arabic version of the Psalms have ever yet been discovered. Of his version of *Hosea* mention is made by David Kimchi, whence Erpenius and Pococke *conjectured* that Saadias translated all the books of the Old Testament.

The third edition of Wahl's Clavis Novi Testamenti is described as being in two volumes 8vo., and as published in 1844. (vol. v. p. 247.)

This is incorrect. The third edition is in quarto, and was published in 1843.

The eleventh edition of Gesenius's Elementary Hebrew Grammar is given (vol. v. p. 233); but the lamented author himself lived to publish *the thirteenth* edition, of which no notice is taken. The older one must therefore be preferred, because the later is unknown to Mr. Horne. Gesenius's Lehrgebäude is entirely passed over in the list of Hebrew Grammars!

The following is an example of the mode in which the author illustrates the important aid furnished by the analogy of kindred languages, in interpretation. 'In Matthew viii. 20, we read, that Christ *had not where to lay his head*; which expression has been interpreted as meaning that he had literally no home of his own. But considerable light is thrown upon it by two passages from the Arabic history of Abulpharagius; in the first of which, having stated that Saladin had animated his soldiers to the storming of Tyre, he says, that *no place now remained to the Franks*, WHERE THEY COULD LAY THEIR HEAD, *except Tyre*; and again, after relating that the Arabs had stormed Acca or Ptolemais, he says that NO PLACE WAS LEFT TO THE FRANKS *on the coast of this* (the Mediterranean) *sea*, WHERE THEY COULD LAY THEIR HEAD. From these two passages it is evident that the evangelist's meaning is, that Jesus Christ had no secure and fixed place of residence.' (vol. ii. pp. 409, 410.)

Although this example is taken from Ammon's notes to Ernesti, yet Mr. Horne adopts it as his own. We honestly confess our inability to see 'the considerable light' thrown by the two passages on the very plain expression, 'he had not where to lay his head.' It would require the hundred eyes of Argus to discover it. The example in question may be fairly referred to what Mr. Locke terms 'trifling propositions.' (See Essay on the Understanding, book iv. chapter 8.)

That there are very numerous and most important omissions —omissions fatal to the reputation of *any Introduction* in the present day, because none can dispense with them, will be apparent to the reader who consults what is written on the authenticity of the pentateuch (vol. i., p. 46, et seq.), in connexion with the meagre analysis of the separate books in the fourth volume. Here the late elaborate works which have been published *against* the authenticity of the Mosaic books, as well as those *in favour of* it, are alike unnoticed. So also with regard to *the unity* of Genesis. The question which has been so much debated in recent times, viz., *the composition of Genesis from original documents* is little more than mentioned. Mr. Horne states *one 'fatal objection'* to the hypothesis, 'the total silence of Moses as to any documents consulted by him.' We have always

been accustomed to attribute comparatively little weight to the *argumentum e silentio,* in accordance with the sentiments of the best logicians; but Mr. Horne uses it as a fatal battery against a host of able and most learned writers, some of them quite as orthodox as himself.

Among 'foreign commentators on the whole Bible' in the fifth volume, we look in vain for any notice of *the Exegetisches Handbuch* to the Old Testament by Hitzig, Knobel, Thenius, Hirzel, and others; or of the similar Handbuch, to the New Testament, by De Wette. And yet no good interpreter can now dispense with them. The best separate commentaries on single books of the Bible are likewise omitted, for the most part; while numbers of the worthless are given, occasionally with a commendation from the 'Monthly Review,' or 'British Magazine.' Hence, under the head of Commentaries on Matthew, Meyer's, (of which a second edition has lately appeared), and De Wette's, (of which a third was published in 1845), do not present themselves.

Among the 'treatises on the interpretation of Scripture prophecies,' we look in vain for Hoffmann, or Birks's 'First Elements of Sacred Prophecy,' although they are the most important books that have been recently published on the subject; but yet 'A Manual of Prophecy, by the Rev. Peter Roberts, A.M., London, 1818,' is given. Where is the student of prophecy who would purchase Peter Roberts's worthless book? In the list of the commentators on Genesis, Tuch is omitted, although his learned work stands at the head of all others in the estimation of German scholars.

Hävernick's commentary on Daniel, and the American work of Folsom, on the same important book, are not noticed, yet they are worth the twenty-one productions whose titles are recorded. Of course, the Duke of Manchester's work on the 'Times of Daniel' is not neglected, of the merits of which it is unnecessary to speak in the present place.

Among commentators on Isaiah, no notice is taken of Gesenius! In like manner Hitzig, Hendewerk, Umbreit, Ewald, and Knobel, are not found in Mr. Horne's pages. These are the men who have recently done most for the exposition of Isaiah. On the contrary, Alexander's commentary on the book of Isaiah is given, and said to be published in 1845, whereas it was not published till the present year.

In the long section on the Scripture miracles, which ought to have been condensed, Dr. Chalmers's reply to Hume is altogether unnoticed. Penrose and Le Bas on miracles, are not once alluded to; and yet they are the best books on the subject in the English language. Bishops Gleig and M'Ilvaine appear in con-

nexion with this subject. It is matter of surprise to us, and will be to many others, what right they have to such a place, in preference to Chalmers.

In answering the infidel objection to the credibility of the Mosaic account that mankind sprang originally from one pair, we looked for some reference to Dr. Prichard's researches in this department. It is well known that no writer has investigated it with equal ability. But instead of him, appears Count Buffon, along with some others whose names are not worthy to be mentioned in connexion with the subject.

In speaking of the deluge, Mr. Horne says, 'No fact that ever occurred in the world is so well attested both by natural and civil history.' And again: the Hebrew historian's 'relation is confirmed by the fossilised remains of animals belonging to a former world, which are found in every quarter of the globe.' (vol. i. p. 148.) Thirty or forty years ago this might have been written; but it should be expunged at the present day. Dr. Buckland, in his 'Bridgewater Treatise,' while holding the opinion that a recent inundation of the earth is shown by geology, doubts whether *its identity with the Noachian deluge can be made out.* 'The arguments *against* the identity of the two deluges, (the historical and the geological,) appear to us,' says Professor Hitchcock, 'rather to preponderate.' When real geologists hesitate, Mr. Horne, who is no geologist, should have erased a few pages, beginning with § vii. p. 148, and belonging to the preceding half century.

In the section relating to the interpretation of types, (vol. ii. p. 527,) we meet with frequent allusions to bishops, such as Marsh, Van Mildert, Hurd, Chandler, Warburton; but no reference is made to the works of two writers, who, though not belonging to the Episcopal church, have written more ably on the subject than they all. Dr. W. L. Alexander, in his 'Connexion and Harmony of the Old and New Testaments,' and Mr. Fairbairn in his 'Typology,' are unnoticed; yet whoever wishes to study the subject, will have recourse to them in preference to all others.

Enough of this disheartening work. We have written with perfect conscientiousness, and with full conviction of the justice and truthfulness of our remarks on the general character of the work before us; and however much our judgment may vary from the opinion of those perfunctory men who have never *studied* the subjects, or from the views of popularity-seeking journalists, every statement that has been made can be amply substantiated.

Art. IV.—*Twenty-four Years in the Argentine Republic; embracing the Author's Personal Adventures, with the Civil and Military History of the Country, and an Account of its Political Condition, before and during the Administration of Governor Rosas; his Course of Policy; the Causes and Character of his Interference with the Government of Monte Video, and the Circumstances which led to the Interposition of England and France.* By Col. J Anthony King. 8vo. London: Longman and Co.

We have been deeply interested in the perusal of this volume. It is full of the romance of real life, and combines in a very unusual degree the charm of personal adventure, with the importance which attaches to the strife of parties and the progress of political life. The author is an American, and writes with the predilections of his republic; but there is an expansiveness and liberality in his sentiments which wins regard, and goes far to secure our confidence. The volume is so crowded with incident, and that too of a character so deeply tragical, that on a first inspection we were somewhat incredulous. A closer examination, however, and the enquiries we have instituted, have served to remove suspicion and to establish our faith in the authenticity of the narrative. The appearance of such a work is specially opportune at the present moment, when French and British statesmen are interposing to check the ravages of war, and to secure to some members of the Spanish American family the benefits of independence and tranquillity. 'There is a manifest necessity,' says Colonel King, 'for information respecting the Argentine republic at the present moment, not merely for the satisfaction of the public mind, but also for the use both of European and American statesmen.' No man, probably, is so qualified to supply this information as the author, as he resided in the republic during many years, was actively engaged in its military operations, and as a foreigner was free from those prejudices to which a native would be liable.

The object of the work is to 'present an array of historical facts connected with the establishment of the Argentine republic, Bolivia, and Uruguay,' and this is done, for the most part, in connexion with the personal adventures of the author. There is, therefore, a vividness in the impressions conveyed, a graphic power in the delineations furnished, which fixes attention, and ministers largely to the knowledge of the reader. The mind never flags, we feel that we are in the presence of an eye-witness, are listening to one who is recounting what he has seen and done, and whose discourse is enlightened by an acquaintance with higher principles and forms of government than those of the country in which he is an actor.

In 1817 the author, then a youth of fourteen years of age, left his native city, New York. Though not expressly stated, we gather from the narrative, that he did this without the sanction of his friends. He was, however, pennyless, and on arriving at Baltimore, the necessity of the case induced him to ship himself on board the brig Wycoona, of the destination of which he was entirely ignorant. 'It was all one to me!' he remarks, 'I had foolishly left my home, and was too proud to return.' This vessel proved to be a privateer, about to engage in the service of the Buenos-Ayrean government, but after a tedious voyage of sixty days, he and three others were put on shore at the capital, as unfit for service. 'No allowance,' he tells us, 'was made for my services during the voyage, and, with my wardrobe tied in a little bundle, I once more found myself homeless, and friendless, in a strange land, among a people with whose language and customs I was unacquainted, and the prospect of starvation staring me in the face.' This was a sufficiently appalling condition, yet the elasticity of youth kept him from despair. He obtained a situation in a fancy and perfumery store, which he retained for some months, and ultimately left, with the consent of his employer, to enter the army of the republic. He was entrusted with a commission, and was soon ordered to join General Ramarez, under whom his first battle was fought. It was a sanguinary encounter, in which, as in all the other actions recorded, the loss of life was far greater in proportion to the numbers engaged, than is usual in European warfare. Indeed, we may remark in passing, that the ferocity and carnage on these occasions were terrible. We know nothing like them in modern times. European battles are mere child's play compared with them. The worst passions of the human breast are allowed free play, and each party in its turn seeks the extermination of the other. In the present case, the army of Ramarez was victorious, and fully availed itself of the licence conceded on such occasions.

It is not our object to acquaint our readers with the disgusting details of South American warfare, neither can we follow the personal history of Colonel King without occupying much more space than other claims permit. Our object will be best attained by presenting our readers with such extracts as, while they illustrate the nature of his work, will give the clearest insight into the condition of the country, and the character of the rulers who exercise a paramount influence over its destinies. Keeping this in mind, we shall pay little attention to consecutive narrative, but shall cull from various parts of the volume such passages as best suit our purpose.

Flying from one of the murderous conflicts in which it was

his fortune to engage, Colonel King narrates an incident that speaks volumes as to the temper of the people. The habits of old Spain are, in this respect, but too faithfully copied by its American descendants. The analogy should be kept in mind in justice to the latter, and to prevent partial and hasty conclusions respecting the influence of forms of government. Such atrocities have recently been perpetrated in the Peninsula, and are clearly apart both from monarchy and republicanism. Their origin must be searched for in other and deeper causes. On the occasion we refer to, the fugitives being overtaken by a superior force, and being worn out by fatigue and want of provisions and water, determined, after a brave resistance, on offering to capitulate. Captain Boedo was their messenger, and what followed will be best described in our author's words :—

'The brave and beloved Captain Boedo, of whom I have before spoken, was selected as our messenger for the occasion; and he left the breastwork just as a large body of Echagun's troops had commenced a movement towards us. Seeing the flag, they halted at a distance of about three hundred yards. Boedo met them, delivered his message, and was instantly brought out in front of their column, his hands were tied behind him, and without further ceremony, he was shot before our eyes! This murder was instantly followed by a headlong assault, and at the same time arose from our retreat the agonizing yell of hopeless vengeance. The cold-blooded act of cruelty and perfidy rendered most of our companions almost frantic with rage, and they fought with such desperation and slaughter, that our enemies were once more forced to retire, and with them, to our astonishment, some forty of our own men rushed from the enclosure, and attempted to cover their desertion in the general retreat; few, however, accomplished their design, for they were a close mark, and the carbines of our indignant troops brought many of them to a disgraceful death. Another council was now called: the sufferings of the whole body had become intense, officers and men had become perfectly desperate, and it was resolved, that rather than stay there, dying inch by inch, we would make a sortie, and fall upon the sabres of our enemy. General Ramarez, the good, the brave man, was alone in opposition to this measure. 'Gladly,' said he, 'would I give my own life as a hostage for such gallant fellows, would such an act appease yon bloody monster.' His words were interrupted at this moment by the discovery that our barricade was on fire, whether by accident or design I know not, but the flames rose and crackled so fiercely among the dry timbers and wood-work of the carts, that to stay them was impossible. The whole body rushed forth; and in an instant we were fighting for life on every hand, the enemy having completely hemmed us in, in a common centre. During the fray I received a blow upon my breast from the butt end of a musket, which fractured my ribs, and felled me to the ground. In attempting

to rise, I was instantly seized by two men, and on looking about me, I discovered several of our friends prisoners like myself, and among them General Ramarez.

'The fight lasted but a few moments, yet the ground was strewn about me with the dead and dying, for so long as a man had been found in the attitude of resistance, he was put to the sword. Poor Ramarez! his fate we all knew. No ceremony was required by these butchers; and without trial, or even the calling of a council to give his death the colour of an execution, as soon as the skirmish was over, he was led before the little remnant of his own army, his arms pinioned, a guard at his side, and a file of soldiers following in his rear. Clasping my hands to heaven, I whispered a prayer for his soul. No word was spoken; but as the brave man knelt before his murderers, he cast upon me a long, an earnest look, which I shall never forget, and at the next instant fell dead before me. The butchery of the gallant officer was accomplished, but the hellish purpose of his murder was not appeased. The lifeless head of Ramarez was severed from his body on the spot, and, as I afterwards learned, was sent as a trophy through the seditious towns of the republic.

'The prisoners were now all stripped of their clothing, expecting momentary death,—an expectation not at all allayed by the repeated assurance of our captors, that they would 'shoot us by and by.' The merchandise of the caravan, which Ramarez had ordered to be held sacred to its owners, was now taken possession of by the soldiers of Echagua; the prisoners were placed under an escort, and we left the place of blood, not knowing at what moment we should be called upon to join our lost comrades in eternity.'—pp. 32—35.

On another occasion, when flying before a superior and victorious enemy, Colonel King and his companions found refuge amongst the Chiriviones Indians, of whom he gives a highly favourable description, the bright colouring of which is probably, in some measure, attributable to the security and repose they furnished. The manner of their reception was characteristic, and the treatment received, merited a better return than was made by one of the fugitives:—

'As we neared the towns,' (says Col. King), 'which we had seen at a distance, we saw occasional plots of growing corn, and flocks of sheep; and finally encountered a small body of warriors, each armed with a short spear, and with no covering, except a cloth about the loins. The only ornament which they wore was singular enough, a button fastened so as to cover the hollow of the under lip, by passing the eye of the button through the lip near the roots of the teeth, and securing it with some small object on the inside; this every man wore. Their complexion was of a clear, light copper colour, and their features and forms regular and symmetrical. By this band, who kept at a respectful distance, we were notified to halt; and, without a word or sign further than that, they immediately dispatched a messenger to

the towns to make known our approach. The messenger soon returned with others, and by signs we were directed to advance, the Indians still keeping their position at about forty paces from us. We followed as they led, and at about half a mile, on reaching the summit of a high roll, we discovered the entire body of their warriors, numbering about five hundred, drawn up in a single line to receive us. What would be their disposal of us was of course a mystery, and the source of much surmise; but, accustomed as we had been to the merciless usage of our own race, few of us expected any thing but death at the hands of the savage. Having arrived within about fifty yards of their line, a signal was given that we should again halt. We obeyed; and immediately four of their body advanced about fifteen paces towards us, and made a sign of friendship, by placing the right hand upon the left breast. We replied, by making the same sign. They then ordered us by signs to dismount, which was instantly complied with. Ponci and myself then advanced, and as we neared the chief, he pronounced the Spanish word '*Amigo! amigo!*' (Friend! friend!) I answered with the same word. He then demanded, in broken Spanish, that we should give them our horses. This was evidently a test of our sincerity. I replied that he should have them, provided they were restored to us; and immediately had the horses led forward, and placed in their hands. After about ten minutes, during which time they conversed among themselves, the horses were sent back; and having thus secured their entire confidence, we were at once admitted to their hospitality.'—pp. 106—108.

The answer of one of the Indian chiefs, on Colonel King's asking him if he would not like to become a Christian, furnishes painful evidence of the wrong done to our faith by the misconduct of its professors. 'Speaking in a low tone, and slowly shaking his head, he said, Christian! no, no no; Christian very bad—Christian fight his brother; Chirivione fight his enemy—Chirivione live happy.' Who can wonder that Christianity makes such slow progress in the world, when its approach is everywhere heralded by the crimes of its professors. Men bearing its name belie its precepts, and constitute the most formidable obstacle to its diffusion. Uncivilised tribes know nothing of it but what they learn from the conduct of its professors, and we need not, therefore, be surprised at their regarding it with suspicion and hostility. Even the more cultivated men of Europe refuse to search its records, in order to learn its character; and we may well, therefore, excuse the inhabitants of the forest who condemn our religion on account of the bad lives of its nominal disciples. The hardest task which our missionaries have to accomplish, is the removal of the prejudice thus created against the truths they preach.

An amusing incident is recorded in the course of one of our author's military adventures. He was at the head of a small

battalion, and was in hourly expectation of falling in with parties of the enemy, when he tells us:—

'On passing through the wood of Baratu, our advance-guard suddenly came in, stating that from a noise a-head, they were sure that a body of men must be approaching. Their report led me to suppose that the enemy had anticipated our movement, and were coming to meet us. I immediately ordered every man to his post, and continued advancing. In a few minutes the sound was distinctly heard, but it bore no resemblance to the sound that would arise from the movement of a body of men. There was no clattering of horses' hoofs, no distinct voice, but a continuous Babel-like confusion of sounds, as if a regiment of old women were all chattering together. Still we advanced at a slow pace; when, lo! on turning a sharp promontory, we beheld about two hundred monkeys, swinging themselves from tree to tree, twisting their long tails around the branches, and all enjoying the most perfect freedom of speech and action. As we came in sight, however, all was suddenly as silent as death—not a creature among them moved—each monkey stopping in his career of fun, in the precise position in which we discovered them. Some hung pendant by their tails from the branches, some lying outstretched upon a limb, and others, in the act of climbing, remained with their long arms clinging to the tree. Each played the part of a dead monkey; and, after the first moment of mortification at having arrayed and rallied my men for such a piece of ridicule, I could not resist joining in the universal roar of laughter that followed the discovery. Some of the least subordinate men levelled their pieces at the innocent creatures that had produced a temporary excitement among us, but I instantly ordered that not one of them should be harmed; and we left them, no doubt congratulating themselves on their fortunate escape.'—pp. 130, 131.

The superstition of the people throughout the republic is extreme. Christianity is known only as a system of puerile forms, which debase the intellect and brutalize the heart. Popery exists in its worst forms, and the national mind is shaped to its pleasure. It revels in undisturbed possession, and he who would know what it is capable of doing should read such volumes as the one before us. With the deceitfulness of 'the man of sin,' it conceals its worst features in Britain and America, and is, in consequence, scarcely believed to be the thing it really is. But let it be seen as it reveals itself in less enlightened communities, and he can be no friend to human improvement who hesitates to denounce it as the enemy of liberty, and the destroyer of the charities of life. Our author was perfectly free from all pretence to what worldly men term sanctimoniousness; yet the following incident will show the suspicious and relentless cruelty with which even he was persecuted. He was at this time an

officer of the state, waiting at Jujuy for the arrival of an attendant.

'It is proper here to remind the reader, that I was in what is very significantly termed a Catholic country; or, to be more explanatory, a country governed by the Catholic religion; for although the civil authority of the country is stern, and the military sway almost boundless, the ecclesiastical is *supreme;* and woe to the luckless wight who falls into its grasp. All must own submission and pay obeisance to the church; and the governor, the general, or the judge, whatever may be his own private tenets, must hail the passing *host* with bended knee, or suffer the severest punishment of an offended priesthood for his temerity. The *holy host*, as it is termed, is borne by a procession of friars, headed with one bearing an image of the Saviour. At his side is another, carrying a small bell, which, by a continual tinkle, gives notice of their approach. These are preceded, at a distance of forty or fifty yards, by priests, with soldiers on either side, ready to strike down all who are not kneeling at their approach.

'I was at the market-place, as before stated, in conversation with my friend, awaiting the arrival of my servant, and expecting every moment to hear the tinkle of the bell attached to his mule. The sound of a bell at length reached my ear, but I was in earnest conversation and gave it no heed, when suddenly I received a blow from behind which threw me a little forward, and knocked my *garro* into the dirt. I turned to resent the insult, and met the frown of an exasperated friar. He was preceding the *host*, accompanied by his guard, from the musket of one of whom I had received the blow. But, as I always scrupulously conformed, outwardly, at least, to the customs of the country, I instantly fell upon my knees, by the side of my friend, who had discovered the cause of our interruption in time to escape the holy displeasure of the advanced guard of the host.

'The procession passed on. I felt that I had committed a crime sufficient to draw a watchful eye towards me, yet trusted that no further note would be taken of the circumstance. It was a vain trust, however; for, in the space of eight hours, I was arrested for contumely towards the holy church, and, without trial or examination of any kind, cast into a loathsome cell.'—pp. 149—150.

In this dungeon he remained nearly four months, and when at length released—which was effected with considerable difficulty—he was ordered to leave the town within twenty-four hours. On his journey thence he fell in with the family of Capt. Boedo, whom he accompanied to a religious festival held in their neighbourhood. His account of the scene we transcribe, as illustrative of the religious and social habits of the people.

'As this was a religious festival, great numbers of infants were brought in for baptism, and the little *capella* (or church) was literally crowded with mothers bearing in their arms the precious objects of their religious as well as maternal solicitude.

'The ceremonies each day began with early mass; after which came the *maté* and breakfast, and next gambling, horse-racing, and other sports, in all of which the priests partook with a relish equal to that of the most profane. Merchants were also there, who brought goods in their *platacas*, (a kind of leathern trunk,) which were opened upon the ground, and their valuables thus exposed for sale; and a good mart they made of it, inasmuch as the lovers and maidens of the interior seldom met with so fair an opportunity for the purchase of the numerous little *et cetera* attendant upon courtship and marriage.

'The higher class of visitors, with the priests, did their gambling in-doors; but the more common people (and of these I shall now write as characteristic of the country) were under the necessity of making a bull's hide their table, and of conducting their play in the open air. Let us describe one party as characteristic of the whole, and indeed of the whole interior of the country, for what was seen here may be seen in all the country places of the republic. The reader must imagine a bandy-legged, clumsy, hard-featured fellow, with no pantaloons, but with drawers neatly ruffled about the ankle; his *poncha* wound into a sash, and tied about his waist, instead of hanging in its usual grace from his shoulders; his sword hanging or projecting from beneath its folds; his spurs, with rowels measuring about three inches from point to point, and the heavy chains attached to them clanking at every step as he moves along with a lazy, swinging gait, and, with an equivocal smile, accost another, who is, perhaps, the outward counterpart of himself. He says to the other—

''*Amigo*, will you play?'

''Yes; but we are only two: it needs four.'

''Let us find others, then.'

'The other two are soon found, and they make a party of four—rough fellows, but good-natured. A bull's hide is produced, and thrown upon the ground, upon the four corners of which they seat themselves, each taking the precaution to throw his knife upon the hide beside him, as an intimation that there is to be no foul play during the game. The cards are then produced, the money put up, and the game proceeds. A very small quantity of gin or rum is sometimes used by these people, but never to excess. While some were thus amusing themselves, others were engaged in horse-racing, feats with the lasso, etc.'—pp. 177—179.

Numerous incidents are mentioned explanatory of the character of the chief political actors in the revolutions of the country; and, we regret to say, that, with very few exceptions, they awaken disgust and abhorrence. Quiroga is one of these, a despot of the worst class, suspicious, mercenary, and brutal. Some of our own countrymen were, a few years since, the victims of his tyranny. A Joint Stock Association was formed for the working of mines in the province of Rioja, and the specula-

tion proving successful, Quiroga exacted large sums from the company, and recklessly imprisoned and flogged the workmen, until they were compelled to abandon their operations. Failing to obtain redress, such of the men as possessed the means returned to Europe; but others, amongst whom were two Germans, named Frederick and Wilhelm, were compelled, by want of funds, to remain. The latter of these was soon afterwards arrested, under a false charge of being implicated in a conspiracy against the governor, and Frederick, between whom and him there existed a friendship unhappily rare for its purity and depth, earnestly besought the tyrant for his release. His excitement threatened his sanity; but hearing at length that the sentence of death was passed, 'a deliberate calm seemed to take possession of his soul,' and he resolved, though at the sacrifice of himself, to save his friend. Though the extract is somewhat long, we cannot curtail what follows.

'He immediately procured a fleet horse, and riding to the guard-house, where Wilhelm was confined, and which stood near the residence of Quiroga, he dismounted, and leaving his horse with the captain of the guard, said calmly—

''Captain, I am going to the governor to obtain a reprieve for my friend; should the governor send an order to that effect, you will please give him my horse.'

'Having obtained a promise of compliance, he proceeded to the house of Quiroga; and passing the guard at the entrance, found him alone.

''Governor,' he said, 'you may know the object of my visit; it is to intercede once more for my friend. You have been misinformed respecting him; he is not capable of joining in any conspiracy, and is innocent of this charge. I beg of you to release him.'

'Quiroga looked upon him, and with an infernal smile, said—

''You must forget your friend; he has but a few hours to live. Do you not know that when I condemn a man I seldom forgive him?'

''But he is my only friend!' exclaimed the poor fellow, falling upon his knees and bursting into tears; 'he is my only friend! and if you kill him you will kill me. Senor! senor! he is incapable of this act! He has not the heart! he has not the power! Even now he cannot speak the Spanish language. Senor! I entreat you, spare him!'

''If he does not understand the Spanish language,' said the cold-blooded tyrant, 'he will not need to learn it now. Go—leave me; you can say nothing that will alter my determination, or save his life.'

'Is it so, monster?' exclaimed Frederick, springing to his feet, and levelling a pistol at the very breast of Quiroga. 'Speak one

word, and you die! I have come to liberate my friend, and I will do it.'

'He then approached the door, and turned the key. The tyrant saw resolution in his eye, and trembled.

''See,' continued the German, 'I have saved you the trouble of drawing the order for his release; it is all ready, together with his passport, and wants only your signature, which you will please affix to it instantly.'

'Quiroga knit his brows, and hesitated.

''Come, Senor, there is no time to lose. My life you may have, and you shall be welcome to it, but you *must* sign these papers! Hesitate one minute longer, and I swear that I will deprive you of the power to commit more murders.'

'There was no alternative: the papers were signed. The German went to the door, still keeping Quiroga at bay, beckoned one of the guard, and handing him the paper, said calmly—

''Here is the governor's order for the release of the foreigner Wilhelm; he commands you to deliver it instantly to the captain of the guard.'

"Then returning, he again fastened the door, and taking a seat, said quietly,

''Now, governor, I will have a half-hour's conversation with you.'

'Upon the margin of the order of release, Frederick had written a few words in the German language, directing his friend to take the horse that the captain would deliver to him, and escape, without a moment's delay, from the province.

'This self-sacrificed man conversed with Quiroga for a full hour. He spoke of the injuries that himself and companions had so unjustly suffered at his hands, and entreated him to adopt a different course of conduct towards his fellow-men. 'By humanity and goodness,' said he, 'you will win their confidence and love to such a degree that you need fear no conspiracy against your life; but by pursuing your present course, be assured that the sword of Damocles will for ever hang above you, ready at any moment, even as it now is, to fall and destroy you.

'Wearied with his imprisonment, Quiroga at length said—

''Well, Senor Frederick, you have accomplished your object; your friend is secure, and I suppose you are ready to retire.'

''After I have obtained from you a single promise,' he replied.

''Well, what is that?'

''I wish you to promise, on your honour, as a Spanish American, that you will order no pursuit within one hour from this moment.'

''I promise it,' said Quiroga, taking out his watch. 'Go; if you can escape in that time, you shall not be harmed.'

'Bowing politely, the German retired; but he had been more thoughtful on behalf of his friend than himself. He had provided no horse for his own escape; and rather than lose the time necessary to obtain one, he trusted in his ability to reach the hills, and thus elude pursuit.

'As I have before stated, the Spaniard regards his word as more sacred than his life, and even Quiroga would not break his.

''With his watch in his hand,' continued my informant, 'he paced his apartment in frantic impatience; and on the moment when the hour had expired, he sprang to the porch, exclaiming—

''Pursue the foreigner! A hundred ounces to him who brings me the head of the foreigner, Frederick!'

'Pursuit was instantly made in every direction, and it was not long before the poor fellow saw the hunters on his track. He had just reached a passage in the hills, when they perceived him. Entering the first recess that presented itself, he ran forward and took refuge in the narrow cleft of a huge rock, hoping they would pass without discovering him; but it was a vain hope: there he was found, and there, fighting for his life, he fell, pierced with a dozen weapons.

'Wilhelm escaped into the province of Catamarca, and finally returned to Europe.'—pp. 210—214.

The political condition of the people is depressed and humiliating. Military adventurers rule the country, and their reckless disregard of life and property has broken down the spirit of the provinces. Under the name of patriotism and the forms of self-government, the worst species of tyranny is maintained: and each despot in his turn, signalizes his rule by indiscriminate slaughter and confiscation. In the meantime the people look on, 'so completely subdued,' as our author on one occasion remarks, 'by the horrors already suffered, that they seemed ready at any moment to throw up their *garros*, and cry *vives!* to whomsoever should prove himself the most powerful.' General Paz is honourably distinguished amongst his contemporaries, and we regret that his fortune has not equalled his merits. Rosas, the present dictator, is a man of different character, whose career and policy are depicted by Colonel King in the darkest colours. He 'is a man of most acute and subtle perceptions. He seems to understand the weakness of man's nature, and has made it his study to play upon that weakness in whatever form it might present itself.' In order that his position should be known, it is necessary that the condition of parties be understood. Torn into various factions, animated by the most relentless hostility towards each other, this intriguing and unscrupulous adventurer has succeeded in rendering them the instruments of his ambition. For some time past his power has been absolute, and the country has literally groaned beneath his cruelties. The following extract will explain the political parties of the republic, and show our readers how the supremacy of Rosas is maintained.

'A form of government unfortunately too liberal in perspective,

and consequently too popular, had treacherously led the whole country into a snare. The fundamental principles of that form were, in few words, the entire independence of each separate province, except so far as a unity of action might be found necessary for the transaction of business with foreign powers, or for the defence of the common territory against foreign invasion. The idea of a perfect state sovereignty was so alluring, that the best statesmen in the country were led away; and the masses, at first, with one voice, hailed its advent as affording the ultimatum of their notions of true liberty. The plan was adopted, and the people, or a great portion of the people, after years of trial, and after becoming satisfied that the system itself, aided by ambitious and bad men, was the cause of all their internal commotion and civil wars, determined if possible to change the form, and in the true spirit of *e pluribus unum*, consolidate the discordant elements in one great harmonious whole, with an executive and representative head, directly responsible to the people.

'As in all countries professing civilization, there arose two great political parties, each advocating and contending for its own separate views and measures, for what they might consider the good of the whole; or, as the case might be, best calculated to accomplish their own private ends. Juan Manuel de Rosas, who seemed to be the master-spirit of the time, and who was at best but an adventurer, with unbounded ambition, aiming as he was at more than a dictatorship; at a power that should transform his will into a law, and enable him to invade with impunity the sanctity of private rights, to set aside with his own word, directly or indirectly, the transactions of those who bore the name of *lawgivers*, and even at his own discretion, and without responsibility, to take the lives of his citizens; a power, in fact, that should convert the government into a despotism, and the people into slaves, saw in the proposed change an insurmountable barrier to the success of his own plans; and reckless of the cost to the people and the country, resolved at any rate to stay the current of popular desire.

'To accomplish this, the (so called) representatives must be moulded to his will; the necessary elements of intrigue, persuasion, and bribery, but more especially *coercion*, were all subsequently employed, and in the year 1834 (as I think), he obtained from that body the concession of *la summa del poder publico* (the entire public power).

'The influence of the immense patronage thus thrown into the hands of one bad man, would of itself seem sufficient, if managed with cunning, to keep a people in subjection; and when to this is added the control of the army, and the selection of its officers, it cannot be a source of surprise that he has succeeded in the accomplishment of his object, and in holding his position at the severest cost to the people.

'The representatives once subdued, were easily held in a pliant attitude; and as the people, if left to themselves, would naturally

hurl this corrupt coalition from its power, the influence of the bayonet was necessarily brought to bear upon their consciences. Hence the cloud of civil war, that already hung as with a frowning curse above the land, grew darker and darker, and hence, aided by his minions, the people have been goaded and galled into an occasional though transient quietude, through the influence of his military power.

'The first form of government was called a *confederation*, and the party who, with Rosas at their head, sustained it, were denominated Federals.

'The other party who desired the establishment of a government with a liberal constitution, and a union of the provinces after the manner of the United States of the north, were denominated *Unitarians;* and the persecution of these people by Rosas, is the surest evidence of his despotic intentions. The freedom of political discussion, and even of speech, was denied them; or, if exercised, it was so exercised (as will be seen hereafter) at the risk of liberty and of life. They were forbidden admission into the churches, denied communion at the Lord's table, the consolations of religion at the hour of death, and, after death, sepulture. Not only excommunication, but even extermination has been encouraged and preached as an act of religious duty; their property has been given to confiscation to glut the desires of greedy satellites, and every means of cruelty and torment has been employed to break down the rising spirit of freedom and awe them into submission.'—pp. 232—235.

The atrocities practised by this monster scarcely admit of parallel; and we wonder that the patience of the people has endured so long. The day of retribution, however, must come, and the sooner the better. Outraged humanity will at length rise against the tyrant. May the day of its power show that it has learnt wisdom from its sufferings. We will not attempt to depict the scenes referred to by our author. They are too revolting to interest a benevolent mind, and to retail them would be productive of no beneficial result. The following brief summary will acquaint our readers with their general character.

'The statements presented in this work may perhaps appear to the general reader mysterious and incomprehensible. I know it will be difficult for him to realize these atrocities; yet I have not only told nothing but the truth, but what has been told affords only a *clue* to the actual horrors committed. I have, as a general feature, confined my statements to occurrences that fell under my own knowledge, and of these I have recorded but few. Hence the facts that I have given serve only as examples in the terrible account. In a pamphlet published by Don José Rivera Indarte, at Monte Video, in the year 1843, a table is given containing the names of the principal victims of Rosas's policy, together with the manner of their

several deaths, and to that table is appended the following summary of persons who died for opinion's sake alone, viz :

Poisoned	4
Throats cut	3765
Shot	1393
Assassinated	722
Total	5884

'Add to this the number killed in battle, and executed by military orders, at a very moderate computation 16,520, and we have by this statement a grand total of 22,404 victims to the sanguinary propensities of this man Rosas, who still lives and governs a portion of the American continent, and with whom the civilized nations of the earth are on terms of friendship !'—pp. 425, 426.

In closing our notice of Colonel King's volume, we merely add, that it merits and will amply repay an attentive perusal. In the present state of our relations with the South American republics, the information it supplies is specially opportune ; and if duly considered by our rulers, may enable us to confer important benefits on the people for whom our interposition has been proffered.

Art. V.—*The Pictorial History of England during the last Twenty Years of George the Third.* Vol. iv. pp. 733. Knight : London.

This volume brings down the history of our country to the termination of the reign of George the Third, and finishes the prescribed task of the historian. It may be a question with some, whether the conclusion of the work does not approach too nearly to our own time to constitute permanent and effective history. It is seldom that any thing, or much at least, except the bare facts that have occurred, can be stated with certainty by a contemporary ; even the consequences resulting from them can be but imperfectly known ; while the causes and combinations of motives which gave birth to and modified those facts, can seldom be known, or even guessed at, till long after the actors have quitted the stage of life. If this difficulty applies to facts, with still greater emphasis does it hold good in regard to the real characters of the actors ; and, perhaps, of no man will it be more difficult to form a correct and dispassionate estimate, till every thing relating to him shall be fully known, and can be canvassed without prejudice, than of Napoleon Buonaparte. Even now it is somewhat difficult to find a man who can write

a life of Cromwell, in some respects the great prototype of Napoleon, with strict impartiality, and the same causes which still make this so difficult in the case of the Protector, will long operate in the case of Buonaparte. Another difficulty, as regards the latter, arises from the manner in which history has been falsified and perverted in the works with which the press in France has lately teemed, under the name of Memoirs; purporting, of course, to have been written by the persons whose names they bear, but which are in many, if not in most instances, gross fabrications; and yet are frequently written with so much tact and talent, the anecdotes and opinions being so cleverly in keeping with the character of the supposed author, and with the few things in the work which *are* authentic, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate the true from the false; others, such as the 'Memoirs of Madame Campan,' and 'Madame de Genlis,'—the latter at least really written by the ostensible author,—being perfect fabrications of facts for a given purpose, and well calculated to answer it. Of the 'Memoirs of Bourienne' again, who was the private secretary of Napoleon, and whose supposed work for that reason has been quoted as high authority, it is very doubtful whether one word was ever written by him; and we much question whether any history of Napoleon founded on such documents as are just at present accessible, will stand the test of time, when state papers, and other authorities of the kind, from which only authentic history can be compiled, shall be brought to bear upon the subject. For the mere purposes of detailing his campaigns, and the outward effects of his government on the surface of European society, perhaps materials sufficiently authentic may already be procured; but the world, at least we hope so, is becoming tired of hero-worship, and more and more inclined to look 'quite through the deeds of men,' back to their motives, and on to their effects; and to draw from them those practical inferences which all history suggests, and but for which it would be useless. After all, however, the lessons which history teaches, though valuable, are few, are much alike in all ages, and might be learned as well from former times as from our own, if men were not more prone to attend to the present than to the past, and merely to use their eyes than to exercise their understandings. It is this propensity, we suppose, which renders it necessary to repeat the lesson, till the world itself like individual man, by the time it shall be verging on old age, shall have acquired a little wisdom, and shall rate the great disturbers of mankind at their real value. When that time arrives, there may be peace on earth—but not till then.

This part of the Pictorial History contains the account of the

most celebrated war in which this country was ever engaged, and of the exploits of our great commanders by sea and land. The general course and most of the details of these affairs are so well known, that it is needless to enter on any description of them here; we dismiss this portion of the volume, therefore, with merely stating, that it is well and clearly, and sometimes powerfully written; and often gives a better notion of the events on which it treats, than most other works that have been written on the subject.

In the meanwhile, whether from exhaustion or from the dawning of that wisdom of which we have before spoken, the extraordinary course of war and bloodshed which rendered Europe, from the Tagus to the Moskwa, one vast slaughter-house, has already been succeeded by as extraordinary a peace; so general as has scarcely been seen on earth since the advent of our Lord; and so long, that it is almost becoming a mark of age to have lived in times of war. The efforts of ambition have been forced by circumstances to take a new direction. Population has increased to such an extent, that no man can sit still and live. Everything is positive and active; all literary men write; none (except poor reviewers) read; we have no time to stand or walk, but are projected at the rate of cannon-balls. Our grandfathers made their wills before taking a journey from Bristol to London; now, they would scarcely have time to take their lunch, before they were at home again.

Between the stagnant times of George the First and Second, when everybody was asleep with nobody to wake them, and our day when everybody must be awake, and nobody goes to sleep at all;—from that time when art and science were in leading strings, with nobody to lead them, to the present, when everybody leads and nobody will follow, except upon a railway;—between those times and ours, the latter half especially, of the reign of George the Third, may be looked upon as a transition period. To say nothing of the tremendous struggle in which all Europe was engaged for the preservation of its political existence, the universal mind of man appears to have been roused, and urged in every possible direction. In England, especially, a diversity of pursuit might have been anticipated. The mortal strife in which the continental nations were engaged, afforded little leisure for the cultivation of letters, or the arts of civilized life. The erection of national monuments or buildings, the creations of art, the productions of learning, would give but little satisfaction, when the next campaign might possibly destroy them all, or sweep away all such as were removable to the museums, or libraries, of a foreign state. In our country hostile causes were not in operation. Our

part—no mean one—in the grand contest, consisted in finding employment for the common enemy in other countries; and in supplying the sinews of war to other states who could not find them for themselves. Our countrymen at home, at distance from the scenes of strife, were left at liberty to direct their energies to other and more peaceful occupations.

Before, however, we enter on a brief account of the progress of the people, and of the arts and sciences among them during the period to which the volume before us refers, it may not be amiss to lay before the reader a slight sketch of the pecuniary sacrifices which the nation made in the progress of the continental war; as illustrating the vast resources of our country, and the lavish and unsparing use which was made of them, by Mr. Pitt, and the 'forcible feebles' of his party who succeeded him. It is not our intention to enter on the discussion of the politics of the times; we have our opinions of course, but at present we confine ourselves to facts. The evils which have resulted from the policy of the Pitt school are obvious, and have been felt with sufficient severity. What other evils—greater or less—we may have escaped by the line of policy which our rulers adopted, we cannot now decide.

'Pitt had already laid his hands upon nearly every thing out of which money could be wrung for the public service by the utmost skill of financial chemistry; all that could be done was to carry some of his processes somewhat further; it was impossible to skin the flint stones, but the sheep might be shorn a little closer; and, accordingly, scarcely a year passed in which this was not done. The entire annual produce of the new taxes enacted in each year of the war, down to the first overthrow of Buonaparte, was calculated as follows, at the times when they were proposed:— £4,000,000 in 1802; £12,500,000 in 1803; £1,000,000 in 1804; £1,560,000 in 1805; £6,000,000 in 1806; £200,000 in 1808; £1,617,600 in 1811; £1,495,000 in 1812; £980,000 in 1813. Down to this last date no taxes, or none of any significance, had been repealed; so that, according to this account, the entire taxation of 1813 must have exceeded that of 1801 by more than £30,000,000 sterling. And so it actually did. (p. 648). And in some of these cases the Irish budget was not included.'

But, in addition to these amounts, the following sums were also raised by loans and exchequer bills, beyond the amount of the national debt redeemed, in each of the fifteen years from 1802 to 1816 inclusive—£14,638,254, making the total revenue £51,006,403; in 1802, £8,752,761, making in all, £47,862,153. in 1803; and so on, with slight variations, down to the years 1813 and 1814, for which the gross amounts were respectively

£108,397,645 and £105,698,106. From this time the sums became gradually smaller.

To a well regulated mind, it can be no consolation under suffering to find that others suffer with it; but a word or two on the internal state of France at the time when we were suffering under the immense load of taxation above described, may serve to show at what a cost to his own people the ruler of that country was willing to carry on his plans of ambition and revenge. In the year 1810 a Mr. Walsh, a member of the American legation at Paris, published a work on the genius of the French government, including a view of the taxation of the empire; from which volume we condense a few particulars. All confidence in the government appeared to be lost; the legislative body had no control over the disposal of the revenue;—a yearly budget was produced, in which the amount of the real receipts was doubled: and upon which 'no reliance whatever was placed by any well informed member of the community.' 'I have,' says Mr. W., 'carefully compared the list of objects taxed in England, particularly those which fall under the excise, with the catalogue of France; and have found that the French government have omitted none, which by any possibility can be rendered productive. In England they have studiously avoided the imposition of such taxes as might clog the industry, or trench too far on the necessities of the people. In France these considerations appear to have had no weight; while at the same time the proportions observed in England for the alleviation of the lower classes, are there wholly disregarded. No comparison can be instituted, as to the moderation and lenity with which the numerous and complicated taxes of both countries are levied.' Many taxes were also imposed in addition to those known in this country, and all of the heaviest kind. On gateways, chimneys, and doors, in addition to windows; the droit des patentes, a tax on persons engaged in trades and professions; a sort of land tax, which was levied with the same vexatious investigation and exposures as our income tax, fixed by government at five per cent. on the income, and from which no relief can be obtained, except on the condition that the person complaining *shall point out some other estate within his district that has been undervalued.* Heavy duties were also levied on all legal instruments, on extracts from registers of births and deaths, even on judicial proceedings. No landed proprietor could cut down his own timber, without giving six months notice, and obtaining permission of government. Many other most vexatious imposts were levied, which we cannot enumerate; and the effects were the decay of the great towns, the general decline of agriculture and manufactures, of commerce and internal trade. Add to

these the dominion of a military police, the oppressions of the soldiery, and above all the miseries of the conscription. It was the vain attempt to carry out his system wherever his power extended, that roused against Napoleon not only the crowned heads, but the *people* also, of all the European states, and which began and consummated his downfall.

The latter half of the reign of George III. was not more distinguished by the tremendous political convulsions, which took place within it, than for the great revival of literature, which, as we have said, was probably produced by that awakening of the human mind, resulting from the agitations of the physical and moral world. The author of this section of the history seems half inclined to think, that 'the impressiveness of the great chronological event formed by the termination of one century and the commencement of another, had been wont to act with an awakening and fructifying power upon literary genius in this island,' and that 'nature in this, as in other things, has her times of production, and of comparative rest and inactivity.' This latter conclusion might almost have been suspected *à priori*, for we know that such *is* the case in many parts of the material universe; and there appears to be a remarkable similarity in all the operations of nature, so far as we have been able to trace them; and therefore, probably, much farther. But whether true or false in theory, we know that it is, and ever has been, true in fact. As to the effects of ending and beginning centuries, and the undoubted truth that 'of the three last great sunbursts of our literature, the first, making what has been called the Elizabethan age of our dramatic and other poetry, threw its splendour over the last quarter of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century; the second, famous as the Augustan age of Anne, brightened the earlier years of the eighteenth;' and that 'the nineteenth century was ushered in by the third;' we are much more inclined to attribute these awakenings to such causes as those at which we have glanced ourselves, and to which, indeed, the writer of the history at length refers them, than to any influence pertaining to time and season, as such, or to feelings and reflexions suggested by them.

'It is also,' says the author, 'to be observed, that on each of these three occasions the excitement appears to have come to us, in part, from a foreign literature which had undergone a similar reawakening, or put forth a new life and vigour, shortly before our own; in the Elizabethan age, the contagion or impulse was caught from the literature of Italy; in the age of Anne, from that of France; in the present period from that of Germany.'—p. 697.

One grand characteristic of the revived literature of the period, was, as usual, the fresh, natural, and healthy tone which it assumed, as compared with that of immediately preceding times. Cowper and Burns had already broken through the trammels of that weak and conventional taste, the great exemplars of which (great for want of greater) were Mister Hayley and Mister Pratt. It was some time, however, before the public taste, weakened and cloyed by the mawkish and insipid food to which it had become accustomed, could relish and digest an aliment of a stronger and more healthy kind. Nor do we think that some of the diet which was offered at the early part of the period in question, was greatly calculated to improve its tone. The earlier writings, for instance, of Wordsworth, some of them at least, were not, in our opinion, very likely to promote that desirable end. We have had the misfortune, we believe, to be considered heterodox in our opinion of this celebrated writer, during the whole of that part of his career with which we have been contemporary. We never could entertain so low an opinion of him as it was once fashionable to express; and now that it has become the fashion—for with many it is nothing more—to extol him almost above humanity, we are not disposed to place him at *quite* so aërial a height; and here we offend again. With the many he can never (any more than Coleridge) be *really* a favourite. His calm, contemplative, and philosophical poetry, is fitted only for those who will ponder over and digest its beauties. Thinking, we suspect, is not the *forte* of the generality of readers of the present generation. The narrative poetry of the last thirty years, and the narrative prose which is the rage at present, or has till lately been so, have accustomed the minds formed within their era to travel at railroad speed, as their bodies do,—to see nothing in either case but superficial beauties, and scarcely, in their rapid transit, to appreciate even these. The really great men of the time we write of, are not the favourites of the present generation,—Scott, perhaps, excepted. The greatest of our writers are still less regarded. Who talks of Milton now? And of those who do talk of him, how many read him? Even those who quote him, do it often *from quotations*, and not from having studied his works themselves. As to Milton's prose works, they are rarely even thought of.

The principal poetical writers of this time were—'to take them in the order of their seniority,'—Crabbe, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, Scott, Campbell, Moore, Byron, Shelley, 'and, perhaps, Keats,'—several of them also being considerable writers of prose. 'These were the prime, in order and in might.' There were many others of considerable, though less note, whom

mencement of a second bridge across the Thames, the short period embraced in the present book witnessed the commencement and completion of three metropolitan bridges, any one of which would be deserving of notice merely as a work of art. Of these, the most interesting is that which is now called, in commemoration of the great victory in 1815, Waterloo Bridge. The act of parliament for this undertaking was obtained in 1809, but the works were not actually commenced till 1811; the first stone being laid on the 14th October, in that year. This noble structure, which was erected by the late John Rennie, was constructed of granite, in the most perfect and durable manner. The clear water way under the arches is one thousand and eighty feet; that of London Bridge, lower down, is only six hundred and ninety, and the bridge proper consists of nine elliptical arches, of one hundred and twenty feet span. The length of the bridge itself is one thousand three hundred and twenty-six feet, and the width of the road-way is seventy feet, but with the abutments and the ranges of brick arches, at each end (thirty-nine on the Surrey, and sixteen on the Middlesex shore,) the total length of the structure is two thousand four hundred and fifty-six feet. We conclude our notice of it with the remark of a recent writer, to whom we are indebted for several of the particulars here given of this and the other recent metropolitan bridges, that 'as we gaze long and earnestly on that exquisite combination of all that is most valuable in bridge architecture, with all that is most beautiful—the broad and level road-way--and the light and elegant bulustrade—the almost indestructible foundations, and the airy sweep of the arches they support,--we feel the justice of Canova's opinion, that this is the finest bridge in Europe; and we can appreciate the great artist's enthusiasm when he added, that it was alone worth coming from Rome to London to see.'

'Vauxhall Bridge was the first extensive bridge erected near London with iron arches, a remarkably light and elegant structure, said to be the lightest bridge of the kind in Europe. The piers are of stone, and the masonry was commenced in 1811. The entire work which comprises nine arches of seventy-eight feet span, supporting a roadway of thirty-six feed wide, was completed in 1816, at a cost of about £300,000. Southwark Bridge was commenced in 1814, and finished in 1819, and it forms a no less remarkable or imposing monument to the fame of its designer, Rennie, than the far different stone bridge before noticed. As an iron bridge it stands without a rival in the world, the centre arch being of two hundred and forty feet span, or somewhat wider than the celebrated iron bridge at Sunderland, while the other two are of two hundred and ten feet each. It cost about £800,000. As the old London Bridge has been removed, and the new one erected by Sir John Rennie from the designs of his father who died in 1821, it may be justly said, that we owe one half of the six magnificent bridges which span the Thames at the metropolis to the genius of the late John Rennie, whose remains were deposited in St. Paul's Cathedral, in

acknowledgement of the claim which his distinguished services have given him to the national esteem and gratitude.'—pp. 677, 678.

There are many improvements in our social system, which though they do not all—nor many of them exclusively—belong to the period under review, must necessarily be enumerated in a summary of the state of the nation during that time. Among them may be numbered the great improvements in manufactures; the opening of mechanics institutes; the establishment, both in and around the metropolis, and in the provinces, of institutions for the public at large, with libraries and lecture-rooms; the amendments in the old Draconic system of criminal legislation; the abolition of the slave-trade; the increased privileges of Dissenters; Catholic emancipation; the wider diffusion of education, and the greater length to which it is carried; and the formation of most of the great religious and charitable societies with which the country abounds.

From these, and all the foregoing causes at which in the course of this article we have briefly glanced, has resulted, as might naturally be expected, an increased expansion and refinement of mind; a taste for intellectual in preference to animal enjoyment; and the formation of habits which must lead from good to better.

The gratification to be derived from the acquisition of any good must depend in a great measure on the permanence of the possession; and the present state of the world at large is such as to warrant us in looking forward with a more confident hope than could wisely have been indulged in former days. It is not now as it was in olden times, when the wisdom and civilization of the world were comprised within the limits of one or two favoured states, which had monopolized all that was worth possessing; and with the fall of which the world reverted to its former barbarism; and what had been the oäses of the age, and the fairy lands of earth, became a waste and howling wilderness, the more hideous for its former beauty.

The increased facilities of intercourse between all quarters of the globe, the general civilization of mankind, and the comparative certainty that knowledge once acquired can never be wholly lost while the art of printing shall exist, encourage us to hope, that no step that is once taken in advance, can ever be retraced.

Of the general execution of the work before us we have already spoken, and our opinion has not been altered by the perusal of the last volume. It is written with commendable impartiality, and no pains appear to have been spared in refer-

mencement of a second bridge across the Thames, the short period embraced in the present book witnessed the commencement and completion of three metropolitan bridges, any one of which would be deserving of notice merely as a work of art. Of these, the most interesting is that which is now called, in commemoration of the great victory in 1815, Waterloo Bridge. The act of parliament for this undertaking was obtained in 1809, but the works were not actually commenced till 1811; the first stone being laid on the 14th October, in that year. This noble structure, which was erected by the late John Rennie, was constructed of granite, in the most perfect and durable manner. The clear water way under the arches is one thousand and eighty feet; that of London Bridge, lower down, is only six hundred and ninety, and the bridge proper consists of nine elliptical arches, of one hundred and twenty feet span. The length of the bridge itself is one thousand three hundred and twenty-six feet, and the width of the road-way is seventy feet, but with the abutments and the ranges of brick arches, at each end (thirty-nine on the Surrey, and sixteen on the Middlesex shore,) the total length of the structure is two thousand four hundred and fifty-six feet. We conclude our notice of it with the remark of a recent writer, to whom we are indebted for several of the particulars here given of this and the other recent metropolitan bridges, that 'as we gaze long and earnestly on that exquisite combination of all that is most valuable in bridge architecture, with all that is most beautiful—the broad and level road-way—and the light and elegant bulustrade—the almost indestructible foundations, and the airy sweep of the arches they support,—we feel the justice of Canova's opinion, that this is the finest bridge in Europe; and we can appreciate the great artist's enthusiasm when he added, that it was alone worth coming from Rome to London to see.'

'Vauxhall Bridge was the first extensive bridge erected near London with iron arches, a remarkably light and elegant structure, said to be the lightest bridge of the kind in Europe. The piers are of stone, and the masonry was commenced in 1811. The entire work which comprises nine arches of seventy-eight feet span, supporting a roadway of thirty-six feed wide, was completed in 1816, at a cost of about £300,000. Southwark Bridge was commenced in 1814, and finished in 1819, and it forms a no less remarkable or imposing monument to the fame of its designer, Rennie, than the far different stone bridge before noticed. As an iron bridge it stands without a rival in the world, the centre arch being of two hundred and forty feet span, or somewhat wider than the celebrated iron bridge at Sunderland, while the other two are of two hundred and ten feet each. It cost about £800,000. As the old London Bridge has been removed, and the new one erected by Sir John Rennie from the designs of his father who died in 1821, it may be justly said, that we owe one half of the six magnificent bridges which span the Thames at the metropolis to the genius of the late John Rennie, whose remains were deposited in St. Paul's Cathedral, in

acknowledgement of the claim which his distinguished services have given him to the national esteem and gratitude.'—pp. 677, 678.

There are many improvements in our social system, which though they do not all—nor many of them exclusively—belong to the period under review, must necessarily be enumerated in a summary of the state of the nation during that time. Among them may be numbered the great improvements in manufactures; the opening of mechanics institutes; the establishment, both in and around the metropolis, and in the provinces, of institutions for the public at large, with libraries and lecture-rooms; the amendments in the old Draconic system of criminal legislation; the abolition of the slave-trade; the increased privileges of Dissenters; Catholic emancipation; the wider diffusion of education, and the greater length to which it is carried; and the formation of most of the great religious and charitable societies with which the country abounds.

From these, and all the foregoing causes at which in the course of this article we have briefly glanced, has resulted, as might naturally be expected, an increased expansion and refinement of mind; a taste for intellectual in preference to animal enjoyment; and the formation of habits which must lead from good to better.

The gratification to be derived from the acquisition of any good must depend in a great measure on the permanence of the possession; and the present state of the world at large is such as to warrant us in looking forward with a more confident hope than could wisely have been indulged in former days. It is not now as it was in olden times, when the wisdom and civilization of the world were comprised within the limits of one or two favoured states, which had monopolized all that was worth possessing; and with the fall of which the world reverted to its former barbarism; and what had been the oäses of the age, and the fairy lands of earth, became a waste and howling wilderness, the more hideous for its former beauty.

The increased facilities of intercourse between all quarters of the globe, the general civilization of mankind, and the comparative certainty that knowledge once acquired can never be wholly lost while the art of printing shall exist, encourage us to hope, that no step that is once taken in advance, can ever be retraced.

Of the general execution of the work before us we have already spoken, and our opinion has not been altered by the perusal of the last volume. It is written with commendable impartiality, and no pains appear to have been spared in refer-

ring to and collecting good authorities. A very considerable portion of the entire history is occupied by the single reign of George the Third; but when we consider that his reign extended over a period of sixty years, and that the greatest and most important discoveries and events with which we are acquainted were literally crowded into it, the attention bestowed on it will scarcely appear to be disproportioned. Of things then begun, we have not yet seen the end. There is great clearness in the historical details of this volume also, and the style is more free from certain common-place and uncouth expressions with which we found some fault, than the former parts of the work. We have already expressed our pleasure at seeing a history thus written, giving, as far as is practicable, not only a gazette of battles, and sieges, and changes of ministry, but an account of the nation itself—the people—their state and progress; and divided into distinct portions, treating respectively on these different subjects.

Of the embellishments of this volume we do not know that we have anything very new to say. We still prefer the views and interiors to the portraits:—most of the latter are *hardly* executed, and many of them not much like the originals, those that are most like, being but what we call *provoking* likenesses; that is, just like enough to enable those who are acquainted with the originals to know for whom the pictures are intended, but not sufficiently resembling those originals, to give an accurate idea of them to persons who do *not* know them. Of the portraits of the foreign illustrissimi we are no judges; but we happen to be acquainted with a German nobleman, who, during the occupation of France by the allies, was an officer of rank in the Prussian army, and who was well acquainted with the persons of several of the Buonaparte family. We one day showed him the portrait of Joseph Napoleon, and asked him if it was like. 'A little, a very little,' was the answer:—'and this?' turning to the portrait of Jerome, 'O, not like him in the least, and I think I should know, for I had him under my surveillance for two months, and saw him almost every day; and whenever he chose to ride out, either I or one of my officers had to take off our hats, and beg to have the honour of riding with him; so I think I ought to know.' We think so too; so that if from one, —or rather two, we are to judge of all these portraits of distinguished foreigners, there is not much to be said for them on the score of resemblance: probably they may not be taken from the best originals.

Art. VI.—*An Exposition upon the Prophet Jonah.* By George Abbot, D.D., Archbishop of Canterbury. A New Edition, by Grace Webster: to which is added, *A Life of the Author.* In two volumes. Pp. 344, 351. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

With whatever favour the present state of our modern literature may be justly regarded, there are some features of it which must awaken concern in all healthy minds. The exceeding popularity of what is truly called 'light literature,' as contrasted with the general distaste for solid and substantial works, is an unpromising circumstance. It is cheerfully admitted that the portion referred to is characterized by some qualities of great excellence and usefulness. A moral and generous tone pervades it. Social oppressions and hypocrisies are exposed and rebuked with a wit and humour that are often more effective than serious condemnation. If ridicule is not a test of truth, it is a sharp reprover of falsehood. A laugh may sometimes do more than a frown; and many will welcome the one, who would avoid the other.

Still, after all allowances, there is room for grave suspicion that the character and tendency of much modern literature are injurious to these habits of serious thought and earnest study, which marked our forefathers. The craving for stimulus is not a sign of health. Pithy, pungent, jocular, productions may have their use, but are not substitutes for reasoning and erudition. To build up the mind and heart is no child's play. Knowledge and moral strength can only come of hard work. There is no 'short and easy method' with ignorance and sin. There is no 'royal road' to spiritual learning and excellence. An age that lives on superficial literature must be puny and weak and worthless. Fiction and fun may afford innocent amusement, but sincere and devoted toil, and deep acquaintance with the facts and philosophy of God's providence, alone can yield the peaceful and permanent fruits of a well-ordered, well-furnished, intellect and a holy and righteous soul. It is, therefore, with unaffected delight that we witness the taste, whenever exhibited, for our older literature, and contemplate the provision, in cheap and well edited editions, which is so abundantly made for its gratification. The work before us is by no means one of the worst of these reprints.

Archbishop Abbot was a man of considerable importance in his day. Descended from respectable parents, who were staunch protestants in trying times, he never disgraced his origin when placed in positions of perilous temptation. A curious circumstance is recorded respecting his birth:—

'While his mother was pregnant she had a dream, which, according to the whimsical fancies of those times, proved at once an omen and an instrument of his future fortunes. She imagined some one told her, that if she could eat a jack or pike, the child she went with would prove a son, and rise to great preferment. Not long after, in taking a pail of water out of the river Wey, which ran by their house, she accidentally caught a jack, and thus had an odd opportunity of fulfilling her dream. This story being much talked of, and coming to the ears of some persons of distinction, they offered to stand sponsors of the child; and the godson received many testimonies of affection and kindness in after life from those connected with him by this unexpected relationship.'—p. 6.

Displaying superior parts, while yet a child, he was sent to the Free School in his native town, Guildford; at sixteen, he became a student of Balliol College, where he applied his powers with diligence; and in due time he entered into holy orders, and honours and offices such as fall to the lot of the most favoured sons of the church, followed in their 'season.' He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity in 1597, and was elected Master of University College; was installed Dean of Winchester in 1599; and was chosen, the first of three times, in 1600, Vice-Chancellor of the University. He was one of King James's translators of the Bible, having been appointed, with seven other Oxford-men, to take charge of the Evangelists, Acts, and Revelation. He became, within a year and a half, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Bishop of London, and Archbishop of Canterbury; and having taken part in various important discussions and proceedings, passed through much honour and some disgrace, he was removed, August 4, 1633, at the age of seventy, to a holier and more peaceful scene. Different accounts have been given of his character, as of that of all public men, by different writers. It seems indisputable that he was a godly man, having at heart the interests, as he understood them, of 'pure and undefiled religion.' His theology was Calvinistic, and he was little disposed to put things ceremonial into the place of spiritual principles. His decided opposition to popery, and to popish tendencies, and his leaning towards the puritans, subjected him to slight and suffering. Not cut out exactly for a courtier, his course was in general one of sincerity and uprightness. Not unaffected by the corrupting influences of his position, he showed on several memorable occasions marked integrity and uprightness. His virtues were his own, his faults were mainly those of his peculiar lot and age. In other times he would probably have left a name worthy of the reverential affection of all good men.

He published several treatises, large and small. One of the

chief was, 'An Exposition upon the Prophet Jonah,' which consists of sermons preached in St. Mary's church in Oxford, (how illustrative of the efficacy of subscription to secure uniformity of faith, would be the history of the doctrinal opinions dispensed in that venerable edifice?) It was 'so well received, that, even in those days, when the reading public was very limited, a second edition was published within three years, although the higher classes, who then constituted a majority of that public in England at that time, were by no means favourable to an evangelical, practical strain of preaching.' It has continued to hold a respectable place in theological literature to the present day.

A prejudice against the work may possibly be excited by the fact, that it contains no less than thirty discourses on forty-eight verses of a scripture, which, however interesting in its narrative, has not been often thought remarkably fruitful of theological and spiritual instruction. This prejudice we should like, if possible, to remove, convinced that it is unsupported by reason. Two views may be taken of a work of this kind; it may be regarded in relation either to the particular scripture which forms its immediate occasion and subject, or to the matters of general truth and godliness. To 'expound' the book of Jonah, speaking strictly, might not require more than a fourth of thirty discourses, but such exposition was not the design of our author. His real purpose was, taking advantage of his own expression, to give an exposition '*upon*' the book. The scripture treated furnished a starting-point, rather than a course, for his remarks. Giving its sense, he ramified it. Finding an idea, what should prevent him considering it as the form and notice of a universal doctrine? Finding a fact, what should hinder its being interpreted as the application of a universal law? To a habit of generalization, the most naked events and passages may yield abundant suggestions. This is the proper way of spiritualising the Bible. This is a safe and high method of typical instruction. Where is the limit to a mind which, filled with enlightened principles and holy tastes, not content with taking facts and sentiments in their mere reality and apparent isolation, recognises and employs them as parts of a system, bearing the impress of the divine unity, unity of thought, of character, and of end? A great and injurious mistake is commonly made upon this subject. It is held sufficient disparagement of a production that the quantity of its matter bears no proportion to the *seeming* magnitude of its subject. But the matter is equally excellent whether it does or does not; and if the immediate subject, nothing, perhaps, in itself, be used simply as a guide into the regions of confessedly important truth, what then? Is the value of the thread to determine the importance of the passage

which it helps a man to make through the windings of the labyrinth?

Dr. Abbot treats the book of Jonah in the way now mentioned. Taking a verse or two for his text, he does not confine himself to their simple meaning and first application, but branches out into all the topics to which they may conduct an ingenious mind. 'That which,' he observes in starting, 'Jerome said to Paulinus concerning the seven Catholic or General Epistles (for so they are called) of James and Peter, and John and Jude, that 'they are long and they are short—short in words, long in substance,'—may, I think, be well spoken of this prophecy of Jonah, that it is long and it is short—short, if we respect the smallness of the volume, but, long if we regard the copious variety of excellent observations which are therein to be found.' The author, without of course the advantage of the criticism and exegesis of our own day, furnishes a full and sufficient exposition of the 'small volume;' but it is as a collection of wise and useful observations that we are disposed to value his production most. His field is large. Scarcely a theological or practical point is left unnoticed. The favourite doctrines of the Calvinistic school are introduced with ease and cordiality. The exciting questions of his own times are referred to, as naturally as if the author were engaged in sharp polemics. 'The successor of Saint Peter, as he merrily terms himself,' is brought in with the facility of a prominent idea. And almost every class of men, good and bad, receive instruction, admonition, warning, or encouragement, as they might from a discourse on the 'Ten Commandments,' or the 'Beatitudes.' Learning, of various kinds, is always ready to illustrate and confirm the doctrine. Fathers and philosophers are ever on the spot. Judgment, clear sense, and pithy language, never fail.

It is with much pleasure that we behold a reprint of this valuable work. In genuine worth, it is to many modern works of a like kind as the solid weight to the 'small dust of the balance.' Miss Webster's edition is neatly got up, and contains a well-written life of the estimable author.

Art. VII.—*Memoir of the Life and Writings of Thomas Cartwright, B.D., the distinguished Puritan Reformer: including the principal ecclesiastical movements in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.* By the Rev. B. Brook, Author of the 'Lives of the Puritans.' London: Snow, 1845.

DISSENTERS are much indebted to Mr. Brook for this new proof of his attachment to the memory of Cartwright. The thirty pages which he gave us several years ago in his 'Lives of the Puritans,' are now expanded into a handsome, well-filled volume, of near five hundred pages. Pleasant as it always is, to see a unity of purpose and affection pervading a long life, our pleasure is much heightened, when, as in the instance before us, this concentration attaches itself to a worthy subject, which demands the sympathy and admiration of mankind at large. That the lives and labours of the Puritans belong to this class needs no new evidence. Their services in respect to both our civil and religious liberties have extorted the commendation of even Hume, the most partial as well as specious of all the advocates of the House of Stuart. That the life and labour of their distinguished leader Thomas Cartwright, are entitled to special distinction even among them, no one will lightly question; nor can any real friend of truth and liberty, we imagine, fail to acknowledge his transcendent merits and services, when he shall have read the volume to which we now call his attention.

Mr. Brook has divided his biography into eleven chapters exclusive of the introduction. These chapters treat consecutively of Cartwright's birth and early history—his expulsion from the University of Cambridge—his writings in controversy with Whitgift—his exile, return, imprisonment and release,—his refutation of the Rhemish translation of the New Testament—his subsequent appearances before Freke, Bishop of Worcester, and the High-Commission Court, and Court of Star Chamber,—his continued hardships till released from prison—his death, character, and writings. Interspersed with these occur other interesting topics relating to the period, among which may be mentioned some efforts relating to ecclesiastical reform, pp. 240—253, and the controversy with the Brownists, pp. 299—307.

Cartwright was born in the county of Hertford about the 1535. In his fifteenth year, he matriculated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he was greatly distinguished for his devotion to study. During a portion of Queen Mary's reign he found it necessary to retire from the university, and engaged

himself as a barrister's clerk. On Elizabeth's accession he returned to his college, of which he became fellow in 1560. Three years afterwards 'he removed to Trinity College, where, for his attainments in piety and literature, he was elected one of the senior fellows.' At this time an event occurred which has been represented by the enemies of Cartwright and his principles, as having exercised a sinister influence upon his subsequent career.

'In the year 1564, Queen Elizabeth honoured the university with a royal visit, when magnificent preparations were adopted for her entertainment, and the principal scholars were selected for the public disputations in the presence of her Majesty. The queen was entertained during the day with scholastic exercises in philosophy, physic, and divinity; and, at night, diverted with comedies and tragedies. Among the disputants selected on this occasion was Mr Cartwright, who, in the royal presence, discovered those distinguished abilities which gave entire satisfaction to her Majesty and other auditors. The story of Mr. Cartwright having made suit to be one of the disputants before her Majesty is scarcely worthy of a passing notice, seeing the fact on record is, that he was chosen to this service by those who had the appointment; and it is observed, on the authority of Mr. Strype, that the ripest and most learned men were *selected* for the disputants, and Mr Cartwright, being one of that number, appears to have greatly distinguished himself on this occasion. He took a leading part in the philosophy act, on the third day of the royal visit, when these two political questions were discussed:—'Is monarchy the most eligible kind of government?' 'Is the frequent change of laws dangerous?' The learned opponents were, first Mr. Cartwright, then Dr. Chadderton, Dr. Preston, and Mr. Clerk.

'Her Majesty on this occasion took her leave of the university, by the delivery of a Latin oration, addressed to the learned collegians. This was an exhibition never witnessed in that seat of learning before nor since: a virgin queen before a body of venerable scholars and divines, addressing them in the language of a scholar, but with the tone of a sovereign. She said, among other things:—'PRINCIPUM DICTA LEGUM AUCTORITATEM APUD SUBDITOS RETINENT.' *The words of Princes have the authority of laws with their subjects!*

* * * * * * * *

'This was an occurrence not to be forgotten in the university; and certain authors have observed that, while the other disputants were applauded and rewarded by the royal visitor, Mr. Cartwright was slighted and neglected; and that Preston, by comely gesture and a pleasing pronunciation, was both esteemed and rewarded by her Majesty: but that our scholar received neither reward nor commendation; also that he was presumptuous of his learning, and ungraceful in his elocution. One author affirms, that he was 'unhewn and awkward both in his person and manners;' and another, who styles him 'the great father of puritanism,' a person of 'some emi-

nence' but 'great ambition,' that the queen 'more critically approved of the lighter elegances in which the grave Cartwright was deficient.' It was to be expected that those who did not relish his principles would represent him as exceedingly disconcerted and mortified by the supposed slight cast upon him; and they even affirmed that he began immediately to wade into divers opinions concerning church discipline, and to despise the government of the Established Church, growing conceited of his learning and holiness, and a great contemner of those who differed from him!'—(pp. 40—42.)

Mr. Brook disposes without much difficulty, of this calumnious misrepresentation, the first of not a few to which his hero has been subjected by the high church party. Mr. Hanbury, also, in the sketch of his life, which he prefixed to his edition of Hooker, has noticed very pertinently, that the slight which it is pretended that Cartwright received is effectually discredited by his subsequent promotion to the Margaret Professorship of Divinity, which took place in 1569, two years after he had taken his degree of B.D. The readers of the present volume will also find, in pp. 44 and 45, a sufficient refutation of the calumny, first vented by Paul and Heylin, and picked up from them by the elder D'Israeli, that Cartwright retired at this time to Geneva in disgust, and there, during an expatriation of several years—as they represent the matter—'matured his system of malignant opposition to the church of his native land.' Not only is there no mention of any visit to Geneva at this time in Clark's biography of Cartwright, but the facts relating to his university career, which are matters of diplomatic evidence, show that such a visit, was on his part, at that period, in the highest degree improbable.

After briefly noticing, page 45, the first important public step which Cartwright, in common with his future adversary Whitgift and several others of the seniors of the college, took in reforming college abuses,—we refer to the memorial on the subject of the election of scholars which was presented by them to Sir William Cecil, the chancellor of the university—our author proceeds to what may be regarded as the opening of Cartwright's peculiar labours in the field of ecclesiastical reform, and to the causes of the long and angry controversy between him and Whitgift. The concluding paragraph of the next extract not only gives an idea of the great numbers of consciences that were forced by the arbitrary measures of Elizabeth, and her favourite primate, Parker, but also supplies a sample, of the specious misrepresentations, by which, in all ages, the impositions of human authority in matters of conscience have been palliated and approved.

'The heads of houses, one of whom was Dr. Whitgift, were less

successful on another important occasion. Instead of the Reformation being carried to full maturity, the heads were filled with alarming apprehensions for the purity of religion and the freedom of the university by a return to popish customs and the enforcement of the popish habits; they, therefore, presented their united petition to the chancellor, dated November 26, 1565, earnestly soliciting him, if possible, to stay the proceeding, which, in their opinion, would be most prejudicial to the university.

'A report has reached us, that for the future all scholars of this university will be forced to return to the old popish habits. This is daily mentioned to us by a great multitude of pious and learned men, who affirm in their consciences that they think every ornament of this kind is unlawful; and if the intended proclamation is enforced, they will be brought into the greatest danger. Lest our university should be forsaken, we think it is one of our first duties to acquaint you of this condition of ourselves and our brethren. And by these letters we most humbly beg, as well from your wisdom as from your credit and favour with the queen's Majesty, that you would intercede with her to withhold a proclamation of this kind. For, as far as we can see, there can be no danger or inconvenience in exempting us from this burden; but, on the contrary, we very much fear that it will prove a hindrance to the preaching of the gospel and to literature. By your successful application to this, you will no doubt confer a great benefit not only on us, but on the ***nation at large.***'

'This unpropitious effort gave so great offence at court that it was instantly 'quashed;' and Dr. Whitgift, then a zealous reformer, who took an active part in promoting it, was presently induced to repent of what he had done, and renounce his reform principles. Having become an apt scholar in the science of courtiers, he not only turned about, and made an humiliating 'apology' for this inauspicious petition, but also found far more powerful attractions in hoods and surplices than he had previously conceived; nor did he stop here, but henceforth he became a violent persecutor of the cause which he had so openly espoused and patronized!

'The enforcement of conformity was also prompt and decisive in the metropolis. Archbishop Parker, having sought the assistance of the council, and convened the London ministers at Lambeth, sternly demanding conformity, sixty-one promised to conform, but thirty-seven refused, who, his grace observed, 'were the best' of them. These were immediately suspended from their ministry, and, having the fruits sequestered, were threatened to be deprived of their benefices, if they did not conform in three months; yet, said the archbishop, 'they behaved with 'great modesty and quietness.' The venerable primate had previously anticipated that 'very many churches would be deprived of their pastors, and that many would forsake their livings,' as the unhappy consequence of these severe measures. Great was the sorrow and lamentation of these holy sufferers, who exclaimed, 'We are killed in our souls by this pollution: we cannot perform our ministry in the singleness of our

hearts.' Under these extreme hardships, some betook themselves to secular occupations, and others were cast into prison; yet the archbishop had no doubt that they 'were moved by conscience!' Notwithstanding these facts, the late Dr. Southey declares that Elizabeth's government 'carried on no war against conscience,' but was conducted on the principle, 'that conscience is not to be constrained, but won by the force of truth, with the aid of time, and use of all good means of persuasion!' We shall not attempt to reconcile the Primate and the Poet Laureate.'—pp. 46—48.

We cannot follow our author into all the details which his volume furnishes, respecting the open feud between Cartwright and Whitgift, previous to the expulsion of the former from the university; or even into those belonging to their subsequent memorable book-warfare. The latter, by their great multifariousness,* defy compression without the sacrifice of nearly all their interest. But we must find room for one morsel, which is too true and too pithy to be spared. 'Dr. Whitgift, it is said, answered Mr. Cartwright's sermons from the pulpit, with very great strength of argument.' 'If he did,' observes Mr. Brook, 'he employed stronger arguments in preaching than in writing.' This remark must surely have suggested itself to our veteran biographer, after he had been pasturing on Fuller, from whom indeed we find an extract in the sequel of the paragraph. Fuller had as pithily said, in reference to the same contest, 'The result of their difference was, that if Cartwright had the better of it in *learning*, Whitgift had the advantage in *temper*; and he had *more power to back*, if *fewer people to follow him*.'

Referring then to our author for the history of this important controversy, let us notice briefly the result on Cartwright's future life. To avoid the threatening storm 'he sought and found an asylum in a foreign land,' p. 215. He first spent some time—about two years—as minister to the English merchants at Antwerp, where he was much beloved. From Antwerp, he removed to Middleburgh, in the island of Walcheren, where, as Mr. Hanbury tells us, 'he remained about three years.' At the end of this time he returned to his native land, but only to be driven forth again by the cruel arm of power for a longer term of banishment. His exile was, however, greatly solaced and sweetened by the sympathy and respect of the most distinguished foreign protestant divines; and it was at Antwerp that he received from James VI. of Scotland the flattering invitation to the theological chair of the University of St. Andrew's, which he respectfully declined. During his second exile he also visited

* They relate to the election of ministers, the officers of Christian churches, clerical habits, the authority of princes in ecclesiastical affairs, confirmation, and various other kindred matters.

the Channel Islands, in company with Edmund Scrape, another persecuted minister, in order to assist in framing their platform of ecclesiastical discipline. The form thus prepared was soon afterwards published, with the title, 'The Ecclesiastical Discipline observed and practised by the Churches of Jersey and Guernsey, after the Reformation of the same by the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons, of the Isles of Jersey, Guernsey, Sark, and Alderney; confirmed by the authority, and in the presence of, the Governours of the same Isles, in a Synod holden at Guernsey, the 28th of June, 1576, and afterwards revived by the said Ministers and Elders, and confirmed by the said Governours, in a Synod holden in Jersey, the 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, and 17th days of October, 1577.' This explicit title sufficiently refutes the angry censure of Heylin, in his History of Presbyterianism, that Cartwright and Scrape, 'the great ringleaders of the Puritan faction,' 'imposed' this discipline upon the churches of the Channel islands.

It is painful to reflect that Cartwright's anxiety to return home should have been at last converted into a stern necessity by the inroads of disease. Equally, if not more so, is it that his letters to the lords of the Council and to Lord Burghley, letters in which he pleaded that he 'had lived some years separated from his native country, the greatest part of which he had spent in the ministry of the church of England, though in a foreign land,'—that 'he must of necessity return for the recovery of his health,'—and that 'there were those who watched to apprehend him, with a view to cast him into prison; whereas, he had laboured to the uttermost while abroad to show himself peaceable,' though backed by the powerful intercession of Lords Leicester and Burghley, should have failed of success. Not only did the Queen harden her proud heart against the suffering exile, but when, acting on the advice of his physicians, he braved the threatened danger, and, after a second absence of eleven years, came back, worn out with sickness and the desire of home, only as he thought to die, he no sooner landed on his native shores, than he was seized by the orders of Aylmer, the prelate of London, and cast into prison! He was indeed released after several months' imprisonment; but it was only in consequence of the most urgent remonstrances addressed both to the queen and Whitgift, (who had by this time become Archbishop of Canterbury), by Lord Burghley, and Sir Francis Knollys; and when this boon was granted, it was only on sufferance during the good pleasure of his old antagonist, before whom he was compelled to appear and receive as a favour, what he was entitled to as of right.

Some time before Cartwright's return to England, he had

been solicited from several quarters to refute the Rhemish Testament. From the first circulation of this insidious work in England, it had excited the gravest apprehension; so much so, that Elizabeth had endeavoured to induce Beza to write against it. Beza, however, had assured her, with a noble modesty, that there was among her own subjects one who was better qualified than himself for the difficult service, and named Cartwright. In consequence of this recommendation, Walsingham had, in 1583, not only written to Cartwright on the subject, but had sent him a hundred pounds towards the purchase of books and other necessaries, promising at the same time further assistance. Pressing requisitions to the same effect were also addressed to him by the ministers of the city of London, of Suffolk, and other places. At length, therefore, he was persuaded to undertake the work. It is not in our power to extract any of Mr. Brook's narrative in reference to it, though very interesting. It must suffice to say, that the progress of it was most vexatiously suspended by Whitgift's interference, and that though the preface was printed separately, at Edinburgh, in 1602, under the patronage of James VI., the refutation itself, not wholly completed at Cartwright's death, remained unpublished till 1618. It was then, says our author, 'printed at Leyden, in Holland, by Mr. William Brewster, the worthy elder of Mr. Robinson's church, who was there engaged in printing several years, but not without annoyance from English intolerance.' (p. 267.) Cartwright had proceeded with it as far as the fifteenth chapter of the Revelation, and the wanting portion was supplied from the notes of Dr. Fulke on the remaining chapters.

If the labours of this great man were thus impeded, it will not surprise us to find his person again under restraint. We regret we have not more room for the subsequent details of Cartwright's life. Appointed by his friend the Earl of Leicester, the first master of his hospital at Warwick, an hospital founded in 1585, for the reception of twelve indigent 'brethren,' with a master, and enjoying also the kind countenance and protection of the Earl of Warwick, he entered on the duties of his residence with a hopeful prospect of relief from future disturbance. But his unrelenting enemies could not let him rest. Branded with suspicion and opprobrium, he was again arraigned before his ecclesiastical superiors, sitting in the court of Star Chamber or high commission, was separated from his friends, and again imprisoned, from October, 1590, till the spring of 1592. His manner of life, when permitted to pursue his own course without molestation, is thus described:—

'Mr. Cartwright, conscious of his solemn responsibility, consecrated himself to the service of God, and could not relinquish the exercise of his public ministry; and, having entered on the charge of the hospital, he resumed his beloved work, and preached without license, being exempt from prelatical jurisdiction. His stated employment was to pray with the brethren of the hospital twice a-day, to catechise them twice a-week, and to preach at the parish church once on the Lord's day. He did not, however, confine himself to those exercises which were required by his noble patron; but, as a faithful steward of the Lord, he embraced every opportunity of usefulness to his fellow-creatures. He was not a mercenary hireling, nor a loiterer in the vineyard of Christ, but a zealous and faithful labourer, preaching several times every week, in addition to the exercises of the hospital; to which he was stimulated not from any earthly reward, but from a generous and ardent desire to promote the welfare of souls. He preached at St. Mary's church every Saturday afternoon; on which occasions he went through a great part of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes 'with singular judgment and profit.'—pp. 237, 238.

The closing days of this laborious confessor were worthy of the life of toil which had preceded them. Having preached the Lord's-day preceding his departure, from Ecclesiastes xii. 7, 'Then shall the dust return to the earth, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it.—'

'The Tuesday morning following, he spent two hours prostrate on his knees in humble and importunate prayer to God; and this, it would seem, was the last time of his holding communion with God on earth. The season was peculiarly solemn, interesting, and profitable. He beheld the glory of the Lord and the power of his love, and experienced remarkable transports of joy. Having finished his devotions, he informed Mrs. Cartwright that he had found 'unutterable comfort and happiness, and that God had given him a glimpse of heaven' before he was called to enter that blessed state; and he was enabled to exclaim, 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day.' In a few hours, the earthly house of his tabernacle was dissolved, and his happy spirit entered on the joy of its Lord. Mr. Cartwright died, triumphing in the Redeemer, December 27, 1603, aged sixty-eight years.'—p. 437.

His remains were deposited in St. Mary's church, Warwick; and on that mournful occasion, his beloved friend, Mr. John Dod, preached his funeral sermon.

It would be unjust to Mr. Brook to mutilate the faithful and judicious abstract which he has given of Cartwright's character; and we have great pleasure in referring our readers to it. Our author's proper admiration for his hero has not blinded

him to the deficiency which even Cartwright's principles exhibit in reference to the universal claims and character of religious liberty. Mr. Brook justly observes that Cartwright 'powerfully defended the cause of ecclesiastical reform, and from reasons which no arguments could resist, he proved the unscriptural character of the episcopal establishment, together with its multiplied abuses and oppressions; but instead of carrying out the principle of freedom to its legitimate extent, he sought to obtain another kind of establishment, which must have been founded on legislative and compulsory enactment.' (pp. 438, 439). We must not, however, be indifferent to the emancipation which Cartwright achieved, or the sacrifices by which the achievement was accompanied, and Mr. Brook is not so.

In thanking the author for his interesting and instructive volume, we may properly mention the pains and diligence with which he has collected the materials relating to his subject, which lie scattered in many scarce and expensive works. In this he has rendered a useful service to the student of ecclesiastical biography, and to the general reader. We must at the same time acknowledge that this service would have been much greater had he quoted his authorities with greater care. In abridging and extracting from the numerous sources of information which he has used, he has not always stated the exact thing which his alleged authority had stated; and, though we believe him to be quite incapable of intentional perversion, he has sometimes so mixed up his own impression of facts, related by previous writers, with the extracts he has taken from them, as to convey a wrong idea of their statements and views. To interweave proofs in the form of broken clauses taken from other writers, is a very difficult undertaking when historical fairness is regarded, and requires consummate literary skill. That our author has been less attentive to the style of his work than modern taste requires must also be admitted. If besides this he has interrupted the historical narrative with too frequent reflections, and if in these reflections there is more repetition than was altogether necessary, it must on the other hand be conceded, that his reflections usually refer to great principles, and principles which need to be inculcated upon society. Mr. Brook has our sincere thanks for his labours, and we hope that his volume will have a wide circulation.

Art. VIII.—*Forest and Game-law Tales.* By Harriet Martineau. 3 vols. London: Moxon.

AMONG the numerous definitions of 'the animal man,' we almost wonder that some learned sage has not characterized him as a 'hunting animal.' Certain it is, that from the jungles of the east, to the prairies of the farthest west; from the days of Nimrod to our own, no pursuit has been so universal. Turn to the earliest Egyptian sculptures,—there is the hunter and his bow; or to the mouldering rock bas-reliefs, which once overlooked some proud Assyrian city,—there is the hunter and his bow. Pass on to the more graceful forms of Grecian and Roman art, still the same figure, the same instrument, meets the eye. Open that crumbling volume of rude Saxon illuminations,—there are the sports of 'the *merry* greenwood,' as our forefathers so emphatically called the wide forest, depicted with a spirit which shows how the painter delighted in his task; open the gorgeous folio, resplendent with gold and purple, of a later period, and the most highly finished pictures are those of the royal chace.

Society advances; printing comes forth to aid the fierce conflict of new opinions with the old; but that worm-eaten little volume,—more precious, worm-eaten as it is, than many a tome, written in gold, and bound in ivory,—that rarest specimen of early printing, the 'Boke of Seynt Albans.' What does *it* treat of?—hunting, hawking, and all the terms, 'longynge thereunto.' How numerous are the treatises, in choice black letter, on this very subject; how many the poems in its 'laud and praysing;' and how filled are the memoirs and the autobiographies, French and English, with reminiscences of this most universal of all pastimes. The gorgeous and stately court of Versailles followed this royal sport, even until monarch and nobles alike became hunted ones; and its fascinations were so great among us, that we have on record, that a degenerate Englishman, actually prepared for the chace, on the very morning when the noblest spirits of England were marshalled on the field of Naseby.

Now, so universal a pursuit must, of necessity, possess strong attractions; and, we think, therefore, that many writers in opposing the game laws, have done injury to their cause by overlooking this. In truth, it is the fascination of the sport that in past times created the deer stalker, and in the present day renders the calling of the poacher, as much his 'delight, on a shiny night,' as his profit; and thus, when the Grantley Berkeleys talk about the 'sports of gentlemen,' it is as well to remind them, that these sports address themselves with equal force to the sympathies of the commoners.

And why should they?—This question might be fairly asked by those who are sickened at the disgusting slaughter of the modern *battues;* but scarcely by those who remember the skill, the courage, the enterprise, required by the hunter, while, as yet, a blameless hunting field was before him in the wide wastes, and thick forests; and when his strong arm was invoked by the herdsman, even by the husbandman, to protect their herds from the wolf and the boar, and the tender crop from the wild deer. And then while the very exercise of skill, and courage, and enterprise, brought wild delight, as the employment of our active powers always must, the field of their display, was among the loveliest, and most of exhilarating scenery. 'What must have been the raptures of our kings in the chace,' as the gifted writer of these tales eloquently remarks. 'They came from a dreary and desolate life,—from cares, and quarrels, and disappointments, and irksome labours, to make holiday in the free and joyous woods; and I can well understand how their hearts leapt up when the old trees waved, and the stag burst from the covert, and the woodland rang with the sounds of the chace.'

The plan of these three little volumes is excellent. By including tales of various periods, and thus tracing the forest and game-laws from their earliest source, Miss Martineau has laid hold on some of the poetry of 'the merry greenwood;' a poetry, of which, alas! but little remains in the minds of our peasantry in the present day. The first tale, 'Merdhin,' leads us as far back as the days of Canute; and the pictures of the visit of the lordly Dane, and the penalty imposed on the hero of the tale,—his anxious night-watch by the fold, and his flight to the woods, are all so true to the spirit of the times, and are so graphically described, that we hope we shall have more tales of as early a period from the same hand.

Under even the Danish monarchs, the game-laws were but lightly felt. With Norman William their severity began; and the next tale, 'The Manor and the Eyrie,' relates the fortunes of a noble Saxon and his family, compelled to quit his manor beside Winchester, in consequence of the afforesting of the neighbouring country.

The lord, his family, his servants, and all the inhabitants of the village, now about to be destroyed, form a melancholy procession. The Lord Ivar, and his daughters, and the carts, with the chests of plate and hangings, set forth first.

'The one person who rode came next the cart which bore the plate chests. He had set forth on foot, between two fellow-servants; but his stumbling and his pain were found to be a spectacle more perilous than even the display of his condition in riding. The foresters had permitted him therefore to be placed on a mule which

closely followed the carts, and so, as they declared, needed no guiding. The rider was Wulfsige, a young servant of the domain,—a purveyor who had shot a deer two days before, on his master's land, and for his master's table,—not knowing that the king had then appropriated the whole environs of Winchester to complete his new forest: and for this act the young man had been summarily deprived of his eyes and his right hand. As he was carried slowly forward, and drooped on his saddle, silent and faint, the royal keepers called their dogs near him, to distance any who might obtain too near a view of him, or offer him a few words. It was a burst of barking, thus occasioned, which made the Lord Ivar look behind him. When he rode on, his face was, if possible, paler than before. The eyes of all gazers went down before it.

* * * * * *

'In a few moments, word was passed on to the lord and his family that old Ildeburg, the cattle-leech, had fallen dead.

'' So ends his life of a hundred and thirty years! Such a life so to end!' exclaimed the Lady Lulle.

'' You would not have him live, sister,' said the younger lady, bringing up her horse beside her father's. 'He told us about raising the first corner post of the first house in the village: and now he has not seen it destroyed.'

'' What killed him?' demanded the Lord Ivar.

'' They say it was the light, my lord.'

'' More likely the noise of the dogs, and the confusion altogether, though they carried him gently. He said something about King Alfred, and then his head fell on one side, and he died.'

'' Ay! his father taught King Alfred some of the things he knew about herbs, and—'

'' Silence!' cried Ivar. 'Bring forward the body, and let it be borne first.'

* * * * * *

'' I pray thee spare yonder oak,' said Ivar, whose eyes had been for some moments fixed on the grey and now quivering top of the oldest tree of the region, which stood beside the road, a little further on. 'That tree gave shelter to men, and food for swine before men had dwellings in this land, and before the name of Christ was heard beyond the manger in which he lay. I pray you now, in your great power over this forest, let that tree stand.'

The forester did not comprehend; and while he looked into the speaker's face for his meaning, a shout arose, through which a crashing was heard, and the whole tree lay in shivers across the path.

'' The old man—the old tree—the old times—we have done with them all to-day,' exclaimed Ivar, with something of his wonted spirit.'—vol. i. pp. 75—79.

Leaving his daughters at the convent of St. Mary, Ivar sets forth from Winchester with his gallant troop to seek a refuge from Norman tyranny in the Cumbrian Fells. The whole

journey is most spiritedly given. The men cut store of yew boughs for their trusty bows, in the royal chace, and press onward.

'Scarcely did they pause in the meadows of Oxeneford, where sympathy was at hand, and English pride might be indulged. After dashing through the Thames, now swollen by late spring rains, Ivar merely looked up as he passed at the college founded by King Alfred, and at the building where Canute convened the Wittenagemot. As he rode by the defences, he bowed low to every man who looked forth, in token of his thanks for their defiance and repulse of the Conqueror's besieging troops.

'Here, more than hitherto, did the people gather and gaze as the little train passed on:—here did they loudly groan when they saw why it was that a young serving-man rode belted to his master:—here did some venture eagerly to ask whither the party were bound; and here did Ivar reply to the inquiring look and glance, 'On! on to the Fells!' and here did they receive the first accession to their numbers. Before they disappeared northwards within the verge of Wichwood forest, some four or five stout men, well mounted and armed, joined themselves to the rear of the troop, and took their share in the announcement now made to all the discontented by the way-side,—'to the Fells!' * * * * The enemy had a garrison at Legeocester, and foresters were posted in sight of the fords of the Leire; but the castle was evaded, and the regarders were defied; and the Lord Ivar rode on through glade, river, and meadow-land at his stern pleasure, his train of baggage-horses following, laden with the red deer which the Conqueror loved 'as if he had been their father.' Many a banquet was there of this venison in Coventry that night, while Ivar and his train were galloping on so as to be beyond the reach of the hue and cry by daylight. Then the morning sun gilded the craggy summits of the hills of Deoraby; and the evening sun cast the broad shadows of Ingleborough and Cam Fell over the woods and dales which declined to the eastward. Everywhere did sympathy rise up to greet the fugitives as they passed From the nooks of the Derby hills, from the Yorkshire dales and high moorlands came men—English men—some few to join the band,—many more to offer food and drink, or bringing fresh horses to exchange for such as were tired. Everywhere did their pursuers find, till the pursuit was given up as hopeless, traces of their course in empty dairies, hides of beasts still warm, trembling horses flecked with foam, men with subdued curses of the foreigners on their tongues, and women with a new-kindled fire in their eyes, laying a finger on their children's lips. The foiled pursuers found something so chilling in the shadows of those high moorlands,—so suspicious in the stillness of the dales, that they turned back at length, uttering, however, threats and insults against the men who were passing further and further out of their reach'—vol. i., pp. 88—91.

Thus commences this spirited sketch of the first oppressions

of the game-laws, and we follow Ivar, and his fortunes in the forest, and on the battle field, with increasing interest, until, too soon, his corpse is conveyed 'to Lindisfarne, beside the moaning sea.'

In the next tale, 'The Staunch and their work,' we have rather a sketch, than a story. It is however an admirable one; and the character of the archbishop, Langton, is nobly drawn. Miss Martineau in her description of the effects of the interdict, has, however, fallen into the common error of supposing that the land was, during that period, wholly without religious services. This error has been justly pointed out by Dr. Lingard, for we have the express testimony of the chronicle of Dunstable, (a contemporary authority,) that during the interdict, 'marriages were performed, and women churched at the church door, sacraments were administered to infants, and to the dying, and on Sundays the people were called together in the churchyards to hear sermons and prayers.' It was not the simple ordinances of religion, but the gorgeous ceremonial of the Latin church—the bells, the music, the vestments, the splendid altar-service, which were laid aside, The people were rendered not irreligious, but had a valuable lesson of dissent taught them; and how largely they profited by that lesson, the plain of Runnymede, and the noble strife under Simon de Montfort will show.

There is much eloquence and truth in this passage, in which Langton refers to the result of the council on Runnymede:—

''Your Grace's words were, I think, that our work would be done.'

''Ay; those were my words. The work we then had in hand is done,—with an ease and completeness which fill many with triumph, but me with dread. As for the fulfilment of the liberties of England, that can no more be done in the course of a single moon, than the first beam of to-morrow's sun can make a diamond of a dew-drop.'

'Are you bating your hope from our enterprise in the moment of its triumph?' asked Fitzwalter, somewhat roughly.

''No,' said the Primate, gently. 'My heart swells this night with a calm and solemn hope such as has never filled it since the day when it opened to admit the mighty knowledge of man's redemption. It was when I was alone with my lamp in my silent cell that that mightiest of hopes—of heaven for man—entered into and expanded my soul. It is now under the arch of the sky, and with a friend on either hand, that I am filled with the greatest of temporal hopes,—the final establishment of my nation's liberties on my native soil. No comparable third night can be in store for me, unless it be that of the passage of death, which may open to us other promise than we have now faculties to bear. No, Fitzwalter,' he added,

after a pause, 'my hope from our enterprise was never in such vigour and assurance till now.'

* * * * * *

''And this day's assertion you believe to be useless,' said Fitzalan.

''Far from it. I believe the acts of this day to be of a value which can ill be estimated at the end of a thousand years. These charters shall not be so nearly lost and forgotten as was that of Henry the First: and the tidings of this day's meeting in this old meadow of council shall be so proclaimed to the world, so preserved in chronicles, so echoed by tradition, as that every English child of the hundredth generation from ours shall know the name of Runnymede as well as that of its native town, and shall regard as sacred the spot where yonder tent-pole is driven. Unbounded in measure and duration are the uses which men will see arising from the transaction of this day; but they must be waited for, as fruit from the seed.'

'Fitzwalter sighed. Langton continued,—

'' If a bold traveller gives me, from some fair opening region of the earth, a kernel, got with cost and pains, am I to sigh over it as useless, and the cost and pains misspent, because it gives me no luscious pulp and no refreshing juice? Must I not rather learn and admit that other needs remain,—need of nourishing earth and a fitting shelter, and a frequent appliance of reviving water? Is it not something to look forward gladly to a time when this kernel shall have become a fruit-bearing tree,—ay, and the stock of so many that every man may have his own overhanging the door of his house? May I not rejoice in such a coming time, even though I myself may perhaps have died of hunger and thirst before the kernel has visibly sprouted?' '—vol. i. pp. 193—197.

We wish Miss Martineau had given us another tale of the middle ages;—she has caught their spirit and character with such admirable correctness—and we wish it the more, inasmuch as she is certainly in error in placing the Forest Charter in the reign of King John. The reign of his son, and in 1222, is unquestionably the proper date, of that, which has been emphatically called 'the charter of the Commons.' Her next tale brings us down to the reign of Charles the First. This, though short, is admirably told; but still, we should have had another tale, illustrating the intervening period.

The second volume commences with a tale based upon the wild doings of 'the Waltham Blacks' in 1720, for whose especial punishment, that sanguinary act, which made it 'felony without benefit of clergy, to hunt, wound, kill, or steal any deer; to rob a warren; or to steal fish by day or by night, with faces blacked, or otherwise disguised!' was passed, and was actually put into operation; an act, which, 'one would have thought, would be sufficient to deter men from following the

deer, but it was not.' The story is most spiritedly told, but its ending is most melancholy.

The next tale, entitled 'Heathendom in Christendom,' is the most powerful of all. A more forcible illustration of the deadly heart-burnings of the country-gentlemen, and poachers, could scarcely have been written; and we trace them through the characteristic stages of 'cunning as foxes,' 'harmful as kites,' 'following war with all men,' until 'hatred without dissimulation,' hastens the crisis of ruin and murder.

The last in this volume, 'Four Years at Maude Chapel Farm,' is a most mournful, but truthful, picture of a young farmer, steady, active, and honourable, contending in vain against the crying injustice of the present game-laws, and sinking each year, notwithstanding his utmost exertions, until he is 'sold up,' and retires to a neighbouring cottage, as a mere day-labourer. The character of his wife, Fanny, is sweetly sketched, and her remarks to her sorrow-stricken husband, form a beautiful conclusion.

'The only tears that he had seen wrung from her were about this infant in her arms,—when her husband was thinking aloud one day about whether it was possible that any child of hers should be destined to grow up a clod-pole like the children of most people in their circumstances. At the moment, she said nothing, because she could not speak: but afterwards she told him that she had been thinking about that matter, and her opinion was that they must educate their children to the utmost of their power,—give them of their own knowledge and habits of mind, trusting that their Maker would, in his own time, place them in circumstances favourable to the exercise of their powers.

'"You know,' said she, 'this is the case of all of us under God's rule. Every one of us is a great immortal being in humble and confined circumstances, with powers cramped up in us which we hope to use hereafter in a better place. Let us take example by our Father's method with us all, and do the same, as nearly as we can, with our own children.'

'"You are right,' replied her husband. And his eyes rested on the family Bible,—the only article they had saved of all they had at Maudechapel farm. 'By that book, and our own constant endeavours, we will try, Fanny, with God's blessing, what we can do for our children.'"—vol. ii. pp. 299, 300.

The whole of the third volume is occupied by the tale entitled 'Gentle and Simple.' Like the foregoing ones, it abounds with forcible passages, and sound argument; the last, however, we fear will be thrown away upon the Grantley Berkeleys, of whom, in the character of Mr. Treherne, Miss Martineau has given an admirable portrait. Other teachers,

besides the moralist are, however, at hand, and the greatest of all—for those who heed not argument—time.

''It is a greater agent than Sir Francis, or any other man, that brings about revolutions,' observed Mr. Holloway 'Time is the great teacher of what you call revolutionary doctrine,—and in this instance, eminently. When the old fellow falls in with Nimrod, and lays one hand on his shoulder, and points with the other to the plough and team entering upon the scene, it is a sure warning to Nimrod that he must be off to some other hunting-field.'

''Ah! it is pretty certain that he will leave his own,' said Mr. Treherne. 'And his neighbours there will rue his absence when it is too late to get him back again. What think you, Sir Francis?'

''If Nimrod keeps up with his age, and will stay at home, and live according to the conditions of his time, nobody will wish him away. But if, wherever he alights, offences spring up, and the jails overflow, and ruin and curses spread like a pestilence from the homestead to the hovel, I think the general wish will be that Nimrod should seek a new hunting-field.'—vol. iii. p. 114.

And noble hunting fields are still left, as Sir Francis Grey points out, to the astonished and enraged Mr. Trehern.

''There is a wide choice of old and new. There are wild moorlands within the island, if you do not want to travel far. It will be some time before the Scotch moors are under tillage. They will more than last our time, and our sons' after us.'

''The fashion of going to Norway to sport seems spreading,' observed Mr. Holloway. 'Fishing and shooting may be had in perfection there, for an age to come, and with the people to thank you to boot.'

''And look at Canada! There is a field for you!'

''Thank you. I prefer my own covers.'

''Yes, indeed,' Mr. Sleath now ventured to put in, in a tone of indignation

''Only prepare yourselves for a very short lease from old Time, that is all. He is a peremptory old landlord, that. We are all merely tenants under him,—crowns and cradles alike being but occupations; and there is no erection of his,—no institution or arrangement that we have not to quit after notice from him. It is something when he offers a new tenancy in place of the old, even if you have to travel some way to it. For my part, when I can no longer sport righteously in agricultural districts, I think of being off to the North seas for the noblest sport of all—whale-fishing.'

''Pah!" said Mr. Sleath. 'To get drenched in oil!'

''Not exactly. We sportsmen do not clean our own fish, or pluck our own birds: and neither should we cut up the whales we should bag. O! Treherne, think of the nobleness of that sport! Think of the watch for the game amidst the wild seas! Think of the careering over the waves—the signal—the laying to—the boats out—

the chase and circumvention of the prey,—the bold harpo[illegible] its the giving out the rope—and then the flight of the boat ap[illegible]s at the creature's mercy, but not truly so,—only the stooping conquer,—then the creature's death-plunge, and the victory of mar[illegible] devices and nerve over the monster's force and instinct! Is n[illegible] this noble sport? Is not this exploit, with sympathy in every eye, and fellowship in every hand, and cheers on every tongue, better than shooting timid hares and fluttering birds, amidst the peevish curses of half-ruined farmers, and the jealousy of half-starved labourers,—and all this in sight of gloomy new jails built to receive the criminals corrupted by our mere pleasures?'

'Romance will not do against common sense,' declared Mr. Treherne.

'Agreed!' said Sir Francis.

'Then let me ask your common sense whether there would not be more poaching than ever if we were to leave our game unprotected, and be off to the North seas?'

'I think fact and common sense agree that where there is most game there is most poaching. There never was so much poaching as now when preserving is more strict than ever before. I am for being off to Canada, or Norway, or the North seas, while we mark how nature and time will manage matters between the tillage and the game. Let tillage have her way first: that is the clearest point of all; and she will keep down the game to the point which suits her own purposes,—raising instead of demoralising her labourers, by doing that part of her business as business, and not as aggression and theft.—As for the landlord's woods, there is the law of trespass, which already protects his young trees and his fences.—And if the appetite for game in towns demands a further supply, game will, because it must, be reared in such places and modes as may be innocuous to agriculture. This is the course which, it seems to me, common sense points out and prophecies.'—vol. iii. pp. 114—118.

In closing these volumes, we heartily recommend them to our readers. If any fault may be fouud, it is, that their endings are too uniformly gloomy. When, however, we remember what a curse these iniquitous game-laws are to our rural population, we can scarcely feel surprised that this should be the case. Miss Martineau deserves the thanks of every true-hearted Englishman and woman, for her earnest advocacy of the oppressed, and for the eloquent enunciation of noble principles with which this work abounds, and we trust, that she will ere long receive her reward—a more gratifying one, we are sure she wishes not—in the utter obliteration from the statute-book of every vestige of these hateful enactments.

besides t[illegible]
all—fo[illegible]

Art. IX.—*The Irish Established Church Obstructive to Protestantism. Dedicated to the Hon. and Rev. B. W. Noel, M.A.* By the Rev. A. Gordon, M.A. London. Ward.

IRELAND has for centuries been a puzzle to politicians of all parties, Tories, Whigs, and Radicals. Measure after measure has been discussed and adopted, but social happiness seems still as far from that country as ever, and mis-government lives and walks abroad with a bold and vaunting front. The goddess of peace and harmony, while joyfully visiting other lands, seems resolved never to touch the soil of the Emerald Isle, or to wave her golden wing over its distracted children. Every means adopted to invite her presence, has been hitherto in vain. Threats and cajolery have been alike fruitless. The presence of the soldiery, and of a large constabulary force, has been found insufficient to awe an irritated people. Endowments of colleges, augmentations of *Regium donum*, and other appliances have all failed to win the affections of the nation, or to ensure public tranquillity. The elements of social combustion are still rife in the national heart, and we have no statesman bold enough to pour upon them the waters of a righteous policy. Discontent is daily drawing together the materials of increased turbulence, and if the olive branch of genuine conciliation be not soon offered, it will swell and rise, and finally overtop every embankment, and desolate the land.

It is high time the real cause of this mighty evil were explored. In political economy, as in physical science, the principle of the poet holds true—

Felix cui potuit rerum cognoscere causas.

Let the philosophers, patriots, and philanthropists, of England look across the channel, and investigate the sad moral phenomena which instantly meet their view. Why is Ireland so full of distractions, civil discontent, and religious animosity? This is the problem to be solved. We know from extended intercourse with its fervid children, that the *causa mali* is not in their physical nature as we have heard sometimes affirmed. The Chartists of Glasgow, and the operatives of Manchester, have not a tithe of their patience. No doubt each have their share of social wrongs, but the Irishman's burden is the heavier, and his patience by so much the greater. Our question then returns, what is the true cause of Ireland's woes? A High Churchman, or an Orangeman, would at once resolve the case

into the prevalence of popery. We are no apologists of popery. Far from it. We know what it has done, and what influence it is likely to have wherever it exists. We regard it as exceedingly inimical to the developement of mental energy, to the healthfulness of social morals, to the spirit of commercial enterprise, and to national improvement. Were it necessary, we could bring much proof in support of our assertion. But still popery is not the proximate cause of Ireland's woes. We look to other popish countries, not distinguished certainly by high prosperity, but exhibiting an aspect very different from that of Ireland, and we ask whence the difference? We come then at once to the source of the evil. Our judgment is not a hasty one; it is founded on a careful induction of facts, on extensive intercourse with the Irish people, and a profound consideration of the workings of human nature, and we hesitate not to say that the grand source of Irish irritation has been, and will continue to be *the State Church*. This conclusion cannot be evaded. Peace there never can be in Ireland till this institution is abolished. We do not assert this from any feeling of opposition to the *episcopal* church as such, we speak simply in reference to its civil establishment; and could our voice be heard from Land's End to John O'Groats, our language in reference to the ecclesiastical establishment of Ireland would be *delenda est Carthago*.

That the Protestant church of Ireland is a source of ceaseless irritation, is manifest from a variety of considerations. Its very existence is regarded by the great majority of the people as a standing monument of the degradation of their country. It must never be forgotten, that the established church of Ireland is the church of a mere fraction of the community. The population of the country is calculated at somewhere above eight millions, more than six millions of whom are Roman Catholics, whilst of the remainder there are only about seven hundred thousand belonging to the state church. This fact speaks volumes to our statesmen, and should be seriously pondered by every sensible man in the empire. How, we ask, can the majority of the nation, in the face of such a glaring anomaly, be contented?

But further, the functionaries of the church are not confined to those localities where the main body of their adherents is found, but are fixed in places where they have few or none at all. There are no less than *forty-one benefices* in Ireland, in which there is not a single Protestant episcopalian. There are ninety-nine benefices in which there are not twenty Protestants, and one hundred and twenty more in which the number varies from twenty to fifty. There are fifty other parishes whose whole

Protestant population consists of only five hundred and twenty-seven individuals. These are facts which ought to be carefully pondered by the English public. In such facts lie the materials of discord and of continual agitation.

The immense revenues of the state church form another main item in 'the monster grievance.' The precise amount of these it is extremely difficult to ascertain. We have made every effort to do so, but without success. It is our firm belief that the full amount is known only to their recipients. The income of the primate has been estimated at about £23,000 per annum, and it certainly, all items included, is not less than £20,000 per annum. The bench of bishops enjoy among themselves about £160,000 per annum. By the Church Temporalities Bill of 1833, several dioceses were united, and their revenues 'transferred to and vested in the ecclesiastical commissioners,' so that the amount of revenue referred to in round numbers may be a trifle less than stated above. But still, all things considered, it is monstrously great. And this, be it remembered, in a country proverbially poor, where, even according to government statistics, every fourth man is a pauper.

But perhaps the position and incomes of the parochial incumbents are more offensive in the eyes of the mass of the people than the enormous revenues of the dignified clergy. Previously to the Tithe Commutation Act, the collection of the parochial tithes was an incessant source of irritation. The scenes of ruffianism, swearing, and even bloodshed, connected with their collection, are not yet forgotten. Moreover the incomes of some of the clergy in places where they have little or no official duty to perform, having few, if any, adherents, amount to a very large sum. We could name fifty parishes, containing only about one hundred and twenty-seven individuals professing the Protestant faith, whose united clerical revenues exceed £11,000. Such facts are not without their influence on the minds of a keenly-observant people.

Another item in the budget of disaffection, may be fairly traced to the contrast between the seeming self-denial of the clergy of the Romish church and the opulence of the ecclesiastics of the Church of England. On the one side there is the appearance of self-denial, laborious attention to official duty, humility and condescension, while on the other there is the aspect of opulence, dignity, and lordly power. Who does not perceive the effect of such a contrast?

It were tedious to enumerate all the items of social dissatisfaction, traceable to the existence of the state-church of Ireland. They are numerous, and their aggregate influence is tremen-

dous. Until, therefore, this monster grievance is removed, all the schemes of our statesmen for the amelioration of that country must prove nugatory. Agitation will survive O'Connell, the priests will continue to inflame the minds of the people, and the nation will heave with discontent. The Coercion Bill recently introduced into parliament by Sir Robert Peel, was a delusion. It did not touch the root of the evil, and has been wisely rejected by the legislature. While Ireland remains torn with religious dissensions, the battle-field of bigotry and intolerance, its history will be disfigured by out-breaks, Molly-Maguirism, and murders, in spite of the most stringent legislative enactments. What is wanted is the removal of the sources of religious intolerance and discontent. Social harmony would then commence her benign reign. Absenteeism would receive a check. Landlords would come to their paternal estates. Avaricious and grinding agents would be dismissed, or at least be subjected to the control of their masters. The serfs of the soil, for the peasantry are little better, would find in most cases, that if the lord of the soil was their master, he was at the same time their friend. No doubt there would be some cold-hearted and tyrannical proprietors still, as there are even now among resident landlords. But it must not be forgotten, that no small share of this tyranny is to be ascribed to the bigotry infused into their minds by their connexion with the state-church. This institution has a most baneful influence on Protestant landlords, (and by far the majority of proprietors of land in Ireland are Protestants) in connexion with their tenantry, who,in the south and west, are almost entirely Roman-catholics. Taking all things therefore into account, the abolition of the state-church would have a most happy effect both on the lords and on the tenants of the soil. By removing the grand source of religious irritation, it would pave the way to national prosperity, and do more for the tranquillization of the country and the security of life, than all the acts of parliament since the days of Henry the Eighth.

Under existing circumstances the spirit of commercial enterprise cannot be expected to extend and flourish. Men of capital will not risk it in a country so distracted, where their presence would be uncomfortable, and their persons unsafe. The consequence is, that the great mass of the people are entirely thrown on the culture of the soil for support. The possession of a small patch of ground, becomes, in many cases, indispensable to subsistence. To be deprived of the occupancy of a few acres, is to many families the certain road to beggary or starvation. Hence agrarian outrages. Now this state of things has an intimate connection with the religious distractions of the country. By

means of these the tide of capital is diverted into a foreign channel, and the minds of the people are so absorbed in religious domestic strife, as to be literally incapable of that concentration of thought necessary to its successful employment among themselves. Every impartial man must see, that the first remedy for such a social distemper is the removal of the irritating cause—the state church. No palliatives will do, no endowments of colleges, no pandering to the appetites of the priesthood, no railway projects, no bills for the security of life—nothing but a radical cure. The state physician, if he would do his work to good purpose, must probe the sore to the very bottom, extract the poison, close the wound gently, and then do his best to heal it up by the appliances of a righteous, liberal, and conciliatory policy.

Our view of the matter is thus strong and obvious. We are not ignorant, as already observed, of the shifts of Orange churchmen, to evade the force of our arguments. It is popery, horrid popery, they are ready to exclaim, that is the cause of all the mischief. Well, 'good friends, sweet friends,' let us grant it for the sake of argument. The more shame we say upon you. Have you not been well paid, and long paid for its destruction? But we ask further, what has preserved popery in such life and vigour in Ireland? Why are Irish papists the most bigotted, the most thoroughly popish in the world? The cause, we think, is fairly traceable to the state church. No man's understanding was ever yet enlightened by the spoiling of his goods; no man's prejudices were ever yet slain by penalties and imprisonment; no man was ever yet schooled into obedience to the truth by dragoons and grape shot. Coercion was never yet the instrument of conversion. Hence the complete failure of the Irish state church.

The truth is, the minds of the people are so absorbed in their religious dissensions, and so stung with a sense of injustice by the exactions and opulence of the established church, that they have neither time nor inclination to examine the truth or falsity of their own system. They naturally enough conclude that that must be a bad religion which requires to be upheld by such means; and, on the other hand, that their own must be every thing that is excellent. We feel, therefore, most fully convinced that the great barrier to the conversion of popish Ireland has been the state church. If Romanism in that country is ever to be displaced by the evangelism of the primitive age, it must be approached by men in the attitude of voluntaries. Let Romanism then, if churchmen choose, have its full share of blame. It is only shifting it off one step from themselves. Ultimately it must rest, in a large measure, on their beloved establishment.

Considering that the great majority of the Irish people are Roman-catholics, we have often wondered, not that there are religious dissensions, discontents, and outbreaks, in that unhappy country, but that they are not more abundant. We have as bad an opinion of the essential elements of popery as most churchmen, and, perhaps, a somewhat worse. There is much truth in the old adage, 'oppression will make a wise man mad.' What then must be its effects on those of an opposite character? In the case of truly Christian men we might expect patient submission to unkind treatment; we might expect that, in imitation of their divine Master, when reviled they would not revile again; when subjected to suffering they would not threaten, but commit the matter to Him that judgeth righteously. But have we any right to expect such demeanour on the part of injured and irritated Roman-catholics? We trow not. Those who are acquainted with all the circumstances of the case know well, that the amount of outward discontent and social turbulence, is much less than might reasonably have been expected.

We can affirm from personal knowledge, that in not a few instances the power of the priesthood has been employed in restraining and subduing the passions of the multitude, when swollen with indignation and hatred against the state-church, and ready to burst forth in open violence on its adherents. It is quite true, nevertheless, that the priests do work upon their feelings, and inflame their passions, by directing their attention to their wrongs: but they not unfrequently exercise a salutary influence in preventing their excited votaries from rushing into lawless outbreaks. That they should be excited, that they should hate the state church, and be somewhat turbulent, suits their purpose; but rebellion and bloodshed would countervail their policy.

At present we can see but little ground of hope for Ireland from any party in the state. As regards the real source of the evil, politicians of every shade and colour are marvellously blind. Lord John Russell and his party will only make 'confusion worse confounded.' The usual policy of the Whigs will be brought into play: professing to reform the hierarchy, they will seek really to strengthen it. Some meretricious ornaments may be removed, but it will be on the condition and as a means of rendering the foundation more stable, and of perpetuating the shelter afforded within the precincts of the establishment, to their younger kinsmen and needy dependents. The lessons of history, so far at least as the church is concerned, have hitherto been lost on the Whig party. They have tried their utmost again and again to conciliate her. With the utmost

patience they have waited on her pleasure, have borne with her frowardness, have sought to calm her anger, and to win her into good fellowship and love. But it is all to no purpose. They have not, they never will, they cannot succeed. There is that in Whig *doctrines*, at least, which the hierarchy repudiates as the worst of heresies, and her faithful sons recoil from the men by whom those doctrines are professed. It is not enough to conciliate her that principle and practice should be opposed; that the advocates of the representative system should be amongst the stoutest opponents of the extension of the suffrage; or that the professed champions of religious liberty, should rally to the defence of ecclesiastical monopoly and intolerance. One would think this might have been enough to satisfy the craving even of an established church; but the Whigs have found, to their cost, that it was not. What is really good in their political creed has awakened her settled distrust, and she has therefore refused to be soothed by the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely. Whig professions have been mistrusted, Whig zeal has been regarded as more than doubtful. Past concessions to righteous claims have been appealed to in disproof of present professions, and the legitimate tendency of principles has been regarded as more powerful than the exigences of the passing hour. The Whigs, therefore, though constituting the most aristocratic party in the kingdom, have utterly failed to conciliate the good-will of the church. They are suspected, disbelieved, and hated. Bishops of their own creation speedily turn against them, and the whole power of the hierarchy stands ready, at any moment, to assume a hostile attitude. The state priests, wise in their generation, wait their opportunity, and whenever that comes, neither conscience nor prudence prevents their being found in the front rank of toryism.

Notwithstanding, however, all this, the Whigs are still toying with the church, in the delusive hope of securing an ally in their hitherto embittered foe. Their recent return to power affords another opportunity for the display of their short-sightedness and infatuation, and we regret that Ireland is the scene on which these qualities are to be exhibited. We are not unmindful of the fact that they are churchmen, and should be disposed to give more weight to this plea, did we believe that their churchmanship had respect to the *religious* superiority of the state system. This, however, we cannot do. With few exceptions, they care nothing about the religion of the matter. They never trouble themselves to look at it in this light, they are wholly incompetent to do so, and are engrossed by the other and secular bearings of the system. The money or governmental interests involved, are uppermost in their minds, and hence the

bitterness evinced by our statesmen, whether Whig or Conservative, in their defence of the hierarchy.

If there be one point of ecclesiastical policy on which reflecting men of all parties are more agreed than on any other, it is the anomalous character and gross injustice of the Protestant church in Ireland. Members of Lord Russell's administration have expressed themselves on this point without hesitation, and the national mind has been rapidly preparing for the abrogation of this branch of the national church. In no other case, save that of the corn-laws, has such rapid progress been made. Even churchmen have been compelled to admit the outrageous character of the institute, and politicians of nearly all classes have concurred in affirming that the peace of Ireland cannot be maintained without it. Far different, however, is the view entertained by our present Premier. Lagging behind the most intelligent of his party; inaccessible alike to the claims of the Irish catholics, and to the dictates of righteous principle; his lordship, in reply to Mr. Thomas Duncombe, expounded his views in the following remarkable passage, distinguished alike for fatal errors and for an apparently utter ignorance of what has been passing in Ireland for many years past.

'With respect to the church in Ireland, and the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy, said Lord Russell, I voted with my honourable friend the member for Sheffield in favour of providing for the establishment of Maynooth out of the funds of the Established Church. We were defeated by a great majority, the opinion of the House being adverse to that proposition. I afterwards continued to the end to give a zealous support to the bill which provided for the establishment of Maynooth out of the consolidated fund. I made no difficulty in supporting that bill because the motion of my honourable friend was not carried. Well, I now say that I retain my opinions with respect to the Protestant church, and with respect to Roman-catholic endowment; but I do not think that it is necessary that I should urge these opinions at the present moment, for I should be doing that which I must confess at the present moment to be impracticable. I believe that with respect to what some have proposed, namely, the destruction of the Protestant church in Ireland, *there could be no worse or more fatal measure sanctioned by Parliament.* I believe that it would be politically injurious, because I believe that many of the most loyal in Ireland—many of those the most attached to the connexion with this country, would be alienated by the destruction of that church, to which they are fondly attached. I believe that in a religious point of view, it would be the commencement of a religious war; that there would be that which does not at present prevail,—the most violent and vehement attack on the Roman-catholic religion; and that the Roman-catholics themselves

would be the first to complain of the destruction of the Protestant church.'

The sacrifice of the many to the few—long the favourite policy of our rulers—is sufficiently indicated by his lordship, whilst the apprehensions expressed of 'a religious war,' and of 'violent and vehement attacks on the Roman-catholic religion,' can only be explained on the supposition of an absolute failure of memory as well as a paralysis of the reasoning faculty. But enough of this. His lordship is not content with maintaining the existing hierarchy. He would create another, and only waits an opportunity to do so. The temper of the day does not permit him to carry out his views, but they are distinctly enunciated, and we know what politicians mean when they speak thus. They are too wise in their generation to give utterance to their thoughts, unless they intend, when occasion serves, to reduce them to practice. Let our readers therefore ponder well what follows. They are words ominous of evil; they portend an approaching revolution in our Irish ecclesiastical policy, and are evidently designed to prepare the way for it. His lordship is willing to bide his time, but we should be infatuated beyond the common fate of mortals, if we did not see in his words the shadow of coming events. He that runneth may read. The Premier, at least, is honest. We concede his manliness, but there is in the nation less of truth and of enlightened conviction than we imagine, if his policy should be permitted to triumph. He has divulged the secret, and it remains with us to say, whether an organization shall not instantly be devised sufficiently powerful to meet the crisis which must arise. Come it will in one form or other, and the result will mainly depend on the position assumed by protestant dissenters.

'Can you found or endow,' his lordship enquires, 'the Roman-catholic church? It is quite evident from Mr. Pitt's speeches, and the memoranda left by his friends, that he was of opinion that it was possible to endow or to make some provision for the Roman-catholic church by the state. My belief is, that if Mr. Pitt had carried that measure, he would have carried a measure conducive to the welfare of Ireland, to the maintenance of the Union, and to the peace of the United Kingdom. In conformity with that opinion I gave my vote in 1825, twenty-one years ago, in favour of a motion made by Lord F. Egerton, now the Earl of Ellesmere, who moved that a provision be made for the maintenance of the Roman-catholic church. But what do I find at this moment? I see, generally speaking, that the Church of England, that the Dissenters of England, that the established church of Scotland, that the free church of Scotland, that the established church in Ireland, that the Protestant Association in Ireland, and lastly, that the Roman-catholics of Ireland themselves,

are all vehement in opposition to such a plan. I received only this morning a placard from Edinburgh, in which the Roman-catholics of Edinburgh declared that they would resist, to the utmost of their power, any plan for the payment of the Roman-catholic clergy. I cannot see, then, that that is a measure which I am bound, consistently with my duty, to bring under the consideration of the House, until I see some kind of more favourable disposition towards it on the part of the people. I should say if that measure, or any other measure were urgent, that though impracticable, I might still be bound, by my duty to the Crown, to propose it, and resign office if I should not carry it; but I must confess, that with respect to ecclesiastical questions in Ireland, admitting, as I do, that neither the state of the Protestant establishment, as affecting the south of Ireland, nor the voluntary system, as affecting the Roman-catholics, is satisfactory to my mind; yet I do see that there is not that cause of urgency that any immediate measures need be proposed with respect to them There are many questions which are more beneficial to Ireland, and more practicable; and, therefore, I do not see the necessity of urging forward those questions which I confess to be impracticable. If any member of this House chooses to express, or feel, and act upon a want of confidence in my administration, on the ground that I am not disposed to rest for ever satisfied with the present condition of ecclesiastical affairs in Ireland, or inclined to say that the state of these affairs is consistent with justice, and that it must be kept up in perpetuity on the principle of endowment for the Protestant minority, and of the voluntary principle for the Roman-catholic majority—if any persons are disposed to favour a vote of want of confidence on that account, I cannot help their acting on such an opinion. But I cannot, in my own mind, say that I am satisfied perfectly with that condition of affairs. I cannot pledge myself, if I find the people of England and Scotland disposed to what I think a more just and useful arrangement, I will not pledge myself to be an opponent of such arrangement.'

His lordship, while disclosing with sufficient clearness his own views, has not done justice to those who withhold their confidence from the Irish policy of his administration. Some, it is true, may do so for the reason he has stated; but others, and throughout the country a much larger number, refuse such confidence, on the ground that nothing short of an entire severance of the episcopal and of all other churches in Ireland from the State, can meet the justice of the case, or calm the outraged feelings of that island. This is the ground taken by all consistent voluntaries, by many members of the established church of England, and by politicians of various grades and complexions. Were we reduced to the alternative of maintaining the present system, or of conceding to the Catholics a fair proportion of the ecclesiastical revenues of Ireland, we should unhesitatingly

prefer the latter. There would be more of justice, or rather less of injustice, in it. It would be less glaringly vicious, less adapted to keep the country in a state of perpetual irritation. But the diminution of evil accruing from such a policy would be purchased at a fearful cost. Irish patriotism would lose its element; the voices which are now raised on behalf of a suffering people would be hushed; a conservative influence would be spread throughout the land; and government stipendiaries would be substituted for an unbought and earnest priesthood. To this dilemma, however, we are not reduced. There is another course open to us, one more accordant with religious truth, more commensurate with the rightful claims of all the parties concerned, better adapted to allay the animosities and heal the wounds of a bleeding country, and more richly fraught in consequence with the elements of social welfare and of religious progress. Let the state—holding all vested and life interests sacred—resume the property from which its ecclesiastical functionaries are paid. Let it withhold all grants of public money from religionists of every name, and confine itself henceforth to its legitimate sphere. Let such property, in whatever it consists, be applied to strictly national purposes, and religion be left to the zeal and earnestness of its disciples. A new era would thus arise, not more agitating, at first, than that which will spring from the government plan, but a thousand-fold more certain of ultimately securing the peace and welfare of the people.

We are the more concerned on this matter, as there is reason to apprehend that the government scheme is already concocted, and has the approval of the O'Connell as well as of the Peel section of our statesmen. Rumours have reached us, on the substantial truth of which we are disposed to rely, that the government, as such, will maintain silence on this point, until a general election has taken place; but that immediately afterwards, when a seven years tenure of parliamentary existence has been secured, the establishment of popery in Ireland will be forced through the legislature, however hostile it may be found to the national will. We can merely hint this now, in order to put our friends on their guard, but we shall return to it again, with the additional information which the ensuing month may supply. Should Lord John Russell be able to effect the endowment of the Romish priesthood, to which he is committed by past professions and votes, a tremendous blow will be given to every hope of better times. Were he to make the attempt, and be prevented from carrying it out, as we hope he may, by the voice of public opinion, the failure might be pregnant with the elements of social regeneration. We have

our fears, however, unless the country meet the case at the proaching general election, that the Whigs, backed by a port of the Tories, may, in spite of the indignant voice of the Brit people, carry the measure. Our expectation, therefore, of g from the Whigs, is not great. We look with more hope e to Sir Robert Peel. His recent conversion to free trade pr ciples is a sufficient proof that he is capable of being enlighte on great questions. Now what Ireland wants is just the ap cation of these principles to religion. Give Ireland free tr in religion, and you place her at once in a fair way of impro ment; you heal her most dangerous malady; you close up fruitful source of her discontent, and open the way for a application of the other social remedies which legislative wisd may suggest. Abolish, we say to our statesmen, whether Robert Peel or Lord John Russell, the state church of Irela remove that hideous monopoly, and you will thereby enci your brow with prouder laurels than have been gained from abolition of the corn laws, bright and fresh as they may be; will secure for yourself a position in the first rank of the ab and most energetic of modern statesmen, and transmit to j terity your name, embalmed in the grateful recollections o oppressed but generous people.

But why do we look to man? Our confidence is in God in Him by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice. land, long misgoverned, degraded, and alienated, is not o looked. He who hath a name written on his vesture on his thigh, King of kings, and Lord of lords, will yet a and plead her cause. Even now we behold some press of his speedy advent, already we think we hear the sound his chariot wheels. In what way he may vindicate the hon of his truth, and the rights of man, it is impossible to progno cate. Thunderings and lightenings may go before him. may speak from the midst of the cloud in apparent anger. may suffer the man of sin to triumph for a time. A social ear quake may be permitted to shake the foundations of society, deliverance come, but come it will. *Magna est veritas prevalebit.* The mighty force of truth, will be impelled the united energy of the sons of freedom, against the s church, till its hoary turrets shall yield to the impulse, and proud fabric be levelled with the dust. Religion, no lon wounded in the house of professed friends, will then reign truth, and the people of God of every name, pouring their libera into his treasury, will send forth devoted men to preach gospel over the length and breadth of the land, 'taking noth of the Gentiles.'

Brief Notices.

A History of Inventions, Discoveries, and Origins. By John Beckmann, Professor of Economy in the University of Gottingen. Translated from the German, by William Johnston. Fourth Edition, carefully Revised and Enlarged, by William Francis, Ph. D., F.L.S.; and J. W. Griffith, M.D., F.L.S. Vol 1. London: Henry G. Bohn.

THIS is another volume of Bohn's 'Standard Library,' and the selection is judicious The title is somewhat unique, and will scarcely convey to general readers an accurate idea of the work. As is remarked by the editors of the present edition, 'the book may be classed as a compound of learned research and light reading, suitable both to the popular reader and the scholar.' It displays a wide range of reading on a vast variety of topics, and traces the various discoveries and inventions, whose progress it narrates from their earliest developement to their most perfected form. It therefore combines, in a very unwonted degree, the elements of scientific and of popular interest, and may be read with equal zeal by the philosopher and the man of light reading, the teacher and the pupil. The author, John Beckmann, was born at Hoye, a small town of Hanover, in 1739, and was appointed, in 1766, Professor Extraordinary of Philosophy in the University of Gottingen. His lectures were numerously attended, and amongst his auditors were some of the most distinguished public functionaries of the day. He was in the habit of accompanying his pupils to the workshops of the town, in order to give them a practical knowledge of the several handicrafts, the history and theory of which he had explained. In this manner, combining extensive reading with practical observation, the materials for the present work were collected, and the result is now laid before the English reader, with the advantages of an enlightened and able editorship. Such additions have been made to the original work, 'as seemed necessary to bring the accounts of the subjects treated of to the present state of knowledge,' though in some instances, we fear, without sufficient investigation. We are informed, for example, (page 242), that 'at present the number of British Fire Offices amounts to *nearly twenty*,' and that the premium varies from 1*s.* 6*d* to 10*s.* 6*d*, per cent., whereas the number is very considerably greater, and the premium rises in many cases to five or six times the rate stated. A careful revision will easily remove these defects.

The History of Civilization, from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution. By F. Guizot, author of 'History of the English Revolution in 1640.' Translated by William Hazlitt, Esq. Vol. I. London: David Bogue.

We are no great admirers of the Guizot school, or of the policy of the existing French government. The one is too temporizing and conservative, and the other too hostile to practical liberty to meet our views. It is the fashion with many amongst us to laud both, and the French minister has, in consequence, a name somewhat above his merits. Those merits, however, we do not wish to disparage. As a literary man, M. Guizot has earned a reputation which will survive his day; and Mr. Bogue has done wisely in including his 'History of Civilisation' in the *European Library*. The work is now published for the first time in our language, and will be read with great interest,—whatever may be thought of some of the author's views,—by all who are concerned to trace the progress of nations from the fall of the Roman empire to the breaking out of the French revolution. The lectures of which it consists, delivered to a numerous and enthusiastic audience, were designed to trace the various phases of representative government in modern Europe, and are of course tinctured throughout with that political bias to which the violent death of his father might primarily incline him, and which according to the writer of the brief biographical notice prefixed to the volume, would determine him, 'if things were to come to the worst, of throwing himself, without hesitation, into the arms of despotism, which he does not love, rather than undergo the anarchy he abhors.'

History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century. Vol. IV. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, D.D. Assisted in the preparation of the English original by H. White. A new edition, carefully revised Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd.

We have already expressed in such decided terms our conviction of the superiority of this edition over all its rivals, as to supersede the necessity of saying another word on this point. We will therefore merely congratulate our readers on its completion—so far, at least, as Dr. D'Aubigné has yet proceeded, and recommend each one of them instantly to possess himself of a copy. The four volumes, printed in neat and handsome style, are published for fourteen shillings, and it would probably be impossible within the whole range of English literature, to purchase for the same sum so much attractive and useful reading. To all the charms of romance, the history of Dr. D'Aubigné adds the sterling value of a history, the subject of which is the reformation of the church and the spiritual emancipation of the soul of man.

Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan, with an account of the seizure and defence of Jellalabad. By the Rev. G. R. Gleig, M.A. London: John Murray.

THIS volume forms No. 34 of 'The Home and Colonial Library,' and can scarcely fail to obtain a wide circulation. It had its origin, the author informs us, in an accidental meeting with the thirteenth regiment at the sea-bathing quarter of Walmer, in the autumn of last year, and has been compiled from the narratives of eye-witnesses, checked by official records. Mr. Gleig is well known as a popular writer, and with such a narrative and materials we need scarcely say that he has furnished a volume which Englishmen will love to read. Of the soldier-like and gallant bearing of our troops on the occasion referred to, there can be no question. We do all honour to their bravery, discipline, and power of endurance. In these and in all other military qualities they were worthy of the name they bear; and their prowess will be registered in British history. But we regard war with such utter detestation, and have so entire a conviction of the injustice of the expedition in which our countrymen were engaged, that the story of their proudest triumphs fills us with sorrow and shame, rather than the exultation in which many around us indulge. When will the healthful state of the public mind compel our rulers to refrain from the wholesale murders which they have hitherto been accustomed so recklessly to perpetrate.

Lectures on Divine Sovereignty, Election, the Atonement, Justification, and Regeneration, to which are appended, Strictures upon recent publications by Dr. Marshall and Mr. Haldane on the Atonement, and upon the Statements of Dr. Jenkyn on the Influences of the Holy Spirit. By George Payne, LL.D. Third Edition, enlarged. London: John Gladding.

THE third edition of a work on doctrinal theology is a novelty now-a-day, and we congratulate Dr. Payne on the distinction to which he has attained. Having expressed a high opinion of this work in our notice of a former edition, we need only say at present, that its value is considerably increased by the revision to which it has been subjected, and the additions which have been made, more particularly in the appendix. The strictures on Dr. Marshall and Mr. Haldane's publications on the Atonement, and on Dr. Jenkyn's work on the Holy Spirit, may be read with great advantage by all classes of theologians, and we especially recommend them to the close study of our younger ministers. Calm, clear, and dispassionate, at once acute and logical, Dr Payne is well qualified to guide the enquiries of younger minds, and to clear up many difficulties by which their progress is impeded.

The Modern Poetical Speaker; or, a Collection of Pieces adapted for recitation, carefully selected from the Poets of the Nineteenth Century. By Mrs. Palliser. London: Longman and Co.

IT is somewhat difficult to discriminate between works of this class. They possess so much in common, as to render it no easy task to specify wherein they differ, or 'to show cause' why one should be preferred before all others. In the present case, the range of selection is limited; and within the bounds prescribed, has been judicious and well timed. The range of reading indicated is extensive, the taste exercised sound, and the sense of responsibility under which the work has been prepared, such as should always be entertained by those who cater for the young. 'Bearing in mind,' says Mrs. Palliser, 'the lasting impression that may be made by pieces committed to the memory, the compiler has rigorously excluded all passages, however beautiful, which contain anything objectionable in either word or sentiment.' This is as it should be, and when found in combination with the other good qualities which distinguish this selection, fully warrants the cordial recommendation with which we introduce Mrs. Palliser's labours to our readers.

Royal Gems from the Galleries of Europe. Engraved after National Pictures of the Great Masters With Notices, Biographical, Historical and Descriptive. By S. C. Hall, F.S.A. Parts I—III. London: George Virtue.

THIS is one of the best publications of its class, and only requires to be known in order to obtain the patronage it merits. It is designed to meet the increased demand for engravings of acknowleged excellence, by supplying the most famous productions of the ancient and modern schools at an extremely low price, and promises to compete with the most costly and valuable publications of the day. 'Selections of the most admirable paintings of the old masters have been made, not alone from the various public depositaries of Europe, but from the treasures gathered in private collections,' and these are to be combined with 'examples of the genius of existing schools.' The entire series will be engraved in the line manner by the most accomplished English engravers, several of whom 'of high ability and established fame' have already been engaged. Each number will contain three engravings with literary illustrations by Mr Hall, to whom the general superintendence of the work has been committed, and the price is only three shillings. The engravings contained in the parts now before us, are *The Rent Day*, by Wilkie; *Cup Tossing*, by Crowley; *The Cottage Door*, by Gainsborough; *A Sunny Day*, by Cuyp; *The Blind Fiddler*, by Wilkie; *The Covenanter's Marriage*, by Johnston; *The Village Politicians*, by Wilkie; *The Empty Cradle*, by Mrs. M'Ian; and *The Noon-Day Rest*, by Cuyp.

The Modern British Plutarch; or Lives of Men distinguished in the recent History of our Country for their Talents, Virtues, or Achievements. W. C. Taylor, LL.D. 12mo. London: Grant and Griffith.

THE design and execution of this volume are good, It supplies what has long been needed, and may be advantageously used in the training of our young people. It contains thirty-eight biographies of some of the leading men in the past and present generation of statesmen, military and naval commanders, poets, men of science, and divines, and compresses into a narrow compass, information which must otherwise be sought for through many volumes. 'In describing the career of statesmen, Dr. Taylor has been careful to abstain from any manifestation of political bias or party feeling, and has, therefore, avoided giving any opinion on questions that yet remain within the arena of controversy. He has been more anxious to set forth facts as a narrator, than to set himself up as a dictator to the judgment, or even a guide to opinion.'

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

The Privateer's Man One Hundred Years Ago. By Capt. Marryatt, R.N. 2 vols.

Euclid's Elements of Geometry, chiefly from the Text of Dr. Simson, with Explanatory Notes; together with a Selection of Geometrical Exercises from the Senate House and College Examination Papers; to which is prefixed an Introduction, containing a Brief Outline of the History of Geometry. Designed for the Use of the Higher Forms in Public Schools, and Students in the Universities. By Robert Potts, M.A.

The Brain and its Physiology, a critical disquisition on the Methods of Determining the Relations subsisting between the Structure and Functions of the Encephalon. By Daniel Noble.

Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan, with an Account of the Seizure and Defence of Jellalabad. By the Rev. J. R. Gleig, M.A.

An Historical and Critical View of the Speculative Philosophy of Europe in the Nineteenth Century. By J. D. Morrell, A.M. 2 vols. Volume the First.

History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, D.D. Assisted in the Preparation of the English Original, by H. White. Volume the Fourth.

Life at the Water Cure, or a Month at Malvern. A Diary, by Richard J. Lane, Lithographer to Her Majesty, and H. R. H. Prince Albert. With Numerous Illustrations. To which is added the Sequel.

Letters to a Clergyman on Institutions for Ameliorating the Condition of the People. Chiefly from Paris, in the Autumn of 1845. By John Minter Morgan.

The Merits of Calvin, as an Interpreter of the Holy Scriptures; translated from the German of Professor Tholuck, of Halle. By Professor Woods, of Andover. To which are added, Opinions and Testimonies of Foreign and British Divines and Scholars, as to the value and importance of the Writings of John Calvin. With a Preface, by the Rev. W. Pringle.

Christianity in its various Aspects, from the Birth of Christ to the French Revolution. By E. Quinet, of the College of France. Translated with the author's approbation, by C. Cocks, Professor of the Royal Colleges.

A History of Inventions, Discoveries, and Origins. By John Beckman, Professor of Economy in the University of Gottingen. Translated from the German, by William Johnston. Fourth edition, carefully revised and enlarged. By Wm. Francis, P.H.D. F.L.S., and J. W. Griffith, M.D. F.L.S. Vol. I.

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. Edited by Wm. Smith, L.L.D. Part XVI.

The English Hexapla, consisting of six important vernacular English translations of the New Testament Scriptures. Part XI.

England, Rome, and Oxford, compared as to certain Doctrines. By the Rev. Archibald Boyd, M.A.

Truth Defended; in a supposed trial between Infant Affusion and Believers' Baptism. Second Edition, remodeled, condensed, and revised; to which is appended, a Letter to Joseph John Gurney, Esq., on Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Second Edition, revised and corrected by Seacome Ellison.

The Select Works and Memoirs of the late Rev. J. Fletcher ,D.D., edited by the Rev. J. Fletcher, jun., of Hanley. 3 vols.

Practical Observations on Mineral Waters and Baths, with notices of some continental climates, and a reprint (the third) of the Cold Water Cure. By Edwin Lee, Esq.

Mesmerism in India, and its practical application in Surgery and Medicine. By James Esdaile, M.D.

Autobiography of the late William Jones, M.A.

Family Expositions on the Epistles of St. John and St. Jude. By the Rev. E. Bickersteth.

Outlines of Mental and Moral Science, intended as introductory to the Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics of the University course, &c.

Six Lectures on the Importance and Practicability of Christian Union, chiefly in relation to the movements of the Evangelical Alliance. By J. Aldis.

On the History and Mystery of (those called) The Sacraments, showing them to be Jewish institutions, and not ordinances, appointed by Christ to be observed in his church. By Jacob Post.

An Affectionate Appeal to all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. By Archdeacon Jeffreys, of Bombay.

Six Sermons on Intemperance, delineating its nature, occasions, signs, evils, and remedy. By Lyman Beecher, D.D., Boston, United States, with an Introductory Preface. By the Rev. W. Reid, Lothian Road, Edinburgh.

Political Dictionary, forming a work of universal reference, both constitutional and legal, etc.

Knight's Penny Magazine. (Part VI.)

A New Universal, Phrenological and Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language, embracing all the terms used in Art, Science, and Literature. (Part IX.)

The Modern Orator, being a Collection of Celebrated Speeches of the most distinguished Orators of the United Kingdom. (Part XX.)

The Christian in Palestine, or Scenes of Sacred History, illustrated from sketches taken on the spot, by W. H. Bartlett, with explanatory descriptions. By H. Stebbing, D.D. (Part IV.)

Royal Gems from the Galleries of Europe, Engraved after National Pictures of the great Masters. With Notices, Biographical, Historical, and Descriptive. By S. C. Hall, F.S.A. (Part IV.)

Gilbert's Modern Atlas of the World, for the People, with an Introduction to the Physical Geography of the Globe, and an Alphabetical Index of the Latitudes and Longitudes of 24,000 places. (Part V.)

The Pictorial Gallery of Arts. (Part XVIII.)

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1846.

Art. 1.—*A History of Greece.* I. *Legendary Greece.* II. *Grecian History to the Reign of Peisistratus at Athens.* By George Grote, Esq. Two Volumes. London: Murray, 1846.

'WE do ill to spend so much time and thought,' said a preacher during the Commonwealth, from the pulpit of St. Mary's, Oxford, 'on the gods and muses of antiquity, which were nothing but devils and damned creatures.' Such also may seem to have been Milton's belief concerning these legendary beings; nevertheless he was under the influence of a charm which forced him, against the preacher's exhortation, to spend *much* time, thought, and poetry, on these and still less pleasing personages. All who have been led into much study of the Greek poets, are sensible of the fascination which their creations exert over the mind; and it is usual with scholars of the most opposite genius, whether Gibbon, or Sir William Jones, Müller or Grote, Hallam or Arnold, to ascribe this to the intrinsic beauty of the tales themselves. *Beauty*, we confess, appears to us hardly the right word. *Childlike simplicity* is in our belief the attractive element which pervades Greek mythology; a simplicity, however, which is variously coloured by the play of imagination reflected from the countless beautiful objects of nature with which the world of Greece abounds. 'Ever stepping delicately through a most brilliant ether,' as Euripides says, of his Athenian countrymen,—and kindled into admiration of heroism by the boundless rewards of military adventure, the muse of Greece has sounded forth with so much clearness and native power, as to stamp permanent importance on legends in themselves trifling or revolting. They are not fit

for the instruction of mere boys, on the plain principle that children cannot study childhood: but for grown men to despise the study of infantine minds, would be an error fatal to philosophy. All true science must begin from the minute, we may almost say from the tedious, examination of whatever is simplest, and often of much that is to the casual eye worthless. The physical experimenters who were contemporary with Newton were ridiculed for watching *swingswangs* (pendulums), and for loving to blow soap-bubbles. The immortal Watt was chided by his aunt for losing his time in playing with the spout of a teakettle. If ever metaphysics and morals are to approach the form of demonstrative science, it will be by rigid analysis of the mind and conscience, *while under formation*, and by the contrast of its unhealthy to its healthy workings. In other words, the mental operations of children, and of the deaf or insane, furnish the most trustworthy bases for fixed philosophy.

In the early Greek nation we have (what may be called) the childish mind magnified, both as to intensity and duration; the perturbing foreign attractions, moreover, which so soon spoil the simplicity of our children, being to a great extent removed. We use the word *spoil* in reference to the philosopher who is studying the young mind. What is called *education*, whether bad or good, rapidly destroys the spontaneousness of childish actions. The boy who is very early brought into contact with a formal or manly intellect, is soon overpowered by it, and by his very improvement, when it is an improvement, ceases to exhibit the phenomena, which the student of human nature is in quest of. The more rapidly the infantine beings by whom we are actually surrounded, come under the pressure of adult thought, the less fit representatives are they of true children; and the more must we value the authentic exhibitions of primeval childishness which Greek legends afford. No where else can we obtain the record so pure and uninterpolated as in ancient Greece. The consummate genius of their two great epic poems has insured their preservation through illiterate times, and was, in fact, no slight agent in softening the barbarism which they depict and generally approve. While Homer means to tell his hearers the prowess of Achilles or the skill of Odysseus, he is, in fact, recording to perpetual time the heart, the mind, the manners, and the internal state of contemporary Greece. The unconsciousness of genius, of which so much has been talked, is scarcely appropriate to any but an uncultivated mind. The noble stag, when 'with one brave bound the copse he clears,' thinks not of himself, but of the distant lair towards which he is speeding; while to the observer he affords

a delightful spectacle unawares. Such is the wild nature, such the untutored impulse, of Grecian epic; which it would be as absurd to wish for in a Shakspere, a Scott, or a Goëthe, as to cull the flowers of spring out of the fruits of autumn.

Not only have these ancient epics been preserved (on the whole) with wonderful faithfulness, but they are the more valuable from their diversities. The contrasts of the Iliad and the Odyssey are such, that while the ablest modern critics (as many of the ancients) unhesitatingly refer the two poems to different authors, some even believe the Odyssey to be considerably later in time. At any rate, it brings us into scenes totally different in character from those of the Iliad, and furnishes us with pictures, partly of external reality and partly of the Grecian mind, such as we could not have imagined or constructed out of the other poem. But besides these two great luminaries, which shed their blaze upon the higher or heroic life, the works attributed to Hesiod light up, like feeble yet steady stars, the scenes of industrious and humble toil; enabling us, though not without painful gazing and poring through the darkness, pretty clearly to make out the gradual changes by which Greece passed from her heroic to her historical age. A part of this discussion belongs properly and exclusively to history; another part, and a very important one, falls under religion, or (if any one prefer so to call it) mental philosophy; being a history of the Grecian mind,—and, in no small measure, of the human mind,—in regard to religious invention. As the Hesiodic poem, entitled 'Works and Days,' assists in the industrial history of Greece, so do the other (so called) Hesiodic poems, especially the 'Theogonia,' or 'Birth of the Gods,' give the most important aid in the religious history. Connected, as it is, *above* with the Homeric notions, and *below* with the later epics (of which we have numerous fragmentary notices), and through these with the works of the earliest elegiac and lyric poets, it enables the critical student to trace with unexpected minuteness the *growth* of the countless fables which collectively made the ostensible creed of Greece. The great fault of the ordinary mythological study, is, that it has dealt with religious legends as a fixed unchangeable structure, instead of as a chronological product. It is only late in time that students discover, that the notions which they imbibed as boys concerning the Greek deities, were often unknown to Homer; or, if found perhaps in the 'Odyssey,' are strange to the 'Iliad.' In fact, no one phenomenon appears to us more instructive in this whole matter, than the gradual formation, and successive additions, which can be traced in these half imaginative, half moralizing tales.

We are disposed to go farther, and to disapprove of *all* teaching of mythology to young boys. It was not without good reason, and we do not call it fanaticism, on the part of the ancient Christians, that they entirely forbade to their children the study of the heathen poets. Plato, in fact, admitted the principle,—and for it he has been only mildly censured,—in proscribing the works of Homer in his ideal republic. In times, when the whole atmosphere teemed with superstition, it was very hard to imbibe in childhood a knowledge of those enticing poems, without gaining a most dangerous sympathy with the polluting ceremonies of heathenism, and a vague belief in a thousand degrading fables. We can now look with calm admiration on a Greek god, and with uncontemptuous sobriety on an Egyptian monkey; but times were, when the wise, the faithful and the brave, did far better 'by breaking the images and burning them with fire,' than by putting them into show-rooms and museums. Superstition, viewed as a shadow from past days, a ghost of a religion that once existed, is a fit object of literary curiosity and of antiquarian research: but when it appears as a living and powerful reality among us, our first business is to slay it, and for a while to put it out of remembrance. But we are digressing. For the historical treatment of mythology, boys are wholly unprepared; and to force philosophy upon them is injudicious. There seems, therefore, to be no good purpose in teaching them mythology at all. They will pick up for themselves, in the perusal of Homer, (who is always a favourite author with them,) as much as is requisite, and somewhat more; and with ripening years they may learn how intelligent criticism earns gold out of this dross.

So much have we written by way of preface to the elaborate volumes before us. Although entitled a 'History of Greece,' by far the greater part of it is far from answering to this title. Indeed, by a slight change, it seems to us, the accomplished author might have justified his announcement: if, instead of heading the first part of his work, *Legendary Greece*, he had entitled it *Grecian Legend*. What has been already written will show that we do not undervalue Mr. Grote's subject, when we demur to admitting such narrative and such discussions into history. According to his often reiterated declaration, the genealogies and exploits of gods, demigods, and heroes, properly belong to Greek *religion*, and are as unsubstantial as Mother Bunch's fairy tales and the prowess of the seven champions of Christendom. He will urge, that the belief in them continued into historical times; and that critical occasions occur in the history, (as when the busts of Hermes were mutilated in Athens,) in which it is scarcely possible to conceive of the actings of men's minds

without being aware of the depth of their superstition. But this, we submit, is no adequate reason, why a history of religion, and long discussions on archæology and on poetry, should be actually incorporated with a general history. To take a case, not parallel, but far more extreme than that of Greece. From the breaking out of the Reformation under Luther, for more than a century, the whole history of Europe turned on the Protestant and Catholic controversy; and in England the same has pervaded, or affected, our public measures, at home and in Ireland, down to the present year. This, however, is not judged a sufficient reason for embracing in the same work the history of national events at large, and also the detailed discussion of religious opinion: much less for mingling up a critique on the Bible and on the decisions of councils. We confess, it appears to us, that Mr. Grote has done what is perfectly analogous to this. No doubt he has his reply;—that *some* persons have held the Grecian gods, and *very many* still hold their heroes, to have been historical personages; hence, if he is to write history, he is forced to clear his way by refuting this opinion. We hope it is not ungracious, while admiring the matter, to dissent from the form, of his writings: but the apology adduced appears to us unsatisfactory. The good taste of all the ablest writers has long since decided, that narrative must form the staple of history and that discussion ought to be secondary. Arguments and criticism belong to notes and appendices, and even these ought not to be too lengthy. A historian is not bound to do more than glance at the dim fables which precede trustworthy fact, and concisely to characterise the religious tendencies of the nation whose fortunes he is to narrate. In so far as ancient poems contain undoubted fact concerning the earlier manners, they may be freely used; as they have been by Bishop Thirlwall in his beautiful chapters on Homeric Greece. But, with the exception of this, Mr. Grote's first part, it appears to us, would properly have appeared as a monograph on Greek mythology; which might profitably have been read in illustration of the history, but without forming part of it. Having so far delivered ourselves of a protest, we proceed to the substance of the work.

It testifies to the wonderful richness of the mine of Greek archæology, that a practical man in banking and political England should produce two ample volumes, rich in thought and teeming with eloquence, so soon after Bishop Thirlwall's learning and acuteness had apparently picked up every jewel from the promiscuous heap. We are bound to say, that there is a wonderful freshness in Mr. Grote's writing. He has thrown his heart into the subject, and presses his views with

so much warmth, as even to fall into repetitions which savour more of the practical reformer and advocate, than of the sedate and didactic judge.

But we must proceed to give some account in detail of Mr. Grote's views and arguments. His opening chapter is concerned entirely with legends about the gods, and the whole interest in it is derived from his tracing their growth in successive poets from a single nucleus to the elaborate fulness of the final system. Thus, in the Iliad and Odyssey, Apollo and the Sun are totally distinct deities; Apollo is distinguished by the bow and by prophecy, but not yet by the harp or by medicine. He is the peculiar god of the Trojans, and bears the especial surname *Sminthian*, (or, god of the field-mouse!) but is hostile to the Greeks; whereas, in rather later times he is peculiarly the tutelary deity of the Hellenes. Delos is not named in the Iliad at all, nor has Apollo the epithet of *Delian;* however, in the Odyssey, this island is already named as the centre of Apollo's worship. Mr. Grote well observes, that since Delphi (or Pytho) was the seat of the god's prophetic knowledge; and Delos, that of his festive games—the belief of his excelling in the harp, probably grew later out of the dance, music and song, which accompanied those games; and as Hermes or Mercury was esteemed the inventor of the lyre, this (he ingeniously argues) generated a new mythe, which we read in the (so-called) Homeric Hymn to Mercury;—that this god bargained away his instrument to Apollo.

Zeus, or Jupiter, is in Homer familiarly entitled, 'father of gods and men;' a phrase which must have belonged to an older religion, and carries the mind to Dodona, where was his most ancient temple. It is scarcely consistent with the Homeric views; for Kronus or Saturn is perpetually named as father of Jupiter, although no details are given of the unnatural strife between them, which so scandalized later philosophers. The Iliad merely informs us that Saturn and Japetus have been lodged by Jupiter 'beneath the earth and sea.' An enlargement of the genealogy is evidently a physical speculation, and of later date, which makes Saturn son of *Uranus* and *Gæa*, (heaven and earth,) and finally traces these up to *chaos*, as the origin of all. It is well remarked by Mr. Kenrick, in his 'Egypt of Herodotus,' that Jupiter is really the first, as the highest, *national* divinity of the Greeks. No national worship was anywhere offered to Kronus nor to Uranus, who are the pure creations of incipient philosophy; since it can hardly be doubted that the name Kronus is identical with Khronus, *time*. The same Homer (if there be no interpolation) who names Jupiter Father of gods and men, sings of 'Oceanus, the origin of

the gods, and Tethys the mother.' Venus is, with Homer, the daughter of Jupiter and Dione. The later indecent fictions rose out of attempted etymology of her name Aphrodite.

To speak generally, the violent ceremonies which the Greek called *orgies*, are unknown to the Homeric poems; at least, if the legend of 'the raging Bacchus' be cited against this from the sixth book of the Iliad,* it is at any rate certain that neither Bacchus, nor Ceres, nor Cybele, stand in any high position in the Iliad or Odyssey. In Mr. Grote's opinion, the orgiastic worship rose out of a later familiarity with Asia, and the so-called *mysteries* were developed out of Egyptian notions of secret religion. A mysterious person in this connexion is denoted by the name of Orpheus, whom the Greeks in general conceived of as the earliest of poets, and as the revealer of sacred mysteries, but whom Aristotle (as we learn from Cicero's testimony) held to be an imaginary character; while the more critical of the moderns, with Mr. Grote, refer him to an era later than Hesiod: that is, as Mr. Grote expresses it, 'The *names* of Orpheus and Musæus represent the gradual influx of Thracian and Phrygian religious ceremonies and feelings, and the increasing diffusion of special mysteries,' a process which in part has been bound up also with the name of Pythagoras, especially in regard to Egyptian influence. The Orphic Theogony, he urges, contains the Hesiodic ideas and persons, enlarged, and mystically disguised; its vein of invention was less popular, adapted to the contemplation rather of an educated and speculative sect. It is never cited in the ample Scholia of Homer, though Hesiod is often alluded to; and by negative reasons of much weight, it may be inferred with high probability that it was never a widely-diffused Grecian belief. Mr. Grote insists that even Herodotus, if not ignorant of the name of Orpheus, cannot have believed his antiquity and his pretensions to be the author of Greek religion; since it is to Homer and Hesiod that the historian expressly attributes this prophetical office, if we may be allowed the phrase.

Among the peculiar features of the Orphic mythology is the startling deviation from common ideas concerning the god Dionysus or Bacchus, who is called Zagreus in the Orphic mythe. He is son of Jupiter by his own daughter Proserpine; he is the favourite of his father, a child of magnificent promise, and pre-destined, if he grow up, to succeed to supreme dominion as well as to the handling of the thunderbolt. He is seated, while an infant, on the throne beside Jupiter, guarded by Apollo and the Curetes. But the jealous Juno intercepts

* This passage seems to be interpolated into the sixth book, and the whole book is, in Mr. Grote's view, of later origin than the first.

his career, and incites the Titans against him; who, having first smeared their faces with plaster, approach him on the throne, tempt his childish fancy with play-things, and kill him with a sword, while he is contemplating his face in a mirror. They then cut up his body and boil it in a cauldron, leaving only the heart, which is picked up by Minerva and carried to Jupiter, who in his wrath strikes down the Titans with thunder into Tartarus; whilst Apollo is directed to collect the remains of Zagreus, and bury them at the foot of Mount Parnassus. The heart is given to Semele, and Zagreus is born again from her under the form of Dionysus. It may appear that the last incident is superadded to the tale, for the mere sake of identifying the foreign Zagreus with a national Greek god, with whom he has so little in common, that while the orgies of Bacchus were the type of all the madness and wantonness which real or pretended drunkenness may incite, the rites of Zagreus were mournful, meditative and ascetic.

Not only are all tales of sacred secrecy utterly foreign to the frankness and garrulity of Homeric religion, but rites of consecration and purification are scarcely known. Especially that interesting institution which in Herodotus we find equally well known in Lydia as in Greece, purification for homicide; which is not to be found in Homer, although he vividly describes the headlong race of a manslayer, hard pressed by the avenger of blood, until a foreign soil has been reached. Six cases, indeed, are found in these poems of such homicide, and of exile following, as a sufficient expiation.

We cannot afford space any further to develope Mr. Grote's discussions concerning the legends less known and less cared for among ourselves; and must be satisfied with picking out such points concerning the more superficial mythology as are either original with him, or little likely to be familiar to our readers.

It is usual to remark on the ethical and industrial strain pervading the (so-called) Hesiodic poem of the 'Works and Days,' which is essentially didactic, and on the personal prominence which the writer gives to himself; all of which particulars suggest its rather later origin. Such a view is confirmed beyond question by the remote distance above himself, at which the writer regards the heroic age to be; and, in fact, the picture of Greek life which he draws is of historical value as filling a chasm between the Homeric manners and those of later times. Besides this, a notable addition to religious ideas is found in the *dæmons* of this poem, who are represented as 'intermediate agents and police between gods and men,'—beings essentially good, but used to relieve the gods from meddling in small

affairs. Their infinite numbers made their service in such matters most efficient, and somewhat later they were believed to fulfil a still more important function; that of bearing away from the gods the odium of physical and moral evil. The word *dæmon*, in Homer, is applied to the greater gods, and is generally interpreted to mean *knowing, skilful.* Some explain it, as from the verb δαίω, to divide; 'a distributor' or allotter of men's fortunes; and others suspect that it is connected with the words Deus, Deeva, of the Latins, Indians, etc. Whatever its origin, it was not in early times used, as afterwards, for the spirit of * a dead man; nor was the idea yet invented that there were two sorts of demons, good and bad. As the bad sense prevailed more and more in Christian times, the old poets seemed themselves to confess that Jupiter and Apollo were nothing but 'demons;' a circumstance of which controversial writers diligently availed themselves.

While the Greek religion was thus growing up, the additions to the popular faith were generally depravations of the primitive simplicity; while those made to the more philosophic creed were, more and more, attempts to remove the grossnesses which offended maturing reason, and to enlarge the limited conceptions of barbarism. Such, at least, is our own prevailing conviction, and so far from being able (in any *religious* sense) to extol the race of Greek poets at large, it seems to us undeniable, that their influence on the whole was exceedingly pernicious. Like other poets, they gave loose reins to imagination; very few indeed of them had, or could have, a moral aim predominating in their works; and, as a consequence, wild licentiousness was through them established as religion, and set off with the charms of verse and music. We are willing to believe that this evil was essential to the development of the Grecian mind; (for perhaps nothing but an overruling priestly caste could have hindered it, and out of a *censorship of the press* no good can be expected, though some evil may be hindered;) and if so, it was all in the order of Providence towards ultimate benefit. Mr. Grote insists that many of the worst tendencies were not of Grecian origin, but imported from abroad; as the orgiastic rites, from Asia Minor and Crete; the principle of mystic secrecy, from Egypt. While we admit this, we cannot but think that in the legends which were purely Greek, there is a constant growth of gossiping tales and of horrors, which indicates that the poets were busy in satisfying the popular craving after excitement. This is manifested, alike in the stories of the gods themselves, and in those concerning the heroic families;

* 'We call those Manes,' says Cicero, 'whom the Greeks call δαίμονες.'

and although the question how the Iliad was composed, is far too controverted to support further results of weight, it seems to be admitted by those who plead most strongly for the integrity of the poem, that various passages are of later origin, which deal in mythes afterwards popular.

We cannot here enter into the indecent and sometimes positively disgusting details which meddling philosophy and prurient imagination appended to the Homeric stories; but passing to the heroic legends, we shall concisely allude, following in the steps of Mr. Grote, to some of the remarkable enlargements which the Homeric tales underwent to please the popular love of the horrible, or, in other cases undoubtedly, to effect an artificial reconciliation of their contradictions; which was an incipient historical striving. Likewise, after the Greeks had begun to derive somewhat of religion and philosophy, (to say nothing of art,) from Egypt, they became easily credulous that their ancestors had done the same; and many heroes, who in Homer appear as indigenous, were afterwards regarded as leaders of colonies into Greece from Asia or Egypt. The foremost of these is Pelops, who, in the Iliad, may seem to be represented as *a son of Mercury*, from whom at least he is said to have received his sceptre. The statement may admit of being analyzed into another or earlier form, viz., that he was indebted *to good luck* for his kingdom. In Homer, no connexion of Pelops with Phrygia can be traced, nor with the town of Pisa in Peloponnesus; nor is the southern peninsula of Greece named Peloponnesus in either poem. In a suspected passage of the eleventh book of the Odyssey, the torments of Tantalus are detailed, but nothing is said of his being a Phrygian, or father to Pelops. Homer betrays no consciousness of any feud between Atreus and Thyestes, sons of Pelops, and is ignorant of the sacrifice of Iphigenia. In the Odyssey, Ægisthus indeed murders Agamemnon, and Orestes 'gains the purest glory' by avenging his father's death on the murderer; but Orestes does not slay his mother, and is not persecuted by his mother's furies. Tyndareus is named in two passages of the Odyssey only, which make him father of the Dioscuri and of Clytæmnestra. The Iliad makes Helen sister of the Dioscuri; but from neither poem separately can it be made out that Helen is sister to Clytæmnestra; and this has every appearance of having been invented when the wickedness of 'the two women' had become a familiar sentiment. Thus, nearly the whole of the tissue of horrors in the house of the Pelopidæ, which the overruling demon (ἀλάστωρ) accordingly to later writers inflicted, is a growth posterior to Homer, who knows nothing but the crime and punishment of Ægisthus. Nearly the same is true con-

cerning the house of Cadmus and Labdacus. We cannot here lay equal stress on the silence of the Homeric poems, since the Theban family did not lie immediately across their way. Yet it is observable, that while the name Cadmeians is familiar, and Cadmus is referred to as a well-known character, no one of all the miraculous and dreadful tales connected with this house is alluded to. Cadmus is not named as a Phœnician, nor as the founder of Thebes; but Amphion and Zethus are stated in the Odyssey to have been 'the first builders of its walls,' though without miracle. As for Cadmus's daughters, one of them, Ino, is said to have been made a sea-goddess, and another, Semele, to have borne Bacchus to Jupiter; but without a hint of her tragical combustion before the divine child saw the light. The miserable end of Pantheus is strange to Homer; but the horrid fortunes of Œdipus appear in an advanced form in a book of the Odyssey, which abounds with interpolations. Even there, he continues to reign over the Cadmeans after his mother's death, and does not put out his own eyes; but in the Iliad, (book 23), a single line informs us that he *fell in battle*, and that games were celebrated around his tomb. We might pursue the comparison of the earlier and later heroic stories in other houses also. Suffice it to say, that by the time of the Tragedians, the fortunes of the old heroic families may seem to have been invented anew. We have scarcely alluded to one cause of new fictions, viz., a desire to reconcile discrepancies; and, among others, chronological oppositions, out of which have risen many interpolations of names, as that of Pleisthenes in the family of Pelops.

Before passing to the application made by Mr. Grote, of the result of these investigations, viz.,—the *total* untrustworthiness of poetical legends unchecked by contemporaneous witnesses,—we must briefly note, that he holds nothing peculiar or new, so as either to be lauded for originality of genius, or suspected of loving eccentricity. His scepticism concerning the historical truth of the heroic tales probably does not exceed (if anything can exceed) that of Niebuhr and his immediate school; and certainly in the particular question of the Trojan war and its connected romances, the learned and cautious Kenrick appears to go fully as far as Grote. As for Bishop Thirlwall, he so far differs, as in many cases to betray a desire to elicit, by delicate criticism, some fragment of history out of legends manifestly as incredible in details as they are totally unvouched for. Mr. Grote believes this to be as hopeless a problem, as to extract history out of Shakspere's tragedy of King Lear. When poems are set before us, which bring forward personages and events of a distant time,—distant to the poet himself, and concerning which

he pretends to no other source of information than 'the inspiration of the muse,'—while *we* have absolutely no witness but the poet; in such circumstances, all historical criticism is (in Mr. Grote's belief) utterly thrown away. Some poems are founded on fact, like Tasso's 'Jerusalem Delivered;' others have much plausibility of truth, without being true, as Scott's 'Marmion.' If these poems floated down the stream of time to remote posterity, and all prose literature of the past, and of three centuries to come, were first utterly wrecked; future critics would be quite unable to judge whether the Crusades ever had historical existence, or to divine that the battle of Flodden Field was true, but all the other events of the poem of Marmion imaginary, with the hero himself. This is the grand principle, to establish and to enforce which, Mr. Grote labours through a large part of these two volumes.

In nations where poetry and prose coexist, and where contemporary history-writing is practised, the fictitiousness of poetry is so notorious, that no one would dream of quoting a poet's authority in proof of historical fact. If then we might appeal to modern analogy in setting up our standard of evidence, the argument would be finished and the battle won by Mr. Grote, in half a page. But in the present instance we have a special phenomenon,—viz., that the Greeks themselves, not excluding Thucydides and Aristotle, believed in a substantial kernel of truth at the bottom of the poetical and popular legends: a consequence has been, that modern European scholars have inherited the same belief, and it is now hard to shake ourselves entirely free from it. Habit and old associations influence nearly all of us.—Nor is this all: but it may seem that a twofold defence is possible for the adherent to the old faith. First, it is said, that in days in which no writing existed, the minstrel united the double functions of poet and historian; consequently it is fair to assume, that a Homer is often historically veracious, while we expect nothing of the kind from a Byron. Next, it is still more strongly alleged, that if the Trojan war was fundamentally fictitious, the Greeks *could not* have been so universally persuaded of its truth: and that to believe them deceived, indicates far greater credulity than to receive the substance of the facts. Such are the strong holds of the adverse view, which it is Mr. Grote's business to demolish.

The former argument has more sound than weight; and may seem to indicate confusion of thought. The old minstrel, or bard, it is said, combined the offices of historian and poet; *therefore*, we may yield to him more credit than to a modern epic-writer. It is evident, that unless some clue can be found to teach us when he officiates in one character and when in the

other, the inference ought to have been:—'*therefore*, it is perfectly uncertain what we ought or ought not to believe on his testimony.' Such a clue, however, all the rationalizing school, from Thucydides down to Clinton, imagine they have discovered in the *intrinsic credibility* of statements: that is, if we disbelieve all that is miraculous or otherwise opposed to the known principles of human history, all that remains may be received as historical. As it has been a thousand times repeated: '*strip off* whatever is romantic and portentous, and the residue, being credible, deserves to be credited.' This is the fundamentally false assumption, (for, with Mr. Grote, we do not hesitate to pronounce it such,) which pervades all the reasonings on that side, and has occasioned an enormous waste of labour and ingenuity. As if *plausible fiction* made no part of poetry! as if it did not form beyond comparison the largest and most important part! Instead of saying that the ancient bard discharged the functions of historian, we ought to say with Mr. Grote, that the age had not yet conceived the idea of history at all. Until contemporaneous history begins, search after truth is impossible; the art of searching, and the sources which can be trusted, are unknown. Genius may prompt a poet to adorn a strictly traditional tale, which has fact at the bottom; but it may also prompt him to sing what is fundamentally fictitious: and in a given case, which of the two methods may have been adopted, we are totally in the dark. He will probably give to his chief characters names that are well known to his hearers; but that does not guarantee a single fact concerning them.

Most decisive illustrations of this are drawn from the middle ages of Europe, which give us valuable insight into the intellectual tendencies of half-barbarous nations. At that time the mass of the people was quite uninfluenced by historical literature; yet annals and dry chronicles were preserved by monkish writers, who retained from an earlier civilization the element of a historical spirit; and by help of these unpretending authentic and contemporary documents, we are enabled to test the truth of various poems and romances. An eminent illustration of this is, the (so called) 'Chronicle of Turpin,' a compilation of poetical legends concerning Charlemagne, which ascribe to him an expedition to the Holy Land, and a conquest of Jerusalem from the Saracens, whence he brought to Rome many valuable relics, as the sacred crown of thorns. The Emir Balan, having invaded Italy with a great army, and having procured [illegible] of these relics, carried them to Spain: out of which grew the expedition of Charlemagne into Spain to recover them. Now if this were so criticised, as the Trojan war by Thucydides and by Herodotus, it would be argued: 'More sacred relics are

dently romantic and unreal grounds of the war;'—(as it is said, To recover Helen cannot have been the real cause of the war of Troy;)—'but drop this, and other secondary points, and the residue will be historical.' Yet, in the present instance, we have the means of knowing that all is fiction. So little similarity is there between the Charlemagne of romance, and the Charlemagne of history, that it is hard to identify them; and it is pretty clear that traditions of Charles Martel and of Charles the Bald have been fused into the mingled mass.—So also, the legends of the Saints are by the best historians regarded as pure fictions, without a nucleus of truth; yet they are written with the simplest and most direct protestations of narrating real unvarnished facts. The stories of king Arthur's 'Knights of the Round Table,' are another case of unmingled fiction: nor can this be set aside, by urging that 'the case of these is not parallel; inasmuch as the manners of these knights belong to the days of feudal chivalry, while Homer has *no* such anachronisms.' But whether Homer rightly paints the heroes of past days, *we know not*, because we have no collateral witnesses: no one has yet imagined that he sang in the spirit of an antiquarian, carefully discriminating ancient from present manners: if then he has been in this respect correct, it is through the accident that no change of manners had taken place for some centuries. Even so, until some fixed chronology is ascribed, it is not clear what 'correctness' of this sort would mean.

To go to the centre of Asia; in the middle age of Persia, there rose the great epic of Firdusi, the Shah-namah, or Book of Kings. This has ostensibly more pretensions to be regarded as historical than the poems of Homer; yet by comparing it with the authentic and contemporaneous records of Greeks and Romans, we find it to be a tissue of fiction, with a few old national names of kings indeed, but nothing whatever in their fortunes to identify them with real characters. Alexander the Great is hardly an exception: for he is made to be a younger son of the king of Persia, who was brought up in Greece as a Christian, and when he became a man, reconquered his father's throne from his brother. On the whole, we have an overwhelming mass of analogy in proof that compositions intended to delight the imagination, whether in prose or verse, are utterly worthless as historical informants. They *may* possess some portion of truth; but unless we have an independent test, we cannot extricate it: and if we have this, we no longer need to depend on the romancer or poet.

The second and more plausible argument is derived from the belief of the Greeks themselves; which it is asserted, we *cannot*, without credulity, imagine to have arisen without a basis of fact.

Specious as is this assertion, it is quite unsupported by our experience of human nature, and indeed opposed to the ascertained history of the mind. The Persians believe the epic of Firdusi, as unhesitatingly as did the Greeks that of Homer: yet we happen to know, that not a particle of trustworthy historical information can be elicited from Firdusi. A similar unquestioning belief was for centuries given in England to the pretended dynasties of Britons derived from *Brutus the Trojan*, previous to the invasion of Julius Cæsar; and the very name of Britain was believed to testify to Brutus, our great *eponymus*. The Welsh and Irish antiquarians have scarcely yet shaken off similar delusions. In the middle ages the legends of the Saints were believed as devoutly as Tacitus's Histories are now; and the Chronicle of Turpin was not only accepted as genuine history, but was pronounced to be such by papal authority. In short, to call the belief of a nation concerning its ancient state *traditionary*, is begging the question: such belief undoubtedly may arise, and often does arise, without any 'tradition' at all. With the growth of the logical and historical faculty, a disposition arises in the educated to throw off first one, and then another, portion of the current belief, and they endeavour to 'rationalize' it by setting aside portents, and all that is evidently romantic and unreal; but it is long before they doubt of the whole, or discern how baseless is even the most plausible part. It is not at all wonderful that Thucydides or Demosthenes thought as they did concerning the testimony of their old poets: on the contrary, since they had not, as we, the experience of two ages of civilization, separated by a chasm of darkness slenderly bridged over, the wonder would be, if they had totally risen above the prejudices of their position. On the other hand, their *opinion* derives no weight from the age in which they lived. They had only the same sources of information as we,—the poems themselves,—and far less collateral knowledge to direct their criticism aright.

But on examining more closely, we find the *authority* of the Greek nation (if authority in such a matter can exist,) break down under the weight which it will have to bear. To confine ourselves to two pointed illustrations; they *equally* believed the Argonautic expedition and that of the Amazons against Athens, as strenuously as the war of Troy: yet no leading scholar of the present generation imagines either of these events to have been historical. We shall dwell upon each separately for a little. The ship Argo is first named in the Odyssey; likewise the island Ææa or Æa, which is represented as under the power of Circe, daughter of the Sun and brother of Æetes, and as situated in the Italian seas. The Iliad merely mentions a son of Jason, who supplied the Grecian army with wine from Lemnos

during the siege of Troy; which may imply that the poet had heard of the visit of the Argives to Lemnos, where the queen Hypsipyle became mother of Eunëus by Jason. The earliest forms of the legend are lost, with some of the Hesiodic poems and the Naupactian verses; yet in the accounts preserved we can distinctly see how the tale grew with time, and especially what violence was used, with the advance of knowledge, to reduce it within possibilities, and thereby make it credible. In its poetical garb, no one would any more imagine it was or pretended to be true, than the adventures of Sinbad the sailor: (though in passing we must add, that the Arabs at this day believe the stories of the 'Arabian Nights,' as devoutly as the old Greeks believed their heroic legends; which Mr. Grote does not neglect to enforce:) but the Argonautic expedition took hold on the Greek faith in an age when no amount of prodigies, no discords of chronology and geography, no manifest incongruity with human motives and action, no fusion of gods and heroes, could startle men's confidence. In the result, all Greece, and the world round Greece, abounded with imagined monuments of the voyage; as far east as the interior of Media and Armenia, in the time of Strabo,—(these must have been first fancied after Alexander the Great,)—as far west as Epirus and Corcyra, Posidonia, on the southern coast of Italy, and even (it is said) the island of Elba: finally as far south as Libya, with which the legend had a most intimate connexion.

'Wherever the Grecian mariner sailed,' says Mr. Grote, vol. i. p. 333, 'he carried his religious and patriotic mythes along with him. His fancy and his faith were alike full of the long wanderings of Jason, Odysseus, Perseus, Heracles, Dionysus, Triptolemus, or Io. It was pleasing to him in success, and consoling to him in difficulty, to believe that their journeys had brought them over the ground which he was himself traversing. There was no tale amidst the wide range of the Grecian epic more calculated to be popular with the seaman, than the history of the primæval ship Argo and her distinguished crew, comprising heroes from all parts of Greece, and especially the Tyndarids, Castor and Pollux, the heavenly protectors invoked during storm and peril He localized the legend anew, wherever he went, often with some fresh circumstances suggested either by his own adventures or by the scene before him: he took a sort of religious possession of the spot and connected it by a bond of faith with his native land, when he erected in it a temple or an altar, with appropriate commemorative solemnities. The *Jasonium* thus established, and indeed every visible object called after the name of the hero, not only served to keep alive the legend of the Argo in the minds of future comers, or inhabitants, but was accepted as an obvious and satisfactory proof that this marvellous vessel had actually touched there in her voyage.'

When geographical knowledge was extended, great pains was taken to identify the places visited by Jason, and others afterwards by Odysseus; as Æa, for which the ship Argo was bound, —the rocks that ran together,—the floating island of Æolus,— the land of the Cyclopes, etc. .... : and then began the systematic effort to historicize the fable, by transmuting it as much as occasion might seem to require. The same process was performed upon the travels of Hercules and the voyages of Odysseus. Thus Æa was fixed to the land of the Colchians, as the most eastern point of the sea known to the Greeks; because Homer says it lies 'where is the house and dancing-ground of Aurora, and where the sun rises.' In order to bring the Argonauts into Libya and into the Italian and Spanish seas, new revisions of the story were needed; so that finally the miraculous ship, whose very timbers uttered a divine voice, was believed to have sailed up the Tanais, (*Don*), and to have been carried over the continent, until she reached the circumfluous 'Ocean-stream;' whence again she coasted along the whole north and west of Europe, and at last entered the Mediterranean from the Atlantic.—The absurdities of all this, and the impossibility of getting a grain of history out of such a bushel of chaff, in very early times pressed hard on thoughtful men; yet the ablest minds of the Greeks could not bear totally to abandon the attempt. Strabo endeavoured to resolve the tale into a sort of allegory; teaching that the golden fleece was typical of the wealth of Colchis, arising from gold-dust washed down by the rivers; and that the voyage of Jason was a plundering expedition at the head of an army, which made conquests in the interior of Asia. Even Thirlwall, though he fully agrees with Grote that the fable was grounded on the religious ceremonies connected with the name of Athamas, uses the phrase—'it must *also* have had a historical foundation in *some* real voyages and adventures:' but he seems to mean no more, than that all poetical invention must have been stimulated by reality. If ships had never been invented, poets would not have sung of sea voyages. Jason, (in Thirlwall's view) is probably the Samothracian god or hero *Iasion*, and Medea is another form of Juno; while the 'historical side of the legend' denotes no more than that nautical intercourse between 'the opposite shores of the Ægean' had already begun. In this sense, nearly every poem may be said to have a historical foundation; so that in fact it is confessed, that the Argonautic expedition is purely fictitious. Yet the most accomplished of the Greeks believed it to have a basis of fact, and the vulgar unhesitatingly received it in every detail.

Nearly the same may be said concerning the Amazonian expedition, although (as having been accomplished by a foreign

nation) it had not the same charms for Greek sympathies, and was therefore far less celebrated. The Amazons, we need hardly say, were a nation of warrior-women, among whom no males were allowed to reside. In popular belief, they cut off their right breast (and hence their name), to allow of their drawing the bow freely. The Argonautic heroes found them on the river Thermodon, on the southern coast of the Euxine; whither also Hercules went to attack them, when sent to get the girdle of their queen Hippolyte. Theseus likewise, the most amorous of all Grecian heroes, had the temerity soon after to carry off their queen Antiope; to revenge which insult, the whole nation invaded Attica. Having crossed the Crimean strait over the winter ice, and marched round the north of the Black Sea, they forced their way through Greece, and penetrated into Athens itself. The final battle by which Theseus crushed them, was fought in the heart of the city itself.

'The Attic antiquaries pointed out the exact position of the two contending armies: the left wing of the Amazons rested on the spot occupied by the commemorative monument called the Amazoneion: the right wing touched the Pnyx, the place in which the public assemblies of the Athenian democracy were afterwards held: the details and fluctuations of the combat, as well as the first triumph and consequent truce, were recounted by these authors with as much confidence and as much circumstantiality as those of the battle of Platæa by Herodotus. The sepulchral edifice called the Amazoneion, the tomb or pillar of Antiope near the western gate of the city—the spot called the Horkômosion, near the temple of Theseus—even the hill of Areiopagus itself, and the sacrifices which it was customary to offer to the Amazons at the periodical festival of the Theseia—were all so many religious mementos of this victory, which was moreover a favourite subject of art both with the sculptor and painter, at Athens as well as in other parts of Greece'—vol. i. p. 289.

Mr. Grote farther urges, that Herodotus and Lysias refer to the wide extent of the Amazonian rule, as a notorious fact; that Plato, in the Menexenus, and still more distinctly in his 'Laws,' declares his belief in the invasion of Attica by the Amazons; that Xenophon, in his Anabasis, refers to them in terms which show that he regarded them as a real race of female warriors; that Isocrates endeavours to settle the date of the decisive battle; and Pausanias, in late and critical times, betrays a full belief in the story. The inroad and defeat of the Amazons was a familiar topic with the popular orators, along with Marathon and Salamis, in the catalogue of antique exploits of which their countrymen might be proud. Nor were the Athenians alone in this credulity. At Megara, at Trœzen, at Cape Tænarus in Laconia, at Chæronea of Bœotia, at more than one part of

Thessaly, sepulchres of the Amazons or monuments of their march were preserved. Still more numerous were the marks of them in Asia, where their empire was held to have reached from their native Thermodon over a large part of the continent limited only by the sea on the west. Some, indeed, placed them in Lybia or Ethiopia; and when the warlike heroism of the Sarmatian and Caucasian maidens was known, the Amazons appear to have been looked on as near neighbours of Caucasus, and the Sarmatians were supposed to be descended from a vagrant colony of them. Mr. Grote pursues the subject into still later times, in which even the judicious and accomplished Arrian, while struggling against the portentous tale, and rejecting as fictitious the visit of the Amazonian queen Thalestris to Alexander the Great in Hyrcania, still avows his inability to reject the belief in this wonderful female nation, testified as it was by such evidence.

In a recent work of much learning, Guhl endeavours to account for the Amazonian fable, as a distortion of a religious phenomenon; the (supposed) progress of a certain worship, in which the god had a troop of sacred women *(hierodulæ)*. But the fact is not clear, and the conjecture is too refined. Indeed, an easier explanation presents itself on the surface, and has been embraced by some eminent writers; viz., that the *idea* of such a race of women was propagated among the Greeks from the reports concerning the ferocity and warlike deeds of Caucasian females—which are undoubtedly historical—who also, according to the positive declaration of Hippocrates, from infancy checked the growth of the right bosom, in order to strengthen the right arm: we may add, that the inroads of Scythians into Asia Minor, (one of which, as early as the seventh century before Christ, is historically certain), suggested the notion of the extensive conquests made by these women: Mr. Grote completes the chain of causation, by the love which the Greek sculptors and painters conceived for representing these martial females, of whom indeed Pallas Athene was herself a type. Out of this must have grown the pretended monuments of their presence, and the popular persuasion of the battle which they fought in Athens. The Amazons are twice named in the Iliad, as a formidable and numerous people of Asia Minor, but in books which Mr. Grote holds to be a later addition.

We have selected these two main topics, the Argonautic expedition and Amazonian invasion, to exhibit the power with which Mr. Grote contends that popular belief in such cases must go for nothing, even when shared by the learned. In numberless details also he shows that the fables concerning old times become fuller and fuller, as they get farther from the

supposed events, and that while we reject the *later* form of tl tale, we can not any the more gain ground for trusting the *ea liest* which has come down to us; since it can never be presum tively traced to contemporary evidence. Applying this to the w of Troy, he holds that it is certainly possible that there was suc a war, but equally possible that there was not; and that tl poem gives us no adequate reason for believing it. We confe that, while all our old associations make us cling to the *beli* we cannot answer Mr. Grote's argument. An ingenious ar able professor, whom we respect too much to name without pe mission, suggested in our hearing that the Æolic colonies Asia Minor (which were in fact conquests made by the Gree in Asia) are the primitive historical reality disguised under tl Trojan war. If so, we have a still closer similarity in it to tl chronicle of Turpin: for there is no doubt that the real crusad in which later kings of France and Germany engaged, suggest to the romancer to depict Charlemagne as undertaking a li expedition. Not that we know how to believe (what ma learned men nevertheless hold,) that the poem of Troy o ginated after the Æolic colonization, and therefore after the gre revolution in Greece called the Dorian conquest: but the whc controversy concerning the epics of Homer is one of extrer difficulty.

And this leads us to observe the great length, and sign ability, with which Mr. Grote has treated that whole question As Bishop Thirlwall has contented himself with recounting refuting the theories of others, without distinctly advancing o of his own, these two eminent writers do not come into collisio but we are free to say that we have never yet met any theory satisfactory as Mr. Grote's. He holds the Odyssey to be an i separable whole, such that if it *has* been formed out of a short original, we are quite unable to guess what are the parts of th original. On the contrary, the Iliad in many ways betrays want of unity. He especially attacks the ninth book, (or e bassy to Achilles), as wholly at variance with all that follows the poem: for it makes the humiliation of Agamemnon comple and leaves Achilles nothing more to be angry about. T earlier books, after the first, are so far from tending to hono Achilles, that they are evidently meant to bring forward *oth* heroes. In short, Mr. Grote believes that we should omit boo 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, and perhaps the two last in the poe He retains the 8th book, but believes it has a few interpolatio added to bring it into harmony with the new additions.

* It is striking to see the immense superiority of his criticism, to clever, but dogmatic and superficial discussions of Sir E. L. Bulwer, in Athens.

the newer part, he conceives, may have proceeded from a single poet, whose object was to turn the old *Achilleid* into an *Iliad*. This view appears to us not only very ingenious, but to fulfil nearly all the conditions of the question; it being understood that the poem was both originated and enlarged during illiterate times, and for a long while preserved only by memory, and not with absolute accuracy. When, however, Mr. Grote assigns as the era of its completion the middle of the ninth century before Christ, (in which he follows Herodotus), we somewhat question whether it can have been so recent, unless the Dorian invasion of Peloponnesus is also brought down to a later era than is generally conceived. Mr. Grote, however, is fully persuaded that the invaders were very long in gaining an absolute predominance: that in Laconia at least, the chief Achæan towns retained their independence long after the Dorians were established in Sparta.

With this subject Mr. Grote first touches purely historical events: but he previously devotes time to that important question, the manners and institutions of the earlier or Homeric Greece. Peculiarly interesting as is Thirlwall's chapter on this very subject, Mr. Grote has nevertheless invested it with a very attractive freshness, and has even brought out some important points into still sharper prominence than Thirlwall: we allude to the kernel or germ of the Greek *senate* and *public assembly*, as depicted in Homer, with the indications of their embryo state as compared with later Greece. Our limits do not allow us to enlarge on this topic. On another great primæval question, the races of Greece, Mr. Grote leaves us in some doubt how far he believes it possible for a people of foreign speech and manners to become so assimilated to their conquerors, that a future age regards them as a homogeneous people. Herodotus unhesitatingly believed this concerning the Pelasgians: the great German scholars generally treat it as an absurdity, except where the conquered or inferior race is much fewer in numbers than the invaders. Mr. Grote believes Herodotus (in a well-known passage) to mean, that the Pelasgians were, in the strongest sense of the word, barbarians to the tongue of Greece; and to have had the very best means of judging concerning the fact: yet he speaks doubtfully concerning the possibility of the process of amalgamation, and seems to suspect that the Pelasgians of Homeric legend have nothing in common with the Pelasgians known by Herodotus. For ourselves, we have in more than one article pointed to the fact that the Celts of Gaul, and the Iberians of Spain, talk languages imposed on them by their conquerors: the same is true of England, which speaks a Saxon dialect, modified by Norman, with comparatively little Celtic in it, although no arguments

which we have ever seen have any weight to refute the proofs adduced by Gibbon, that the English are more than half Britons in descent. We are disposed to believe that Herodotus might be thoroughly correct, in saying that the Attic people were barbarian * Pelasgians, who became Hellenized by the peaceful immigration of powerful chieftains: but we do not sufficiently know his grounds of judgment. We are at any rate persuaded that this whole question concerning the alleged permanence of languages, needs as much reconsideration as the collateral dogma concerning the permanence of certain qualities in races of men.

Many inquirers have been perplexed at the anomalous fact, that while we have an apparently accurate knowledge of the deeds of Achilles and Theseus, a chasm follows when the heroic race of men passes away, and during a lapse of many centuries little or nothing is ascertained. The common chronology sets the fall of Troy in B. C. 1184, and the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus eighty years later: yet from this period to the first recorded Olympiad, B. C. 776, we have scarcely an historical fact, and it is much later before we obtain such detailed knowledge as the epic poems furnish. Mr. Grote urges that this is utterly inexplicable on the theory of tradition. *Written* monuments sometimes give fragmentary notices of distant ages, while we know less of the more recent: nor are we surprised to find that we know the history of Tiberius Cæsar better than of Antoninus Pius. But *tradition* cannot have been so vivid concerning the distant past, while it was dim for the many centuries more immediately preceding. On the contrary, such an interval is essentially connected with the genesis of a legend. A supposed remote past forms the suitable atmosphere of mythical narrative, and a respectful distance must always be interposed between the miraculous heroes, children of gods, and the men who live in modern degenerate days. This appears to wind up Mr. Grote's argument and close that portion of the subject.

He enters into true history under two different heads, though not so classified:—first, as to the growth of the Greek mind, in his first; next, as to the early history of Sparta, in his second volume. The gradual passage of epic poetry into an effort after history, has been illustrated by several able scholars. During this period Egypt was opened to Grecian commerce, and the wonders of its colossal architecture and high religious pretensions much affected the Greek intellect. Distant navigation and improved knowledge of geography, led to geological speculations; and out of these rose systems of philosophy. During the more

* *Barbarian* might mean Lydian, or Phrygian, or Lycian: only, not intelligible to Hellenes.

settled periods of political life, the ethical judgment had exceedingly ripened; and at length, three great philosophers at once, with various tendencies of mind, denoted that Grecian intellect (in the Asiatic colonies) was assuming its adult form. These were, Thales, Xenophanes, and Pythagoras, in the sixth century before the Christian era. All agreed in trying to disenthral the mind from the *all-personifying* tendencies of Homeric superstition, which so closely assimilate that creed with *fetishism*. Thales is the father of geological cosmogonies; Xenophanes is the first vehement assailant of the immoralities of the Homeric creed, (which he wrote poems expressly to denounce and refute;) Pythagoras, with scientific theories concerning numbers, brought in ascetic fraternities and other mysticism. It is remarkable that in the following century three others may be marked out, as types of Grecian thought, Anaxagoras, Socrates, and Hippocrates; whose views Mr. Grote contrasts most lucidly and instructively.

In regard to the early history of Sparta, the great independence of his judgment is well set off by his extensive learning; the more, since he evidently has no love of eccentricity or paradox, but drives after sound truth as steadily as Thirlwall or Hallam. We can only here denote certain results. He points out a cardinal error pervading the work on the Dorians by the erudite but passionate Müller, who supposes the Spartans to be the true type and most consummate model of the Dorian tendencies. On the contrary, all the Greeks regarded them as abnormal; and it is easy to see that their peculiarities rose out of their local circumstances. In Corcyra, on the coast of Asia, and on the island of Rhodes, Dorian cities assumed institutions, and their people a character, such that it would be scarcely possible to know from them that the race was not Æolic or Ionic. Concerning Lycurgus, Mr. Grote is thoroughly consistent with his own principles of interpretation. Finding it by general confession impossible to adhere to the romance of later times concerning the enormous revolution in property wrought by this legislator, he refuses to compromise the matter with Thirlwall, by supposing a nucleus of historical truth in the tale of his monetary and landed changes; and ingeniously points out that it was all a vision, which was suggested in late times by the attempts which Agis and Cleomenes made at equalization of landed property. This view is exceedingly confirmed by the silence of all earlier writers on these important subjects. Mr. Grote also thinks that a *senate* is so essential to the Greeks, even in Homeric times, that it cannot be true that Lycurgus instituted this among the Spartans. Altogether, he believes that Lycurgus was 'the trainer of a military brotherhood, more than the framer

of a political constitution;' his ends exclusively warlike, and his means exclusively severe; and that the gradual conquest of Laconia was a result of the new force which the discipline of Lycurgus imparted. We cannot proceed into the very uninteresting, yet not unimportant, details concerning the growth of the Spartan constitution, which Mr. Grote most assiduously investigates. Let it suffice to say, that in the volumes before us he has shown himself a scholar of first-rate erudition, a historical inquirer of admirably cool and sound judgment, and a clear, decided, ardent advocate of his favourite points. His subject has seldom allowed him to rise into animated narrative; but in his descriptions of the mental tendencies of the Greeks he displays a force and directness of writing, a delicacy of feeling, and a simple eloquence, which gives a promise that in his future volumes none of the qualities of a great historian will be wanting.

Art. II.—*On the Means of Rendering more Efficient the Education of the People. A Letter to the Lord Bishop of St. David's.* By Walter Farquhar Hook, D D., Vicar of Leeds. London: Murray.

In the world of bustle, of ephemeral impression, of see-saw unrest, our author has played no minor part. Inconsistency is like the motley and successive impersonations and eye-deceiving shiftings of the mime: it seldom fails to furnish amusement. There are those who live much in meditation, addicted to the hidden life, serious and earnest in the questionings of principle and tendency, self-revolving and self-insphered,—their pastime as that of leviathan in the depths. These move noiselessly, their communings are with motives and things; they draw from the fountains and sources of thought; they hold back from the passing tumult and strife; they exist and work for a glorious future. Dr. Hook would most of all admire, were he classed with these. He may wait the tide, he may take it at the flood, he may swim with it; but it is the tide of vulgar fashion, brawling contention, shallow sophism, muddy selfishness. There is a sightless, soundless, stream, which flows onward and for ever; its well is deep, its waters are still; all lives whithersoever those branching rivers come, but they roll not to his sense. Others by an inward power can trace their channel, and catch their pulsing: they go too softly for his perception. He is an adroit observer of the superficies of outlying matters: he is not the subtle rhabdomantist, nor can divine the rich ores which are treasured underneath.

His 'fyttes' of liberalism seem to have, in the estimation of many, a constitutional origin. Cæsar knew 'the falling sickness.' The high churchmen around him often applaud his rotund phrase and fearless challenge in favour of the establishment: it is all that they can wish: yet they feel that it is invariably the harbinger of concession. The metal which is in him (we defend our orthography!) soon cools as well as heats. He can utter sharp rebuke: but, as Moody says of his master, Sir Francis Wronghead, 'He can't haud, he can't haud it.'

We only do him the merest credit, when we call him the most disinterested of men. He holds the 'rascal counters' cheap. He is always doing greatly liberal things. He would, we firmly believe, strip himself of his last coin for the mendicant. His benefactions to religion are munificent. He would not crave an archbishopric for its revenues; but he is most ambitious. He is 'of an unbounded stomach.' Nothing he loves so well as to pronounce grave dictates, and to lecture his brethren. He has not yet gained an ecclesiastical step above the beneficed level. He is invested with no pretext to charge. His parish is, however, extensive: a little diocese. The incumbents of its chapelries are independent of him: yet they stand to him, at least, in courteous subordination. He is the chief. With him is the patronage. He must exercise influence. The pulpits open at his claim. Many of his colleagues, if not all, (though only one after another) might be thus superseded. His own clerical staff, another proof of his disregard to money, is always complete. We tremble to think of his weighty tones and devouring words, and lowering brows, if ever 'venerable' be prefixed to his name, or ever he should deliver himself from a throne. We cannot conceive that he would wear his faculties very meekly. He avows himself the high churchman: why should we except against him, if he would be the highest?

In private life, all that is amiable and domestic, he has generally commanded the esteem of those who know him best. Uncle Theodore, indeed, only gave him three years before he quarrelled with any friend. This has but partially been verified: he has retained some friends from the first until now. He may be impatient of contradiction, but it is only the effect of that self-reliance which belongs to every active mind. It is understood that he has no scholarship. He is not wanting, nevertheless, in aptitude and facility. He often speaks well, though this is evidently dependent on preparation. He adopts at will the written and the delivered style of preaching. 'Few doctors,' —give him his opinions which, from confusion or some other cause, he could not always give,—'preach so well.' Solemn in manner, rich in voice, with mellowed composition, with prosodial period,—a countenance, not a worthy frontispiece, lighting up

from natural and forbidding heaviness into life and intelligence, —few men possess greater elements of oratory or larger means of impression.

His main fault is one we cannot pronounce without offence. We are sorry that truth compels us to cite it. We do not intend, in speaking of it, to convey the moral imputation which very nearly approaches it. It is a sinister method of acting. He is always on his guard. His statements look two ways. He seems to be ever dealing with their possible construction; as if, not knowing the course he may take next minute, he will not bind himself. His phraseology is remarkably loose and dubious. He has talked of nailing his colours to the mast, but he would resemble the wavering colours, rather than the flag-staff from which they flew. He must have 'as large a charter as the wind, to blow on whom he please.' He loves not to be bound by others: he will not lock fetters upon himself. We can hardly say that, with all this prudent forethought, he has escaped some painful self-contradiction. His capital blunder is a love of appearing superior to prejudice and party: it is the great snare of his feet. He is constantly smarting for these effusions. He announced himself on his first general introduction at the festal board,—it was spread in honour of her Majesty's accession,— to his parishioners, as so candid and unsectarian, that he was good-naturedly called among his friends an ultra-liberal. Some may think that he did not quite act up to this profession, in uniting the different parties under his influence. An early act was to preach at the episcopalian visitation. He entitled his sermon, afterwards published, 'A Call to Union,' logically urging a suspension of hostilities in the duty of every one taking his side; and, on his own privilege, of having his own way, altar, candlesticks, fast stone-tables, piscinæ, and all. Greatly scandalized was he that any clergymen should be put up to the vote of a people: he was himself inducted to his cure by the suffrage of twenty-three lay trustees. He pronounced ex-cathedra, 'Hear the Church,'—a kind of freedom with the sacred text: but Jones, of Nayland, enjoyed the originality of what was so abrupt and curt. He certainly shone in Bill before the Lords, —there was a concurrent appeal to his people,—for he abandoned all patronage at a moment, and sought the creation of independent vicariats: only at that moment his power to appoint at all was disputed by the purchase, over his head, of the great tithes, and his disposition to do so not a little rendered suspicious by his refusal to sign in favour of an evangelical clergyman, who desired the accomplishment of that act. No one has more entitled himself to be called Prelatist: yet by disobedience and arrogance to his diocesans, none has ever deserved to be regarded more than himself, as mar-prelate. He can talk

most evenly and radically; he would put away all idea of one clergyman being superior to another, 'Oh, let us hear no more of it, are we not all equal?' A few days scarcely close, ere in capacity of 'superior,' he chides and reprimands.—He is catholic, to platform, to ethos; he can send word to the Syrian fanatics how free is his tribune to them: he vindicates the Brito-Prussian right, rather a pie-bald concordat, to found a new see in Jerusalem, and to supersede the successor of St. James. 'My own opinion has long been,' he writes in 1842, 'that no government in this country can succeed in devising a measure for the general education of the people:' in 1846, Voila!

Notwithstanding, we hail him. He is doing service. He has even now caused men to think. He has disarmed himself. His future dint need not be feared. We may penetrate much of his present seeming. We may read some of his motives. We may perceive that he has not quite thrown off himself. Let us do him credit. For his sake we regret that so many of his doublings seem to have respect to passing occasions. He is ever in luck and time. He was not silent and tame when the Melbourne ministry was frustrated by the cry against a general education, to the exclusion of religious tests. Peel has fallen, and never was fall more graceful; and to back him, his reverend admirer raises a cry for general, secularized, education, ere he has quite composed his robe and settled his attitude.

We purpose to consider the question independently of authorship and crisis. Ere we conclude our disquisition, it may be necessary to examine some of the materials and details which the scheme before us embraces,—not for their worth, but because they reveal the animus of the whole.

A national system of education is not now for the first time adduced and argued. We greatly doubt if statesman can of late be found in this country, down to red-tapist underling, who has not in his pigeon-hole some plan of this sort, whose mind, of whatever stamp and type, has not fermented with it. Its idea commands respect. It is the inference of commonly received principles. It diverts attention from doubtful measures. It promises much good. It proclaims enlightened and benevolent consultation. It contrasts with monopoly and war. It seems to mark a new era. Government is supposed to revert to its proper work. There is care for the people. The popular melioration, at last, is projected and sought.

To those who are prepared with well-advised rules and grounds of judgment, these platitudes and plausibilities will offer no attraction. They are brilliant conceits. They can endure no profound analysis of thought: no practical carrying out of application.

In all reasoning, there must be what the Germans call Standpunkt. Our centre of observation, though we would endeavour to command the perfect horizon, some will suspect to be low and diminutive. But we cannot abandon our principles, because they may be decried: they really, and they exclusively, contain the breadth, and give us the elevation, which we need. They are sphere-raised.

Every national system of education, to deserve the name, must coexist with the same territorial area and with the same numerical population. Its apparatus must be organized to this extent. It must be ramified with the nation. We should deprecate all state endowment of education,—all dole and help and pension. Yet that is not the present question. That *is* legislatively done. It comes as patronage, bonus, premium, aid. We utterly repudiate it; still this is not a system of national training. Whatever is national, can know but the national confines; it must be a universal law and administration. To the question of a national system—not as containing all the truth and all the properness of state-interference, but as the one immediately before us—we restrict ourselves.

Averse from every civil incorporation of Christianity, standing upon this as a rudimental principle, perfect in itself, and guiding to all equally perfect, we stand in doubt of legislative recognition (the only word which our argument will at present permit us to employ) of the educational duty. Let mental discipline be the most disparted from religion, let it be the merest literary scholarship,—when you convert it into law you recognize in it that which is nearest to religion. There may be minds which can keep the ideas distinct, there may not be a case made out for any necessary confusion of them, but the two will soon run into one another. The establishment of religion does now, in the opinion of many, call in consistency for the establishment of education. If it be conceded, an argument is furnished for the religious establishment very tangible, if not quite complete; a strong objection to it is, likewise, quashed. Government has its province, henceforth, in the mind of the people; the moral and intellectual soul is placed under ghostly and civil charge. It will be impossible, as these more and more intermix, to separate them. They must lose their distinction. To preserve them entire, we are sure is impossible. The religion will become educatory, the education will become religious. A compound establishment thus rises up before us, conscience and reason are cast into its dungeons and bound by its chains, responsible and thinking man is immured in its inner crypt and strongest hold, with the gloom of an inquisition and the defiance of a keep. One mighty trust has been surrendered to the state, individual

prerogative in religion; the power of that state only wants for a perfect tyranny that we betray into its custody the prerogative of mind.

An objection presses upon us, in shaping any plan of national education, which we are anxious to urge at the very first. Groping our way, in the absence of avowed plan,—yet inferring some principles which every plan must adopt,—we may assume but one possible basis: the division of the literary from the religious curriculum. More properly representing the necessary case, the *school* shall be legalized alone. It may be 'supplemented' by religious teaching. But we feel that thus a wrong is done to religion. It is denied all general control and infusion. It is a thing to be kept alone. When taught, it is taught as it may be. It is taught under no sanction derived from the authority, kindness, and persuasiveness of the accustomed instructor. If it be the religious minister of the respective children, they hear him on the sabbath day. When twice again every week he appears before them, for direct indoctrination in Christian truth, we cannot but fear that his task will be irksome. His business will be only religious. Must it not degenerate into formality? Shut out from the common order of tuition, must it not carry a proscriptive mark? It is staved off: it is under interdiction: silence concerning it for the principal hours is bound in honour, is sworn by oath. To say that this reserve honours its sacredness, is to treat it superstitiously. It asks not this unmixed *statuesque*: it is a diffusive power. Season every thing with its diffusive influence. Nor do you best approach the youthful heart by exclusive religious doctrine and precept. Blended with lessons, self-educed from facts, how will it commend itself without effort and constraint! Standing by itself,—all the scholastic motives to excel in it being withdrawn—it will seem to the pupils coldly repulsive. They do not require any adventitious reasons to strengthen the too natural disinclination.

Withal, on the supposed case of a mere secular education to be seconded by a religious department, we may enquire what provision a national system can contain to secure it? It is voluntary or compulsory. If voluntary, it may be attended to or not. The matter could only be left where now it stands. If compulsory, will those Christian pastors, who stand in all their high profession for freedom, submit to an enactment which yokes them to this service? Penalties may not be tried: hire may be proposed. Can they who have flung back each bribe, accept this new one? Enforced or compensated, it must be as teachers of religion. This is their only vocation. Then are they teachers of religion by the appointment of the state. They are

its staff; its vassals or its stipendiaries. In what are they distinguished from the clergy? Or let the contingency of the argument be allowed. Thousands of good men would not forego the opportunity of usefulness. But they must remember that this *opportunity* is purchased; that they, in improving it, avail themselves of a lavish national expenditure, given with the design of alluring their co-operation. Personally they are not paid; but money from the exchequer, which atheists must support, really helps them.

We have, until now, allowed the possibility of this distribution of education into these classifications,—strictly secular and strictly religious. Can it be? We have endeavoured to answer whether it ought. We think that if it could, it would leave religion at a disadvantage, in disparagement; a something over-ruled, postponed, thrust into the corners, to be taught as it can. But we ask, what kind of lettered culture that must be, in which religion is impounded, held in abeyance, passed by, not to be spoken and thought, legally suppressed? Is it to be 'Godless,' even to the word? Is not revelation to be assumed? May no reverence be shown to our Master and Saviour? Are we not to know that there is a Holy Ghost? This has been attempted, and always in vain. Owen could not accomplish it in his parallelograms. The British and Foreign School Society avouched the principle. Long since it has abandoned it. Its system is very generally purely evangelical. It is passing through its ordeal now for this dereliction of its own pretensions. It can make no defence. It always was so. The Christianity which is common to all who maintain belief in the Trinity has all the while been inculcated. The blame is not for any hypocritical, underhand, breach of compact and pledge. It was an inevitable result. In the nature of things it could not be prevented. Religion is so large a thing, that it pervades all. All run into it. It is the universal ganglion. How was the good man to keep his mouth as with a bridle? Was he never to make his children wise unto salvation? We deny not an alternative. The irreligious will be most admirably qualified for not teaching religion. They who are the least impressed with its truth and power will best yield to the restraint. Public opinion should foster such men. The eye of society should search for them through all its ranks. Let them schedule their indifference and unconcern. Let their certificates be very distinct upon these points. Let all be placed beyond suspicion. But if religion seeks conversion to itself, apathy has a zeal, and infidelity a proselytization. If schools be saved from the partialities of the gospel, may they not be abandoned to opposite influences? It is not probable

that masters and scholars will retain this equilibrium in all their intercourse with each other,—that this neutrality can be preserved. The disturbance may not all be on one side; it may vibrate in the extreme direction. Nature may take the place of God, and Fitness of obligation.

Should it be replied, that this distribution is not of itself deemed most feasible, but is a succedaneum, a *pis aller*, a last resource, all the circumstances can admit, our answer is above. If always impossible, in these circumstances it cannot be less. It can bring no relief. If always to be deprecated, as a slight and relegation of revealed truth, these circumstances cannot amend the case. Our objections go far deeper than any modification of circumstances can reach.

In the question of a government system, we ought clearly to understand what is meant. What is the government? It may intend fifteen, or more, gentlemen who give advice to the sovereign, and carry on the necessary execution of the state. It may denote the legislative chambers. The former have no real power, no revenue, no senatorship, except as they belong to the latter, or obtain their consent. This cabinet, or parliament, or both, must originate and administer such an educatory system. Now are they most in sympathy with the people? Are they most conversant with the economics of the poor? Do they truly know in what condition the humbler classes of society are to be found? Are they the most religious orders which sit in those high places? Do they generally embody the advantages of education themselves? We speak not evil of dignities. But we could not accept their ideas and uses of education. We remember that as long as possible they have ridiculed and opposed it. We could not give it them to mould. The advent to power of better and wiser men changes nothing. Most of these are wiser and better out of office than in. These are only the shiftings of the scene. They who climb to the giddy pitch may far more speedily be hurled from it. Every administration will think first how it may consolidate and distinguish itself. Every parliament exists under the dread of dissolution. We cannot look thither for the true theory of education. They were not appointed to study it. It is not their mission. We are compelled to believe that there is not an equal number of men, possessing the same advantages, so thoroughly ignorant of it. The blunders, too grave to be amusing, commonly enunciated by them when speaking on this and its cognate questions, must satisfy us that wherever wisdom is to be found, theirs is not the place of understanding.

But while we must distrust every such state-measure on national education, we might see an additional argument

against it in the manner after which ordinary measures are conducted. Boards of council look imposing from the distance. At present there is but one which is concerned with the immediate question. That cannot be brought under doubt. It is a portion of the Privy Council, with the Lord-President at its head. But it is a most unconstitutional self-authority. It amounts to a Bureau and Portfeuille. Even under it, controlling only a small influence, the grossest statements and the meanest acts have passed. When, however, the centralization of Somerset House shall be remembered as the mildest nurse of poverty, and the most searching avenger of abuse,—there must be a far larger table of commissioners at Whitehall, with thousands of dependents throughout the country, cycle and epicycle, to glen and cliff, all looking to their gain from their quarter, all subservient and sycophantic, all suddenly though insensibly inspired with official mystery, all turned into monuments of silence, with icy finger on the lip, all somehow rendered incapable of marking grievance and ill. It is a common remark that every thing is worst done by government,—contracts, buildings, outlays. The truth is, that only is worst done which it attempts, if it does not belong to it: whatever belongs to it, it only can do, and, in doing it, proves its perfect efficiency.

We are now prepared for the converse of the argument, that it is the duty of the state to educate the people. Some even have gone so far as to assign to it other duties more elementary. Woe to any people who look to government for its bread! The Dorset standard of ration, and the Curry draught which Arundel's lord prescribes, may be lavished at the outset,—soon to be most rigorously shortened and pinched. Perhaps no one averment is more heedlessly uttered in our day than that the education of the people falls within the province of government, that it is responsible for it. This must be determined by various enquiries. Was government selected as the contrivance for it? Itself the creature, even to its forms, of the popular will, when was this purpose committed to it? Is not the light which bursts upon us altogether new? If it be maintained that government, in the abstract, ought to educate, you must frame it for this end. *Our* government never designed it, never meditated it,—never could, from its want of all adaptation, addict itself to it. Every species of education has been independent on it. The venerable founders of our constitution made not provision for it. Its delicate as well as massive architecture rose to their plan, and beneath their jealous oversight: this conception was never wrought into it.

If we would learn the inspired estimate of government, we find its only emblem is the sword: to protect and to punish. Magistrature is for the terror of evil doers, and for a praise to

them who do well. Overt acts alone come into its jurisdiction. We suppose it is rather too late to deal with the sophism, which is itself but a few years old: that whatever is the individual's duty must be that of the community, and that whatever he ought to do in a personal, he is bound to do in a collective, capacity. It is the duty of parents to clothe and nourish their children: can this be devolved upon a representativeship? It is the duty of every man to support, according to his ability, all the charitable institutions around him. Is it required of a government to undertake their support? As well might it be argued that whatever a man was under obligation to do in his domestic relation he must persevere in doing when he sits on the committee of an assurance office or a sanatory board.

All will admit that the parental education is the most simple, natural, and inceptive. Here scripture is peremptory: 'the nurture and admonition of the Lord' is urged only on them who can thus early and tenderly undertake it. Many parental duties must be left to the instinct of that relation. The formation of character and habit very greatly depend upon it. It is not a perfect institute, but it is the best which can be imagined. Any disturbance of it is the evil of evils. It may be abused, for our nature is sinful; but to interfere with it, is 'by the worst means the worst.' It can only, by any show of reasoning, be argued that this should be superseded by government, when it is neglected, and when it is abused. But this is a delicate dilemma. It may not be attended to at all. It may be attended to for an ill purpose. This is not general, for long since society had then been prostrated. If but partial, and even rare, it must be adjudged whether the espial, the surveillance, the dictation, will not be direr injuries to independence and freedom than any of the anterior carelessness and perverseness can be. In every family there is an informer: every domestic transaction is overhauled. If, however, no household can discharge this claim aright, if, in every instance, government should espouse this claim as its own, then a universal title is made out, all dwellings alike must open, and all families alike must submit. It is not the failure of other parties in performing the task, it was never properly theirs. An usurped right is resumed. That which had escaped its natural bounds, now flows in its proper channel. Government contains in itself the solemn fee. It is the heaven-consecrated teacher. But then it must teach *all*. It will find it necessary not to neglect the noble: what title has he to an independent, voluntary education? All, on this hypothesis, ought to be educated for the welfare and support of the state: their whole cast of thought should be bent to it. A Venetian jealousy should be exercised. To curb the lavish spirit may be

more required by policy than to raise the vile. To seize the supposed source of honour and power may be more demanded for the public safety than to lay hold of the inert and abject mass. This is legitimate consequence. If it be bound to teach any, then all: if not all, then none.

Every argument which defends a *national* system, supposes that it is thus comprehensive. It must be everywhere, throughout the land. The population is counted for the due proportion of scholars. None are known of, nor cared for, who are not brought into these returns. A certain honesty cannot be denied the proposal. It would swallow up the whole education of the country. There is occasional exception and hesitation — a shuffle and a blush—but this is what it means, and what, if pushed, it cannot conceal. We cannot act more fairly in contesting a principle than to shew the consequences whither it will lead us: because it may not have been fully tried, and because it may not be fully explained. If it can only be evil in its working, if it must operate noxiously, we have the best reason to disown it.

Now such a system generally professes the 'unitive' design. It would make all think alike. Its aim is, if not a level of degree, a level of kind. The thoughts, the categories of thought, the predicaments of thought, shall be the same. All shall be straightened as by the schoolmaster's ruler, and transcribed from his copy. He shall decide what may or may not be asked. But he must be *normalised* himself. He must be fashioned to a model. He shall only be taught particular things. The compress and tourniquet are set on his mind. He can only be suffered to think one way. His restriction is the most imperative. The desired result depends upon it. All schools will be filled with the same books. All teachers will be imbued with the same spirit. And under their cold and lifeless tuition, the national spirit, now warm and independent, will grow into a type formal and dull, one harsh outline with its crisp edges, a mere complex machine driven by external impulse, with its appendages of apparent power but of gross resistance. If any man loves that national monotony, thinks it the just position of his nature, can survey the tame and sluggish spectacle with delight, he, on the adoption of such a system, has his reward. If, however, in the view of the patriot it shall seem the lie to human greatness, the check against human improvement, the shackle on human freedom,—if he shall see in it the rust which corrodes and eats out all the highest elements of human character and motive,—then, though it should be pleaded for its practical ease and convenience, must he brand it with contempt, and denounce it with execration.

The true lover of liberty will jealously examine all the plans and measures of government. He will seldom find himself called to help it, and to weigh down its scale. He will watch its increase of power and influence with distrust. He will specially guard against conceding to it any thing which might be otherwise done. He would deprecate its undertaking of bridges, highways, railroads. He would foresee the immense mischief of its direction of hospitals and asylums. Government has enough on its hands,—its own proper functions,—nor need it to be overborne. There is a class of governments which are called paternal. They leave nothing of mental responsibility and action to their subjects. They exact a soulless obedience. A down-trodden people becomes indifferent to all but the wants and lusts of life. It is then called happy. Nothing breathes and stirs. Self-reliance is destroyed. The song of liberty is forgotten. The monument of heroism finds no plinth. And when such governments tamper with education, the tyranny, instead of being relieved, is eternized. The light would have broken in: they refract and colour its earliest ray. A revolution of thought would have arisen: they are ready to bind it hand and foot in subservience to their own base uses and crushing blows.

The accession of power and patronage to that government which establishes such a national system of education, can scarcely be guaged. Thousands, and tens of thousands, of *employès*, start up at its bidding. Pædagogues, secretaries, inspectors, cover the land. Sumless is the swarm of petty officiaries. Buildings must be raised, and here is favour: masters must be chosen, and here is suffrage. From the nature of the case, the favour and the suffrage will be confined to few. But government has raised, by all these means, new influences. The schools are barracks, and the dependents upon them are troops. What behest cannot be accomplished! What power may not be wielded! What command must not be gained! Nor, as Dissenters, can we fail to foresee the patronage which will thus accrue to the Established Church. It is preponderant in all governmental influences. Its civil character, its splendid revenue, its powerful alliance, will exceed every means of counterpoise. We know, who will be the functionaries of the Metropolitan executive: we know, what will be the conformity of the principal teachers: we know, how every other religion will be overshadowed. One mighty mechanism will be forged to sustain the state with mercenaries, and the church with hypocrites.

It may be supposed, by those whose minds seem simplified to unsuspecting innocence, that an electoral power will always regulate the control of government, and keep up a healthy popular supervision. It is hopeless. You might as reasonably

expect that the children may carry their own favourite teacher. If the population be dense, there may be disputed election at first. Even this right, in such an instance, we do not quite approve. But its difficulty will soon open the way for trustees. Now 'the powers which be' are strong. No fortress, no military hold, is equal to trusteeship. They may fear no result. Magistrates and clergymen will find no difficulty when the population is sparse. It will be the power of the potter over his clay.

If it be imagined that we unjustly impeach government, that we impute to it these deliberate ends, we are wronged. Being a body of men for the day, they have no right of place, 'they have their exits and their entrances.' We can feel for them no disrespect. We hold them in honour. But it must be the natural temptation of every government to absorb all into itself. Our constitution is one congeries of doubts, pledges, recognizances, disclaimers. It confides in none. It binds monarch and subject alike, making them equally accountable to each other, covering the entire community from the greatest to the least with a very mainprize. It gives no man credit for truth and integrity: he must stake his pawn, he must stand his trial. This is the universal condition and liability. We can, therefore, yield no apology to the state for thinking that it is more inclined to do too much than too little, that it is very easily deceived and abused, that it is almost sure to err where it is not guided by opinion from without. We must maintain that they best befriend and animate it, who, restraining churlish diffidence, withhold as firmly uniform flattering,—who test all its acts, and are keenly jealous of all its interferences.

We cannot but believe that, were any national system of education superinduced upon this country, it would produce a great depression in the present rank and species of education. Children would be drawn from a far more intellectual treatment to that which was coarse and unthinking. While it is only just to allow that some would be advanced, that in many cases a better quality would be introduced, we are most surely convinced that, on a general scale, all would be lowered. Competition among the teachers could obtain no scope. They are only suffered to think as their superiors decide. And then the evil is far wider and more searching than the good. When some schools, and some masters, and some pupils, excelled, there was incentive, there was a constant progression. There was the kindling of genius. There was the shooting forth, in rich luxuriance and heavy cluster, of every fruit of inquiry and invention. But when the better is sunk to the inferior, though with the advantage of raising in part the inferior to the better, the life of education is extinguished, and the refuse is but the laid-out and draperied corse.

The justification of any system, like that which we consider, is the hope and the attempt of laying hold upon a portion of our people, not educated at all. In the purlieus of our cities may they be found. In the great seats of our manufactures they almost possess whole districts. They are not the children of operatives and artizans. They belong to a continually deteriorating, dilapidating, class. The parents are outlaws in spirit. Their grudge is against law and order and security. They are sullenly conscious of neglect and wrong, and they would avenge themselves. It is impossible to imagine the hiding places in which they lurk, and how they herd like adder-knots, festering in vice. They send forth their offspring to prey upon society. Who can reach this pitiable fragment? We find errors in the statistics, which include these forlorn children,—many very palpable,—but this fragment, as if broken off from all, is still frightfully large, and more deadly than a volcanic projectile. Voluntary benevolence is the only means of overcoming this evil. It is a cause to be searched out. The mission which pursues it must be inspired by that of Him who came to 'seek and to save that which is lost.' The Ragged School is the noblest of institutions. Here ferocity and selfishness are softened by the kindness, and the reason, and the piety, of those who devote themselves to the work amidst all its disgusts. The high-bred, the delicate woman, the accomplished noble, contend cheerfully with all the squalor and all the defiance. Open a government school. Can you gather these outcasts? Could you admit them in their tatters? Will you bribe them and their parents, for you must pay them instead of being paid? Is it in the common nature of instructors, appointed and salaried, to conduct these schools in the only temper which is true to them? The only children whom a national system could embrace are those that are now in the course of education: a national system could barely touch one in a hundred of those who are not now educated. In the case of children in poor-houses and prisons, we willingly allow the right and duty of those who superintend them to educate. But this supposes a virtual orphanage. There are none others to do it for them. It is not necessarily an education of which we can approve. Nothing can justify any sectarianism in it, for the rates are paid by all. If Christian philanthropists might be permitted to conduct it, it would be far more correct and efficient.

A system of national education would not find favour with many, except that they suppose that it will supply deficiency, assist feebleness, and stimulate sloth. They see complacently what is doing: they hail this that it may do the rest. But a *system* is universal,—where there are any to teach, there will it be

make little account of what preoccupies the space.
sufficient interests to urge it on. Now can legislative
many schools coexist? Say that the first will stand
that the second is secure in its principle. That
succeed in a certain degree, by more imposing pre-
may be by a more perfect gratuitousness. We shall
with inconsistency, with palinode, if we do not
the triumphant success of that principle. But we have
its operation. There is a depraved, selfish me-
that and its effect. We are firm in our con-
none other scriptural principle for the
good. We are ardently assured that God
Prophecy lends a glorious testimony
itself, working alone, working upon our
We know the innumerable causes which
only a general confession, yet in our mind
certainty, that when a school can be se-
independently of subscription list, innu-
will be reported. The latter school will
avowed motive of those who withdraw
will be, at first, the superfluousness and
two similar institutions: but the real mo-
all, save when the voluntary principle is
owed, to support of free-will that which is
though free-will forbear; to give, to the
same time, compulsory and spontaneous
we may hope a peculiar visitation of the
dread that when such a state system is once
will feel the strong temptation to devise
We speak not as dissenters: we have
fellow-religionists of what is voluntary;
us in the practice. None have
ves in this than the members of the Es-
dread be construed into a low view of
to it: if into a faint reliance upon
eschew it.
government is not bound to teach
advantageous for them to know;
have the instruments of know-
derstood—reading, writing, arith-
perfect unanimity. By many
the industrious classes should
causing the Bible. This, then,
erary and religious education
within the scope of a strictly
enemies, as a very incon-

venient capacity. What may not be written! And then as the power of deciphering the character follows that of writing it, what may not be read! Arithmetic may crowd figures upon the mind beyond the simple occasion of counting wages, and induce the sordid desire of their rise! The study of maps may carry the ideas, of those who wonderingly gaze at them, out of their own parish! The use of the globes is downright revolutionary! What have the vulgar to do with fractions? or clod-hoppers with the stars? We anticipate furious discussions on all these points. But state-education is now taken up as a matter of police. This is a strange pretext. It may only be bad terminology. The purport of the allegation probably is, that government should prevent crime. Were it a question of adults, we greatly doubt if the attempt does not invariably foster it. The means of its anticipation are necessarily identified with a low consorting in the scenes, and among the practices, of vice. The functionaries employed have rather provoked than suppressed it. Something has been spared until ripe for punishment. In numberless instances it is impossible. The thought was not declared but by the deed. Is this new regulation of police, as to the young, designed to detach the children from their parents? Can this be done? What pastors are to teach them religion? How are they to acquire even its morals? If they already are juvenile offenders, they must be punished. Multiply penitentiaries. Let the government which must punish, extract from harsh discipline and imprisonment a moral reform. With punishment, alas, can only police commence. Nothing proposed by national education meets their previous case. Early, indeed, must you apply prevention if you regard the mendicant, pilfering, infants, who prowl abroad in our streets.

And truly, all that has been premised leaves at large the question on which all other questions hang. If government be under the obligation to instruct the people,—if it can claim the right as well as the duty,—then it is bound to *enforce* national education. We have never denounced what is called religious persecution; for if the state possessed the imprescriptible title to establish a religion, it follows that it is authorized to see that it be believed and practised. We state hypothetically the most absurd notions that ever entered the human mind. But consequences drawn from absurdity cannot be less absurd. Now, what shall be the sanctions of an educational law? Destitute of sanctions, it can be no law. Will you begin with the parents? Will you make it compulsory on them to send their children to school? By brute force? Shall the dens of iniquity be searched, and their little ones be dragged thither? Or shall another order of penalty be substituted? Apply such

an one as this: if the parent will not send his child, some certificate shall be withheld, without which the child is disqualified for indenture, and precluded all employment. But this could only move the love or fear of a very different order. These are the steady workmen, the small shopkeepers. And even if they needed the motive of such an interdict, it would be most unrighteous in its infliction. On whom would it light? The children would be the actual sufferers. It would be a most cruel attainder. Ere it could affect the parents with shame or with incumbrance, their heads might be bowed in the dust. Would you try the arts of mulct and incarceration? Any punishment, which shocks public sentiment and freedom,—and this assuredly must,—is more injurious to society than the crime. You must wield physical or moral force. There could be no executory principle to wield the first: it is a burlesque on legislation to apply the second. The kind look, the persuasive tone, the condescending encouragement, patience, perseverance, are the ministers by which it may be wrought, not in council-chambers, not in aulic halls, but in cottages, hovels, cabins, with truculent fierceness, with jeering suspicion, with monstrous imputation, with menacing resistance. This is moral force, and this only can succeed. With whom must it be lodged? Not in hands which handle manacles and truncheons. 'Government missionaries!' Officials threatening fine and prison! He who loves his neighbour as himself alone can understand it, feel it, express it, apply it! We think that a law of education in this country is utterly impracticable, because the acknowledgment of right in our progeny, because our civil and religious liberty, because all our usages and institutions, render it impossible to give it a retributive confirmation.

Never was there a time when interference was so needless. The means of education are in a course of rapid multiplication. On the defeat of Sir James Graham's bill, the National Society raised £150,000. The Independents have reached, in a similar subscription, £109,000. Other dissenting communities have not been less active. What is still better, it is constantly improving in its kind. A spirit of emulation is awake. The philosophy of teaching is sedulously studied. Old prescriptions are swept away. Time is saved. The thinking capacity is plied. The babe is treated intellectually. And the amount of knowledge which a child now acquires would have made some older members of our universities quake. When all is astir, when many are running to and fro and knowledge is increased, is it opportune, is it decent, to insult all as feeble in spirit, loose in order, contemptible in extent, as a mockery of the principle and a miscarriage of the end?

There is a body of men from whom we might expect a steady front and uncompromising resistance. The Protestant Dissenters might well be looked for in the breach. They have not been wont to flee. They cannot be overawed. But their enemies long to discredit them. Once forbidden to teach, they wrested back their right by slow and mighty struggles. They have taught, or liberty had now been banished. Their teaching power is daily augmented. They have won the pulpit. They are incessantly obtaining more and more of the press. Their sentiments are reverberated by millions who scarcely know their name. Only lately they were a people diverse from all others: they stood alone. Now their claims are watch-words, their scruples are rights, their prejudices are generalizations. Their free and independent opinions, styles of thinking, forms of avowal, impress all. There are those who love it not. How can these be silenced? By tampering with them in adulation and in bribe! Let them by inconsistency lose their power in losing their character, let them destroy themselves! Surely they will not stand out against so great a good! They, of such ancestry and heraldry, will never narrow their minds by specialties of objection! Whoever made such sacrifices of yore? Are they not ready to repeat them? Their fathers made no sacrifices of conscience: let their descendants make none. Let them be firm against Grecian gifts. What is laid at their feet, with courtly compliment, is a *trap* and a *snare*. It is to commit us. Their hostility to establishments and *regia dona* will be then disarmed. We can never act up to our principles again. We are harmless for the future, *hors de combat*. Napoleon, on the testimony of De Stael, once said: 'If I had the choice, either of doing a noble action myself, or of inducing my adversary to do a mean one, I would not hesitate to prefer the debasement of mine enemy.' Let us beware! All statesmanship now goes one way: each of the great divisions unites. Buy up all! The mind of all! The conscience of all! The religion of all! Multiply establishments! Appoint commissions! Endow! Every man has his price! Bid higher, and you may be sure of him! Whig and Tory, he is the head and he is the tail! This is the agreed on policy!—'Plague on both your houses!'

Now does the crisis come. We have wrapped our robe to us in the storm: shall we wear it loose in the sunshine? There is nothing which we might not receive from the Treasury. It does not wait for our knocking. Its doors are flung wide open. It invites us near. But to listen to its first proposal, to touch its first dole, will have irretrievably disgraced us. We shall pull down all that we have built! We shall forswear all that we have witnessed! To be betrayed by gold! To betray the tes-

timony of ages for base coin! Prodigal of sacrifice, fearless of reproach, lavish of blood, and to fall at last before a wretched bribe!

> 'Was it for this we sent out
> Liberty's cry from our shore?
> Was it for this that the shout
> Thrilled through the earth's very core?
> Thus to live cowards and slaves!
> O, ye great hearts that lie dead,
> Do ye not, e'en in your graves,
> Shudder as o'er you we tread!'

Government, if serious in this intention, wishes to do an ungenerous thing. It has started late, it has lost the race, but it claims the course and the prize. For a time it was contented to feed the stream, now it demands the sluice-gate. It was content to pursue the triumph and partake the gale, now it launches its bucentaur upon the flood. Is it not of the nature of government to lag behind? It is the creature of the people. But it is a sluggish organ. It is not the Dionysian ear. And why should it see, and often to oppose, all that is great and good rise up before it, and then clutch the reward? That is what it is now supposed to meditate. The people have shamed it. There was a countenance and favour which it might have shown. It not only held back from approval but from sympathy. Still the people pressed forward. Alone they did it. And now shall it be tolerated to despoil and mar the noble work which in no way it assisted, and in no sense blessed?

We cannot disguise it from us that the state cannot help. Let it give its spirit, its smile, its concert, and that is all we ask. Its control and management must not only be detrimental but destructive. The best education in the world it will utterly wreck. We speak not of proprietary and collegiate schools, which are good if they are not sectarian. But the private establishments of the country are inestimable. What does any public school without them? Here all *grounding* must be acquired, if at all. Here the domestic character is formed. These must be seriously affected by a national system. The prejudice will spread against them because they are independent. Their terms, generally favourable to the pupil, cannot be maintained. The difference of manner in them from the national will form a difficulty in cases of removal, the passport from one to another of the same kind being no small advantage. When to this we add, that the blow will be struck at voluntary association, and fall on all it has done, we need scarcely say, that government must ruin that which it cannot create, and

must supersede that which it cannot supply. The education of the very poor only can be voluntary; any state-law, or arrangement, concerning it must at least dispirit this; and it simply proves the strength of Christian principle, if under the policy it does not die.

Our own character is dear to us. It is a fame of things. It is a glory. Hardly has it been gained. It is an escutcheon of prisons and stakes. Yet is it threatened. It is under trial: It is in ordeal. We only can damage it. They cannot work upon our fears: they may assail our sensibilities. The appeal will be made. May you not suffer a loss of power and influence when it is seen in what an invidious, antagonistic, posture you place yourselves? What will the world think and say when it beholds you, alway foremost in the cause of education, counteracting it with all your might? Will it not betray a carping, petulant, disposition? Will it not appear that you oppose the doing by others of what you cannot do yourselves? We must be content to reply, to reiteration, that we reject such a national system of education, because we most conscientiously believe that, instead of facilitating and improving the education of the people, it will impede and debase it. We as conscientiously believe,—indeed, these are but corollaries,—that the mind of the people will be straitened, their character lowered, and their elasticity crushed. We can bear a false construction. It is no new thing that will happen unto us. We can leave our renown of principle to triumph over passing strifes, and to emerge from envious clouds. We can endure to think how others judge of us. A secret satisfaction will warm our hearts, when enemies perceive that we are as proof against seduction and treachery, as against tortures and flames. Let us keep our ground. Let us still prophesy, though in sackcloth. Though the world moves in its giddiness, let us not move. One concession is all that is asked: one concession bankrupts us. We are neutralised for ever. We are a hissing and an execration. Our alliance, so obsequiously courted, would be as contumeliously spurned.

> 'If they can catch us once upon the hip,
> They will feed fat the ancient grudge they bear us.'

We have resolutely endeavoured to survey the whole question as patriots, as Christians. We only honour our distinctive tenets the more after attempting to forget them. They have come out again, they have risen up, in spite of the attempt. They give a glow to our patriotism, and a subsistence to our Christianity. They are twice blessed. They have the promise of the life which now is, and of that which is to come. They can

pass through every furnace, weight for weight, with original brand uneffaced!

Let us not be supposed partizans. There are sins amon There are false brethren. The whispers of treason are unheard. The small and the greedy are hoping for distin and for pelf. New lights will tremble with a glow-worm play. Coasting tourists, who know as much of the Conti as the faineant who did not remember whether he got to I in his travels, but really thought he might, perhaps, changed horses there, will tell us that we are the worst cated people in the world. Our choler is moved. The despise ourselves that we can be moved at all. We shal wonder, should the system pass, if they become mighty as tributors, go circuits, manage inspections, swagger in fact and feast at parsonages. They cannot be recognized, for were never known. With renegade credentials, these pu will stalk through the land. For a time even a Kaye Shu worth, the fountain of educational counsel and honour, patronize them nathless their recent dissent. But their pa will be short. They are put forth to serve a turn. The pawns upon the board. Castle, and bishop, and knight soon bear them down: a coarser power will pulverise t some elephantine tread. 'What a little day of sunny bli thine!' If we can guess at these entities, well can we them, and gratefully will we yield them!

Moreover, among better men, we must give ear to strang guments. Now it is the duty of a denomination which c peradventure twelve hundred churches to educate the v nation! But, alas! for the distribution of the middle of their syllogism, *they cannot*, therefore it is the duty o state! Or again, it is the very function given to Chri churches to educate a nation,—because many of their mem and all their principles, contended against the anti-educat clauses of the Factory Bill! The truth is, that Chris ought to do good; they ought to educate. But this is no their special function than to support fever-houses and di saries. We need not insist upon what are; such as missio

We should take warning from experience. We have cl to principles firmly, but have erred in not looking to applications. We have lacked forecast. We have not sea sufficiently into the seeds of things. The educational law v prevails in the manufacturing districts ought to have been stood. It is the admission of a principle. It is well n dead letter, as every such enactment must prove. It is pa and little influential; but it was to be stock of a larger It will be pleaded yet. The door is only ajar; it may b

easier thrown open. The thin side of the wedge is only introduced; a few strokes may drive it to its head. Let us learn caution; 'Let our eyes look right on, and let our eyelids look straight before us.'

It only remains of the general argument to remind us, that all benefactions of the state suppose an injustice. There are those who must refuse; they are equally assessed for the bounty. Nor is the injustice healed by making a general law. For this being one which affects a question of so many moral and religious bearings, it intrudes on conscience. Some will disapprove. But is not the state competent to make all laws? It surely cannot be gravely asked. Are not all subjects bound to obey the laws? Certainly, if they be civil arrangements, 'things of Cæsar.' To quarrel with war-taxes seems to us vicious, for the first duty of a government is that of defence. Individual objection cannot weigh against the political administration of any government. If we have demanded of the state the suppression of slavery, we must leave to that state what it considers the proper means. We will not pre-judge what we ought to do, in case that a national system of education should be carried by the estates of the realm. In the mean time, let us do all we can that it may never be. If, among the caprices and marvels of mortal revolution, it should,—then, let our utmost dint be to defeat the evil which it must bring, and to preserve all that now is good from its noxious inroads.

We owe an apology to Dr. Hook for the little notice we have taken of his pamphlet. It is written forcibly rather than elegantly. Terseness is no quality of his style. It is often rough beyond idiomatic strength. They who were struck breathless with the phrase, in his sermon on the Second Advent, 'as if scripture were a nose of wax,' may have nearly recovered themselves to hear in this letter the heteroclite compound, 'dog-in-the-manger system.'

We are most cordially agreed with him, that some of the best friends of education are to be found among the clergy of his own church. We think, however, that he is not warranted in giving to the body of the clergy the merit of having encouraged education. Did they move until Lancaster provoked them to emulation? The parochial clergy are to this hour timid, in many instances, of its extent and quality,—rather teaching for the plough and for nothing more, than for that boy who, while he learns to follow it, is the future man and parent, the responsible agent, the immortal candidate. Even our author has certain qualms, lest religion, '*without previous moral training*,' (a phrase which exceeds us), 'should become a mere dogma—an illegitimate mode of expressing political sentiments.'

It comes with no good grace when a churchman declares, that, 'compared with the educational wants of the country, we have done nothing.' If the establishment has not trained its children, on whom rests the blame? It has for ages possessed the power and the wealth to do it. Where is the dissenting community against which a similar charge can lie? Let it not be forgotten, the church always claims those who have not wandered to our folds. It has been strengthened for this purpose by nearly £400,000 of government grant, in thirteen years. 'Scanty resources' which it complains of, are, in our idea, splendid stores.

The voluntary principle is worked up in the establishment by a system of bonus. The Council of Education offers a proportion of its fund to any that may be independently raised. £75,000 were at its disposal in the last year. The church obtained about £73,000 of it, and the dissenters disgraced themselves by cringing for the rest. Now this figure would seem not merely to denote that the church had raised a sum equal to what it received, but that the dissenters only contributed the minus. The truth is, that as an aggregate, they spurned 'the consideration.' It is believed, that they were not much behind in what they offered to the cause of teaching the people. But their venality, like that of others, does not reflect their effort. As to those who will succumb, we have but the apology of ancient Israel, though not to the numerical comparison,—that 'the mixt multitude fell a lusting.'

Ludicrous is the painting which our author gives of the voluntary operation among the clergy of the church. It does not take well with them, nor sit easily upon their nature. The noble donation of the Queen Dowager is, we have long heard, considered church-property. She seems to be put to more than a fair share of 'the nursing mother.' She is the ecclesiastical charity, and thousands of orphan babes seek her sustenance. Then the bazaar! Autographs, lines for the occasion, bands so called because divided, the confectionary stall, the squire's lady, and cousin-Miss from town,—all swell the scene or diversify the recreation. Private subscriptions get on ill. The shuffling parasites of Timon of Athens are exhibited as the prototypes of the saucy rudeness of those to whom the begging-box is presented, almost preparing us to find a man-hater growing up under such (we will try a compound with this Grand Compounder,) shut-the-door-in-the-face outrage. He seems heartily tired out,—few have done so famously with a principle he dislikes, but one which no man more generously practises.

Immediately men talk of compulsory education they get foolish. They must except as to the liberty of the subject.

But, after a constitutional flourish, each has his plans. A kidnapping project seems to please our kind-hearted author. He would catch every mendicant child, send him to the workhouse school, and give him diet there. This catch-pole system has its difficulties. Those little 'urchins' can run and dive and thread and dodge. It is no easy chase. And about going home! When and how is that to be managed? What is the return which they may expect? We reason, supposing that nothing so illegal, so unnatural, is intended as their permanent separation from their parents, and lodgment in these wards.

He is no statistician. He has found that the fashionable computation of those who should be found in statu pupillari, is one in six. This is known to be extravagant. When the whole is compared, these children must be seven years and half under education. Scarcely is there a class of society to which such a privileged term belongs. And here seems the real design, to override all the schools of the country! Are all to be drawn into this mighty Maelstrom? The tables are drawn up for all.

Candid warnings are not withheld. Some of his sources of supply have a 'tendency to dry up voluntary contributions.' The '*systematic training* of the *great mass of the people* is an essential part of education.' 'They would require a *recognition on the part of the state* of the solemn importance of religious training.' These points are not lost upon us! We understand them well!

What we relish the least in this letter is the disclaimers which are made of the alliance of church and state. They may mean every thing or nothing. Is not the episcopal church in England established? Does not the sovereign at his coronation swear to uphold it? Is he not head of it in all causes ecclesiastical as well as civil? Is not with him the appointment of all its bishops, and generally of other important dignitaries? Does it not hold its courts? The following scarcely sounds to us sincere: 'To call upon parliament to vote any money for the exclusive support of the Church of England, is to call upon parliament to do what is unjust. The taxes are collected from persons of all religions, and cannot be fairly expended for the exclusive maintenance of one.' Has not this been the complaint of dissenters? They objected not that the church retained full power, like any other corporation, over its own endowments. And now here is the full admission, by one whose voice was never raised against the million and half acts for building episcopalian sanctuaries! Whence was that money drawn? Shall such robbery be left in its guilt, and its shame, upon that church? Shall not 'the high churchman' preach restitution?

Dr. Hook, in this brochure, speaks in so liberal a manner,

that they who do not know him might imagine that there were two of that name: a game of the Sosias' and the Antipholis.' Utrum horum? But we must vindicate him. His high-church doctrine uniformly appears. Why does he condemn the National Society? Because it admits the children of the dissenters to its schools, because these children are under its sanction allowed to attend their own places of worship, and because he finds his own Puseyite opinions rather retarded than helped by the system. He is fierce against that which was supposed to be perfect, the movement in whose favour brought in the late Premier with his blind majority, to speed which the tourist flew back from the wonders of Italy, and was hailed with shouts at the Becket electioneering breakfast at Leeds. How sudden is the reverse! The National Society is spoken of with termagant contempt. Its reports are not to be believed. It has 'neither theory nor principle, nor any thing else to kindle zeal!'

Nor do we fail to recognize the Rubricist in his recommendation of Wednesday and Friday as furnishing the time for religious instruction. It might be a random stroke. We divine it. It is superbly cool. These are not ordinary days. He a few years since signified his willingness to relax the strictness of the English sabbath, provided that Friday could be made a sacred day. Some of his clergy make it a rule never to dine out on that day. There can be no doubt that he and his party are anxious to clothe it with a superstitious awe. It will seem only a small prognostic and symptom: those who have studied the Oxford heresy long, and know it well, cannot call these indications indifferent.

The National Society, long supposed to be the glory of the episcopacy, the church, and the country, is now to be hunted down. We feel no little favour towards it. It has generally borne its faculties meekly. Why must this noble quarry be pulled to the earth? Why do Puseyites halloo the pack? We have adverted to some reasons; it is too liberal for their taste. But chiefly, it is not an ecclesiastical incorporation. The poor treasurer suffers for his searching intrusions. Sinclair (one of the first writers of our day) is its active officer, constantly in his manly letters making it to speak sentiments English and Christian. The desire of those who now openly decry it, but who hitherto have insincerely supported it, is to get a system more subservient and supple, less under metropolitan knowledge and expansive feeling, to be allied to the sees, to be coextended with the parishes. Who will then rule? The magistrates are to be assessors of certain points: are they generally on the side of the dissenters? Popular election is deprecated, that the justices may do it more quietly. Whatever there might be of

check, remonstrance, impatience, resistance, will be swamped: and that church whose model Sancroft found in Crete, others may make paramount in England. Only if, like its Icarus, it will attempt to fly, it may find that wings can melt, and it can fall from its giddy elevation!

He speaks with much slight of an Establishment. This seems to many amazingly liberal. But the tracts which he generally approved, binding himself to number 90, by a special embrace, all proceed on this. The establishment of his church is a mere incident. He would not place it so low. It is a branch of the catholic church. Therefore it sways him. We should little doubt that he believes at heart that the church is the supreme power, not the minister, not even a fourth estate, as it is called in the fifth of November service,—anointing sovereign, summoning parliament, allowing law, tolerating toleration! Has he demonstrated to his differing brethren that candour which he professes? When he speaks of their 'places of worship as legally licensed,' is not this harsh? Does he not know that such phrase is wholly contrary to fact? No minister is now licenced, but obtains a certificate, if he likes to incur the trouble, from any magistrate, that he has taken certain oaths. No house of prayer is now licensed, but is simply registered in the bishop's court. If these insignia of persecution did rest on us, he ought to have known that they are now removed, and to have rejoiced in their removal. He perfectly understands, and is convinced, that the dissenting ministers, congregationalists, and anti-pædobaptists, in his town and county, are thoroughly loyal to evangelic verity, to all the substantive faith of his own creeds and symbols: he will not in any sense, or any wise, treat them but as heathen men and publicans. He casts them out of the church. Were they impugners of the deity of Christ and of his expiatory sacrifice, were they deniers of the Holy Ghost, were they scorners of divine worship and ordinances, were they atheists, he could not more practically disown them, nor cleanse himself from them. The agreement in papal episcopacy, Eutychian, Nestorian, Abyssinian, Syrian, would give them a title to his brotherly regards—their belief that all pastors are equal, is the poisonous taint and damning spot. All besides he could endure, perhaps forgive; pity, until pity moved to love. But such an error! 'Take any shape but that!'

It is because we wish to see the people educated, because we do see the availing means of educating them, that we cast from us all charlatan attempts. Our author lies under no small suspicion of loving the fickle breath, the sweet voices, of popular applause. We read no man's motives. But how much better for his fame would it have been, if he had published this pamphlet

at the accession of his party to office! Then his sincerity could not have been doubted! Then his repentance could not have been accounted apostacy! Then the palm of martyrdom, political and religious, might have bent gracefully from his hand! Really there is no concession. It is the Puseyite doctrine dressed for the times. And doubtless his ripeness of intellect would have been more acknowledged had he conserved his work for a Horatian term. He has taken to it upon the nonce. It is ill-considered and ill-digested. A mind like his needs much deliberation to supply the lack of comprehension and strength, ere it grapple with such themes. Instead of being the nine years' labour, it will be the nine days' wonder. Tories say he is doctoring the pulse of the nation for the Whigs,—churchmen, that he is unsaying all he ever spoke,—quid-nuncs, that he knows what he is about!

'Who is that faithful and wise' servant of God and man that will give his mind to this cause? Who will bring its urgency before the public and upon the public? It cannot be a very profound theorem. Recalling our schoolboy distinctions, we rather think of it as a problem, not what is to be demonstrated, but to be done. It is an art rather than a science, though like every art founded on one. There is a philosophy in it. We would not separate them. Only in paragogic description an indefinite something,—call it culture, call it training, call it development—is hailed, invisible or dimly scanned, an intangible vision, and, in the meanwhile, the sentimentalist desponds, and the progressionist stands still. We must deal with it as with the diamond—the harder it is, the sharper must be our tools; and the more costly it is, the more strenuous must be our labours. A crust is to be removed, the essential splendour is to be elicited,—but circumstances are not to be despised—the surface is to be multiplied, and the setting to be provided. The soul of man is that gem, and a true education is like the lapidary's craft, who polishes its roughness, varies its aspect, and unfolds its beauty. He who thus 'winneth souls is wise,' he 'makes wise unto salvation.' Other orders of educationists may have their temples on the sides of the hill; but of him can it only be said, *Εις ακρον Παιδειας εληλακως*,—He has been borne to the towered height of education.

Art. III.—*Recollections of Mexico.* By Waddy Thompson, Esq., late Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Mexico. New York and London: Wiley and Putnam. 1846. 8vo. pp. 304.

We have read this volume with considerable pleasure. It is a book of sterling value, and as attractive as it is valuable. It is altogether different from the trashy productions of many continental tourists, and may be perused with advantage by all who are concerned to know the condition, resources, character and prospects of the Mexican republic and people. In the present state of the American continent the information it supplies is peculiarly opportune; and if the leaning of the author may occasionally be detected, there is, on the whole, an honesty and candour in his views which cannot fail to please. The rupture which has taken place between the United States and Mexico, though long foreseen, must be deeply regretted by every benevolent mind; and we shall be glad to learn that the information supplied by Mr. Thompson has served to call up the better and more peaceful feelings of his countrymen. It is well adapted to effect this, and the more so from its being written prior to the breaking out of hostilities. The issue of the struggle, should it be continued, does not admit of doubt; but where will be the fruits of victory? No honour can be gathered in such a field, and any nominal extent of territory will be more than counterbalanced, by the want of compactness and the utter absence of harmony and co-operation. As an independent republic, aided in the progress of civilization, Mexico may be of immense advantage to the United States. In any other character she will be a source of weakness and irritation, the perplexity and disgrace of the statesmen of America.

It was on the 10th of April, 1842, that Mr. Thompson entered the harbour of Vera Cruz, as minister plenipotentiary of the United States. The climate of the city is its most effectual protection. The yellow fever prevails along the whole Atlantic coast of Mexico without intermission, and is marked by special malignancy during two-thirds of the year. The city is rendered more unhealthy than other localities by some large swamps in its rear, and is visited by various diseases equally fatal with the yellow fever. The present city is about six miles from the town settled by Cortes, and its streets are broad and reasonably clean.

Negroes are represented by our author as numerous in Vera Cruz; and we regret to find in his allusion to this race, the same low-minded and disgraceful prejudice by which so many of his countrymen are distinguished. The general tone of his

volume would have led us to give him credit for exemption from this vice. In other points he is superior; but in hatred of the African he yields to none in the blind bitterness of his zeal.

'The negro in Mexico,' he tells us, 'as everywhere else, is looked upon as belonging to a class a little lower than the lowest—the same lazy, filthy, and vicious creatures that they inevitably become when they are not held in bondage. Bondage or barbarism seems to be their destiny—a destiny from which the Ethiopian race has furnished no exception in any country for a period of time long enough to constitute an epoch. The only idea of the free negro of liberty, in Mexico, or elsewhere, is exemption from labour, and the privilege to be idle, vicious and dishonest; as to the mere sentiments of liberty, and the elevating consciousness of equality, they are incapable of the former; and for the latter, no such equality ever did or ever will exist.'

Such is the style in which an American gentleman, boasting of his republicanism, can seek to cover over and to justify the abominations of the slave system. A philosophy so shallow may well awaken the contempt, as it must draw down on the American people the scorn of mankind. The argument is as old as tyranny. It is power pleading against weakness; first degrading by its oppressions, and then appealing to the debasement of its victim in justification of its misdeeds. We deny, however, the assumption which Mr. Thompson's language involves. His facts are as erroneous as his philosophy is abhorrent. But let it pass. There are other and better things in his volume, or we should throw it aside as a libel on our common nature, and a vile reflection on the God who made us.

From Vera Cruz to Jalapa, a distance by the road of about seventy miles, is almost one continued ascent, the elevation of which opens to the traveller extensive views of a country rich in natural productions, yet lamentably deficient in cultivation.

'The habitations (for houses they are not) which are seen on the road side, at distances of fifteen and twenty miles from each other, resemble rather chicken coops than the abodes of human beings. They are constructed of canes about ten feet long, the large end resting on the ground, standing upright and wickered together in one or two places, and covered with the leaves of the palm tree. In the villages the houses are generally small filthy hovels of ten or twelve feet square, built of unburnt bricks, with a small enclosure, in which the chili (red pepper), and a small patch of Indian corn for tortillas is cultivated. A Mexican village very closely resembles an American Indian village—with the difference that the Mexican hovels are built of brick instead of being log cabins. The same idleness, filth, and squalid poverty are apparent.'—p. 12.

On the high lands the atmosphere is remarkably clear, all the tropical fruits thrive, and it is scarcely possible, our author informs us, for a stranger 'to conceive of a climate so elysian. There is not,' he tells us, 'a day and scarcely an hour in the year when one could say, I wish it were a little warmer or a little cooler. It is never warm enough to pull off your coat, and rarely cold enough to button it.' The capabilities of such a country are not easily estimated, and Mr. Thompson luxuriates in the anticipation of what it will become when in the possession, as he terms it, 'of our race?' The policy of his government is distinctly intimated in his assurance, that 'the march of time is not more certain than that this will be, and probably at no distant day.'

The whole country presents indubitable evidence of volcanic formation; but the wretched system of agriculture which is maintained, prevents any very accurate opinion of the comparative productiveness of the soil. The plough in general use is of precisely the same construction as that of two thousand years ago; the hoe is a wooden staff with an iron spike in the end; and the ox is the only animal employed for purposes of husbandry. The condition of the people is just such as these facts would lead us to anticipate.

'Although (says Mr. Thompson) the whole road from the city of Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico passes through a country inexpressibly picturesque and beautiful, yet the ignorant, idle, and degraded population, the total absence of cultivation and improvement, and a general appearance of wildness and desolation, produced with me feelings partaking of gloom and melancholy. Neither in going nor returning did I see one human being, man, woman, or child, engaged at work of any sort. The great mass of the population doze out their lives with no higher thoughts or purposes than the beasts which perish around them.'—pp. 19, 20.

The roads, as might be expected, are infested with robbers, against whom the only sure defence is the appearance of foreigners well armed.

'They never attack the stage when two or three of the passengers are foreigners, and are known to be armed. When the stage stops for the night, or to change horses, some one of the robbers examines the baggage, and if it promises a rich booty and the passengers have the appearance of soft customers, they are certain to be attacked before the stage has gone five miles. But if the passengers are armed and there is a prospect of resistance, the robbers wait for an easier prey; they wisely calculate that some one of them may be killed, and each of them knows that that one may be himself—upon the same principle that one brave man armed often repels a mob. At one of the little villages where we changed horses, I was very much

struck with the dashing and picturesque appearance of a man who rode by, richly and gaudily dressed, on a fine horse gaily caparisoned. I asked the stage driver if he knew him; he said that he did, and that he was the captain of a band of robbers who had plundered the stage several times since he had been driving. I asked him why he had not informed against him and had him punished; he replied, that if he had done so he certainly would have been shot by some others of the band the next time he had passed the road, and I have no doubt that he would have been, for no-where is the maxim of 'honour amongst thieves' more rigidly adhered to than amongst Mexican thieves.'—pp. 20, 21.

Gambling is almost universal amongst the lower classes of the Mexicans, and is pursued with intense passion. It is not, however, confined to them. Many of the higher orders are its slaves, and it is no uncommon thing for the bankrupt gamester to seek to replenish his exchequer on the road. A short time before Mr. Thompson left the country, the public stage was robbed near Puebla, the Lowell of Mexico, by a party whose dress and bearing were those of gentlemen. When they had rifled the pockets and trunks of the passengers, one of their number addressed them in the following strain of mock politeness: 'Gentlemen, we would not have you to suppose that we are robbers by profession; we are gentlemen; but we have been unfortunate at monte, and that has forced upon us the necessity of thus incommoding you, for which we beg that you will pardon us.'

The wealth of the clergy is enormous. It is the accumulation of ages, and is cautiously concealed from the public eye. As in other catholic countries, it forms a criterion by which the ignorance and superstition of the people may be estimated, and serves to weaken the national resources, and to perpetuate the evils out of which it has grown. It is lamentable to observe how the principle of priestism, when weakened in its centre, has strengthened itself in the distant provinces of its empire. Since the Lutheran reformation, popery has been compelled to assume a somewhat modified aspect in Europe. The spread of intelligence throughout the European community has been skilfully respected, and popery has in consequence spoken a language and contented itself with contributions which would have been spurned in its palmy days. A compensation has been sought in other and more distant regions, where the same causes were in operation as constituted its strength in Europe in ancient times. Mexico, unhappily for itself, has been one of these regions, and a large portion of the property of the country is now in the hands of the clergy. Referring to this subject, Mr. Thompson says,—

'I do not doubt but there is enough of the precious metals in the different churches of Mexico to relieve sensibly the pressure upon the currency of the world, which has resulted from the diminished production of the mines, and the increased quantity which has been appropriated to purposes of luxury, and to pay the cost of much more tasteful decorations in architecture and statuary, made of mahogany and marble.

'But the immense wealth which is thus collected in the churches, is not by any means all, or even the larger portion, of the wealth of the Mexican church and clergy, They own very many of the finest houses in Mexico and other cities (the rents of which must be enormous), besides valuable real estates all over the Republic Almost every person leaves a bequest in his will for masses for his soul, which constitute an incumbrance upon the estate, and thus nearly all the estates of the small proprietors are mortgaged to the church. The property held by the church in mortmain is estimated at fifty millions.'—pp. 40, 41.

As may be supposed, the superstition of the people is extreme. Our author narrates many instances of this, from which, if our space permitted, we should be disposed to extract his account of 'Our Lady of Remedies,' and of 'The Virgin of Guadaloupe.' What will our readers think of the following, as an illustration of the religious state of the people.

'Amongst the dramatic representations in Mexico, *mysteries* or religious dramas are very common on occasions of certain festivals—some of them of a character not a little shocking to the eyes and ears of a protestant. Not an unusual piece on Christmas-Eve is the representation of the Nativity. Joseph appears on a mule with Mary behind him, seeking for lodgings all over the city of Bethlehem, and at last they enter the stable—where the accouchement takes place not in the sight but in the hearing of the audience, with all those circumstances equally revolting to decency and a just respect for holy things. I have seen a similar representation of the story of the virgin of Guadaloupe, and have now a copy of the drama; it was at the theatre 'de los gallos,' 'Theatre of the chicken cocks,' a very large edifice formerly used as a cock-pit, but now converted into a theatre.'—p. 110.

The ignorant superstition which can give interest to such representations, is not a creature of the imagination simply. It is a real and earnest thing, which finds for itself appropriate expressions, and readily submits to bodily torture, as well as to pecuniary impoverishment for the accomplishment of its object. There must be an intense yearning in the human soul after the unseen, a marvellous affinity between it and a spiritual economy, to account for such scenes as the following. Ignorance may distort, and superstition debase the notions which are entertained, but the religious element must be deeply seated in the human

soul to account for the universal fact, of which our author records an instance. He tells us—

'I have seen, in the church of San Augustin, one or two hundred people assembled at night; the chapel was darkened, and they took off their clothes and lacerated themselves severely with pieces of hard twisted cord, made like a cat-o'-nine-tails. It was not such a flogging as Sancho gave himself to disenchant Dulcinea, but a real *bonâ fide* castigation. Of this I have no doubt, for I picked up one of the disciplinas, the instrument used, and it was wet and soaked with blood. I stood at the door as the penitents came out, and recognized amongst them some of the most respectable people in Mexico No one in his senses can doubt the sincerity of those who will voluntarily inflict such torture upon themselves.'—p. 114.

Of the morals of the clergy, Mr. Thompson gives no very favorable account, which is the more entitled to credit from the scrupulous justice which he does to some honourable exceptions.

'I do not think,' he says, 'that the clergy of Mexico, with very few exceptions, are men of as much learning as the Catholic clergy generally are in other countries. The lower orders of the priests and friars are generally entirely uneducated, and, I regret to add, as generally licentious. There is no night in the year that the most revolting spectacles of vice and immorality, on the part of the priests and friars, are not to be seen in the streets of Mexico. I have never seen any class of men who so generally have such a 'roué' appearance as the priests and friars whom one constantly meets in the streets. Of the higher orders and more respectable members of the priesthood, I cannot speak with the same confidence; if they are vicious, they are not publicly and indecently so. Very many of them have several nephews and nieces in their houses, or, at least, those who *call them uncle*. The reason given for the injunction of celibacy, that those who are dedicated to the priesthood should not be encumbered with the care of a family, is, I think, in Mexico, much more theoretical than practical.'—p. 115.

Amongst the numerous scenes described, one of the most singular is the great gaming feast of St. Augustin. This took place shortly after Mr. Thompson's arrival in Mexico, and it may well perplex more profound thinkers than himself. It is ushered in by a cruel sport formerly popular in England, the conjunction of which with religious rites is one of the anomalies that philosophy vainly strives to explain. This feast is attended by all classes, and is strictly national.

'I am not (says our author) sufficiently learned upon the subject of Catholic saints to know why St. Augustin is the patron of gamblers, and his anniversary is celebrated by all sorts of games. The village of San Augustin is about twelve miles from Mexico, and

there this festival is celebrated. Every human creature in Mexico, high and low, old and young, who can get there, is certain to go. Rooms are engaged, and preparations made for weeks beforehand. Doubloons, which are generally worth only fifteen dollars and a quarter, as the festival approaches, rise in value to sixteen and seventeen dollars. It is not genteel to bet anything but gold. The scene opens with cock-fighting, about twelve o'clock It is attended by everybody. When I entered the cock-pit, Santa Anna and General Bravo, with a large number of the most distinguished men in Mexico, and quite a large number of ladies of the highest circles, were already there. The master of ceremonies on the occasion walked into the pit, and exclaimed two or three times, 'Ave Maria purissima los gallos vienen'—'Hail, most pure Mary, the chicken-cocks are coming.' Whereupon a cock is brought in covered, and a challenge is proclaimed, *à l'outrance*, to all comers, which is very soon accepted. The fowls are then uncovered, and allowed to walk about the pit, that the spectators may see them, and select the one on which they choose to risk their money.'—pp. 132, 133.

In the evening there is a dance, and a ball in the cock-pit at night, where 'the first people of the city, of both sexes, are seen dancing with the most dissolute and depraved, not only in the same dance, but as partners.' It must not be inferred from this fact, that the habits of the people are more depraved than in other countries similarly circumstanced. This is not the case. 'They indulge less in excesses of any kind than almost any other people,' and so far as the use of spirituous liquors is concerned are remarkably temperate. 'I am sure,' says our author, 'that during my residence in Mexico I did not see a dozen men drunk, and I have seen assemblies of fifty and a hundred thousand people without one case of drunkenness. As to intemperance amongst respectable people, it is almost unknown.' The physical characteristics of the people are, diminutive stature and feeble strength. In the latter respect Mr. Thompson represents the men as not exceeding the women of the States; and refers in proof of his statement, to the successful inroads into the country frequently made, to the extent of several hundred miles, by the Comanches, the most cowardly of the western tribes of Indians. The army of Mexico is utterly unequal to a conflict with European troops, as may be readily concluded from the material of which it is composed, and the wretched state of its discipline. Referring to this subject, Mr. Thompson says:—

'The soldiers of the Mexican army are generally collected by sending out *recruiting* detachments into the mountains, where they hunt the Indians in their dens and caverns, and bring them in chains to Mexico; there is scarcely a day that droves of these miserable

and more than half naked wretches are not seen thus chained together and marching through the streets to the barracks, where they are scoured and then dressed in a uniform made of linen cloth or of serge, and are occasionally drilled—which drilling consists mainly in teaching them to march in column through the streets. Their military bands are good, and the men learn to march indifferently well—but only indifferently well—they put their feet down as if they were feeling for the place, and do not step with that jaunty, erect and graceful air which is so beautiful in well-drilled troops. As to the wheelings of well-trained troops, like the opening and shutting of a gate, or the prompt and exact execution of other evolutions, they know nothing about them. There is not one in ten of these soldiers who has ever seen a gun, nor one in a hundred who has ever fired one before he was brought into the barracks It is in this way that the ranks of the army are generally filled up—in particular emergencies the prisons are thrown open, which always contain more prisoners than the army numbers, and these felons become soldiers, and some of them officers Their arms, too, are generally worthless English muskets which have been condemned and thrown aside, and are purchased for almost nothing, and sold to the Mexican government. Their powder, too, is equally bad; in the last battle between Santa Anna and Bustamente, which lasted the whole day, not one cannon ball in a thousand reached the enemy—they generally fell about half-way between the opposing armies.'—pp. 172, 173.

The pay of the troops is as irregular as their discipline is defective. They are computed at forty thousand, but scarcely reach one half that number, and are the ready instruments of any adventurer who promises them pillage or pay. On the whole they constitute 'the greatest nuisance, and the most insuperable barrier, to the prosperity and progress of Mexico.'

No work on Mexico can have pretensions to completeness, which does not enter somewhat largely into the history and character of Santa Anna. The distinguished part he has acted in the revolutions of his country, his superiority of intellect and comparative-largeness of view, the general clemency of his administration, his varied fortunes, and his faithful adherence to the cause he early espoused, entitle him to most respectful attention, and to the candid judgment of the friends of liberty in both hemispheres. His position has been full of difficulty; and if, in some instances, he has not realised the hopes of European philanthropists, we must not refuse him the benefit of such extenuating pleas as his circumstances suggest. He contributed beyond any other man to the last and successful struggle of Mexico for independence and a republican form of government, and though his object has not yet been attained, he has only shared the common lot of patriotic reformers. The per-

sonal appearance and character of the general are thus described, and the sketch will not fail to interest our readers.

'General Santa Anna, is now fifty-four years of age. He is about five feet ten inches high, with a finely proportioned person. His complexion is of an olive cast, but not indicating any mixture of blood, although I believe he is not of pure Castilian lineage. I do not know that I have ever seen a more striking and finely formed head and face; there is scarcely a feature or a point in either that Spurzheim or Lavater would desire to change. I remember to have heard a distinguished American statesman remark, when Santa Anna was in Washington, that he had rarely seen a face indicative in a higher degree of talent, firmness, and benevolence; and when I say as I do, that I think that his face is not an inaccurate index to the volume of his character, I beg the reader not to start and lay down the book, before he has read a few incidents which I propose to narrate, and for most of which I vouch, as they have passed under my own observation. I am well aware that I should better satisfy the great mass of readers, both in this country and in Mexico, by speaking in a different vein of this now fallen man; but it would be both unjust and ungrateful in me to do so. I trust that I may without impropriety say, that the history of my mission will show that I never stooped to flatter General Santa Anna when at the height of his power, neither can I find it in my heart to traduce him now. He has at different times, at my instance, released from imprisonment more than two hundred Texan prisoners, and has so often afforded me that highest of all happiness, that of making others happy, that I should be gratified to know that in his present fallen state anything which I may write of him has given him one moment's gratification. I shall not, however, be betrayed by this desire into writing one line which my own deliberate judgment does not approve.'—pp. 66, 67.

The first popular movement in Mexico, which commenced in 1809, had its origin in enthusiastic and devoted loyalty. It was begun under the auspices of the Spanish viceroy, and was designed to preserve to Ferdinand VII., who had abdicated the throne of Spain, the Mexican portion of his dominions. The clergy were generally opposed to it, and the movement consequently failed. The struggle, however, continued until 1821, when Iturbide, a Spanish officer in command of a considerable force, went over to the patriots, and at once determined their success. His adhesion, however, was only nominal, and it was soon found that the revolution effected a change of masters only. Within fifteen months he usurped the supreme authority, and was declared emperor by the army. His administration was worthy of his treachery, and would speedily have effected the entire destruction of the patriots, if Santa-Anna, in January, 1823, had not thrown himself between the tyrant and the people whom he had betrayed. Few incidents in modern times have

more of romance in them, than his bold and generous movement on this occasion. He was only a colonel, in command of a single regiment, when he raised the banner of republican liberty, and summoned his countrymen to put down the tyrant. A large force was instantly despatched from Mexico to crush him, but their general ultimately joined the patriot, and Santa-Anna, with a generous disregard of personal aggrandizement, summoned Victoria, an old leader of the people, from his hiding-place in the mountains, to take command of the popular forces. The revolution was successful; Iturbide was dethroned and banished, and a federal republic was established. His fortune has since been varied, and our limits forbid us to trace it; but, as our author remarks, 'It should redound to his lasting honour, that, surrounded as he was by faction, intrigue, and enemies, who have since overthrown him; in no single instance was any man punished for a political offence.'

The present constitution of Mexico dates only from the beginning of the year 1844, and contains some noble principles, which only want the vivifying element of intelligence and virtue amongst the people, to render it productive of national welfare. It abolishes slavery, guarantees the liberty of the press, prohibits the imposition of taxes, save by legislative authority, and gives the right of citizenship to all persons who possess an annual income of two hundred dollars, whether derived from labour or from capital. The powers of the president are limited and defined, as the following abstract will show.

'The president must be a native of the country, and a layman, and holds his office for the term of five years It is made his duty to supervise the courts of justice, and he may prescribe the order in which cases shall be tried. He may impose fines not exceeding five hundred dollars, upon those who disobey his lawful commands. Certain large powers are conferred upon him in relation to concordats, bulls, decrees, and other ecclesiastical matters. He possesses a very qualified veto upon the acts of Congress. He may call an extra session of Congress, and prescribe the only subjects to be considered. The president not to exercise any military command without the consent of Congress. Not to leave the Republic during his term of office, nor for one year after its expiration, but with the consent of Congress, nor to go more than six leagues from the capital, without the like permission. He shall in no case alienate, exchange or mortgage any portion of the territory of the Republic. All his acts must be approved by the secretary of the department to which it properly belongs. He cannot be prosecuted criminally, except for treason against the national independence or the form of government established by the constitution during his term of office, nor for one year afterwards.'—pp. 183, 184.

Unhappily, there is no public sentiment in Mexico to give practical worth to this constitution. Its enactments are consequently little more than nominal, and the people have realized little from all their struggles. We may, however, hope better things for the future. There are signs of improvement discernible,—the faint dawn of a better day,—yet there is too much truth in the remarks with which Mr. Thompson closes his reference to this subject, and with which we must terminate our notice of his valuable and interesting volume.

'I think,' he says, 'that this constitution is calculated to elevate the character of those who framed it very much beyond the general estimate of the intelligence of the Mexicans; and that it is still more creditable in the general spirit of liberty which runs through all its provisions. I do not see that any of the guarantees are wanting for the security of the rights of the citizen or the public liberty. But of what avail are free institutions without the spirit of liberty amongst the people; or what avail are both without general intelligence and virtue? 'Quid valeant leges sine moribus?' The history of other countries answers the question, but none so conclusively as the present almost hopeless condition of Mexico—with a constitution quite liberal enough for any country. It is the profound remark of an eminent writer, 'that to endeavour to make a people free who are servile in their nature, is as hopeless as to attempt to reduce to slavery a nation imbued with the spirit of freedom.' I would very much prefer the spirit of liberty with despotic institutions, to free institutions without the spirit of liberty.'—p. 186.

Art. IV.— *Life and Correspondence of David Hume: from the Papers bequeathed by his Nephew to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and from other original sources.* By John Hill Burton, Esq., Advocate. 2 vols. 8vo. Tait, Edinburgh.

It is pleasant occasionally to be treated to the life of a philosopher, provided he be a genuine specimen of the class, not a *would-be*, or charlatan, but one who has with manly energy, and in sober earnestness, essayed to reach the utmost verge of metaphysical abstraction, and even to push the frontiers of that uneasy and dusky region some degrees beyond its admitted geography. Only let him be an accredited proficient in his favourite science, endued with microscopic and telescopic vision, who has made real discoveries beyond the ken of ordinary mortals, or at least thinks so, and whether he has opened up any new vista into the wide wilderness of mystery which lies on all sides round the limits of common sense, or not, we shall be sure to find some-

thing both amusing and instructive in the history of his mental adventures. To see a man labouring magnanimously by dint of reason to dispel the thick mist with which our present being is surrounded, is, at any rate, exciting and ennobling. He may have travelled far and brought home little, wrought hard and perfected nothing, soared high and returned only to tell us that, the higher he ascended the less he could see, and the less distinctly, all he had ever seen, or thought he had seen before; and yet his aeronautic circumnavigation around the vulgar sphere of human knowledge, if it only issues, like the flight of Noah's dove, in proving that there is no resting place for the sole of his foot, may surely enhance the value of that Ark where still and exclusively safety and rest may be found. We confess that after we have endeavoured to follow such lofty and erratic wanderings, as closely as common faculties will allow, we feel it a relief and a refreshment to get again into the region of common humanity; and have always felt more reconciled to bear its imprisonment until it shall be given us to come forth to brighter light and ampler liberty. We aver, then, that it is a useful lesson, a most salutary lesson, which the world, the every day, drudging world, ought to learn from the ballooner of every sort, whether he descend again safely to his legs, or, after exhibiting ridiculous gyrations, is precipitated headlong, like another Phaeton, to the earth—if it amount to no more than this—that man is not made for the aerial ways, and that if he ever attempts to tread them, it should be modestly and cautiously, and with the reserved consciousness that he can never find safety and rest till he returns to his proper home on *terra firma*.

It is far from our intention to say or to insinuate, that there is no direct improvement to be obtained from the life and labours even of such a philosopher as Hume; or that no accession is made by men of that class to our knowledge of first principles. We believe, however, it is much more in a negative way than in a positive,—that is, they do us more good by showing what we cannot know, than by revealing to us any thing we did not know; and most assuredly a large part of their vocation, as they seem to have understood it, has consisted in obscuring and bringing into doubt what ordinary minds always thought they did know.

Some considerable advantage, however, may be always gained by comparing such characters with other eminent men of another class, and of a more practical genius. Indirectly the career of the merest speculator may be serviceable. He may save other men's time though he wastes his own. He may contribute to other men's security by his own perils; and to their content by his disappointment. Though the survey of such a history may

add little to our absolute knowledge, to our practical wisdom, or the strength of our moral sentiments; and though it may show us grievous malversations of talent and influence, yet it can hardly fail to throw into bolder relief that class of minds which are always striving to make their moral power bear upon the improvement and happiness of the world.

For instance: let the results of the life of a mere philosopher be compared with those of the life of any distinguished, or even ordinary philanthropist; and it cannot fail to be highly instructive and beneficial. The reader may, if he please, take Hume and Howard, or the two Scotsmen and Davids, Hume and Nasmyth, and go carefully over their mental history, viewing them, if he will, by the tests of the Utilitarian philosophy; let him contrast, first, their pursuits and achievements; next, the amount of their influence for good or evil upon their respective ages; and, lastly, let him estimate the debt of gratitude due respectively for their services, and to be placed to their credit with the world. There would be no great difficulty in deciding to which the palm of merit should be decreed; but, if any hesitation should arise, or any demur be made, it could only be, we suspect, in young minds, or those inordinately disposed to speculation, and sanguine of its fruits; and in such a case we should beg to lay before the doubter such an outline of the two characters as the following.

The career of this eminent philosopher, David Hume, began with a decent though limited patrimony; and with a respectable education, so far as mere literature could go. His intellect was disciplined, but not his heart. That was evidently destitute from his youth up, not only of all sympathy in devotional feelings, but of all decent respect for those who professed them. In fact, all the natural emotions were reduced as near to the freezing point as humanity could bear. Whether this was the result of his collegiate education, the development of original bias, or of revulsion against the religion of his country and his times, or of all these combined, acting upon the boundless ambition of his intellect, it might be difficult to determine, and here cannot be essential. His first destination was to the legal profession, in which, no doubt, his talents would have secured success, if he could have lowered them, to bear the toil of learning technicalities and precedents. But he was making haste to be rich and great, and this profession offering no immediate prospect either of gain or fame, his attention was directed to commerce. The first effort of application to business was made at Bristol, but was speedily found to be so utterly uncongenial to the tastes and habits of a young and ardent scholar, that he hastily renounced it, and retired to France, for the purpose of making his narrow

income comport with his love of intellectual pursuits. Thence he returns in a comparatively short period, to make his *début* in the literary world, by publishing that, in all respects, extraordinary production, for a young man in his twenty-seventh year,—the 'Treatise upon Human Nature.' It was replete with subtlety, as well as with hostility to the settled opinions of mankind upon the most sacred of subjects. The author expected to reap from it both fame and riches. But the world was not to be so easily caught, nor so soon won. The failure was complete. It did not produce a ripple upon the tide; and, as he says himself, 'never literary attempt was more unfortunate.—It fell *dead born from the press*, without reaching such distinction as even to excite a murmur among the zealots.' Shortly after he becomes guardian or companion to the young and half-crazy Marquess of Annandale, with the hope of securing to himself a handsome provision and literary leisure. But the office proved, as might have been expected, utterly irksome, and he quitted it in disgust. Waiting for what might next turn up to his advantage, he is allured by the prospect of promoting his fortunes in connexion with state affairs, into the office of secretary to General St. Clair, whom he accompanies on an expedition, as was alleged, to Canada, but which proved to be a secret attack upon the French coast at Port L'Orient, issuing in disgrace to all parties except the secretary. Subsequently he attends his patron-general, on an embassy to the courts of Vienna and Turin. Between these diplomatic engagements he brought out his 'Essays, moral, political, and literary;' the success of which, in good measure, compensated for the failure of his first effort, and encouraged him to attempt its resurrection, by revising, improving, and popularizing it, under the title of an 'Inquiry concerning Human Understanding.' After completing his engagement as secretary to the embassy, he retires for two years to his native country, where he is vigorously engaged in pursuing his studies, but always on the scent after novelties of opinion and paradoxes in all departments, by which he might startle the thinking world into the belief that he was *some great one*. At the end of this period, he arrives in the metropolis to publish his 'Political Discourses,' and, in a short time after, his 'Inquiry concerning the Principles of Morals.' We believe he deemed this his *chef-d'œuvre;* but it attracted little attention, and again renewed his mortification and disappointment. He had, however, by this time so well husbanded his affairs, so well employed his talents, if not in authorship, yet in secretaryship, that he congratulated himself in having secured a small fortune, and no small reputation among that class of literary men, for whom scepticism had more charms than either religion or morality.

The philosopher had aspired to the post of Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, and been, it seems, very sanguine of success; but failing through the laxity of his opinions, and his offences against the religion of his country, he deemed himself persecuted by 'the zealots,' because the authorities, with whom rested the appointment, did not choose to commit the education of youth to a man who taught universal scepticism, and openly repudiated the very fundamentals even of natural religion. Yet they must have been, and ought to have been, branded as traitors to their trust, if they had given him the post; for assuredly it would have been difficult to find a less suitable man. To compensate him, however, for this disappointment and felt disgrace, a very few years after, the situation of Librarian to the Faculty of Advocates was procured for him; and to this appointment, most probably, is owing his fame, whatever it may be, as historian of the house of Stuart, and afterwards of Great Britain.

After publishing the first volume of his 'History of the Stuart Dynasty,'—everywhere received with disgust and execration,—he brought out his 'Natural History of Religion;' that was followed by successive portions of his historical work, which gradually gained upon the public, and slowly extended the author's fame. His fellow-countryman, Lord Bute, being now prime minister, a man pre-eminently gifted in discovering meritorious Scotsmen, Hume managed to procure a handsome pension from the crown; though no living mortal, not to say conjuror, could divine what claim he had either upon crown or people. Besides this, he is selected as the fittest person to accompany Lord Hertford, the British ambassador, to Paris, most probably because his well-known principles comported better with those of the court and coteries of that country, than with those of his own. Subsequently, he was made secretary. At Paris, he becomes the star of all the literary and fashionable circles; is flattered by the ladies, courted by the *savans*, honoured by the princes. He seems now to have arrived at the very goal of his ambition, when he came to be consulted as an oracle by the young philosophers of France, among whom he unquestionably sat upon a higher pinnacle than was ever conceded to him among his own countrymen. But his continuance at Paris was not protracted. Political changes called him back to England within three years, having under his wing that most genuine son of genius, Jean Jacques Rousseau. This celebrated, fitful, paradoxical, brother philosopher, had been outlawed in France, exiled from Switzerland, and harrassed by his self provoked misfortunes into a state bordering sometimes upon misanthropy, and sometimes upon

madness. Hume was moved by his misery and poverty, generously to offer him an asylum in England, which the eccentric Frenchman embraced with extravagant gratitude. The issue of this act of humanity and friendship proved, probably, the greatest source of pain and vexation which the grave philosopher ever experienced. It might, if he had philosophized upon it, have corrected some of his favourite notions of human nature; for, after providing a comfortable residence at Wooton, in Derbyshire, for the unhappy and intractable Frenchman, and after securing from the same friend who had granted him the residence, a decent provision for himself and his maid, La Vasseur, the ungrateful Frenchman chose to take umbrage, professedly at some desperate plot formed against him, but *really* at the phantasms of his own distempered brain; and, without grace or ceremony, quitted his abode and returned to France, pouring forth volcanic torrents of eloquent execration upon his benefactors, whose whole conduct had been characterized by equal generosity and delicacy. But what else could have been expected from that strange compound of brilliant sensibility, bloated vanity, and hoary vice.

Mr. Hume's association with political men had given him a pleasant relish of those more gainful pursuits to which he had always had an eye, and the year after his return from France, his friends obtained for him the appointment of under secretary of state. His political chief, General Conway, however, soon after abdicated, and two years were the limit of Hume's official service. He was now in his fifty-eighth year, and had secured an income of £1,000 per annum, upon which he retired to Edinburgh, where he had long possessed a convenient house, though subsequently he built a new one, and where his ample fortune enabled him to attract men of learning and genius around him, in whose society he determined to spend the remainder of his life, and where, at last, he died seven years after—we cannot say, in sadness, though it was sad enough to die joking about old Charon, and the spelling of the family name. William Strahan, to whom he committed his papers, was the only one of all his friends, though they were aware of his approaching end many months before; and though among them were several distinguished clergymen of the Church of Scotland, who had the courage to question him at the last, as to the consolations of his philosophy. Thus he wrote faithfully, yet tenderly, to the philosophic sceptic, just six days before his death:—

'MY DEAR SIR,—Last Friday I received your affectionate farewell, and therefore melancholy letter, which disabled me from sending an immediate answer to it, as I now do, in hopes this may yet

find you, not much oppressed with pain, in the land of the living. I need not tell you, that your corrections are all duly attended to, as every particular shall be that you desire or order. Nor shall I now trouble you with a long letter.

'Only, permit me to ask you a question or two, to which I am prompted, you will believe me, not from a foolish or fruitless curiosity, but from an earnest desire to learn the sentiments of a man who had spent a long life in philosophic inquiries, and who, upon the extreme verge of it, seems, even in that awful and critical period, to possess all the powers of his mind in their full vigour, and in unabated tranquillity.

'I am more particularly led to give you this trouble, from a passage in one of your late letters, wherein you say, '*It is an idle thing in us to be concerned about anything that shall happen after our death; yet this,*' you added, '*is natural to all men.*' Now, I would eagerly ask, if it is *natural to all men* to be interested in futurity, does not this strongly indicate that our existence will be protracted beyond this life?

'Do you *now* believe, or suspect, that all the powers and faculties of your own mind, which you have cultivated with so much care and success, will cease and be extinguished with your vital breath?

'Our soul, or immaterial part of us, some say, is able, when on the brink of dissolution, to take a glimpse of futurity; and for that reason I earnestly wish to have your last thoughts on this important subject.

'I know you will kindly excuse this singular application; and believe that I wish you, living or dying, every happiness that our nature is capable of enjoying, either here or hereafter; being, with the most sincere esteem and affection, my dear sir, faithfully yours.'

Mr. Burton, the editor of the present 'Life,' observes, that 'this letter, if ever it reached *him* for whom it was designed, must have done so too late to receive an answer. But if he did peruse it, with his mind so collected and clear, yet so close on the point of being severed from those objects of literary ambition which had been its chief glory and occupation, how valuable would have been the first thought that passed across it, when the great question was brought so distinctly before his understanding.'

Thus closed the brilliant career of this great philosopher, the result of all whose studies was a metaphysical philosophy which manifestly tended to diffuse universal scepticism; an ethical system which tended to weaken virtue and strengthen vice; a history of his country, which, though well written, was a tissue of misrepresentations, designedly intended to sully the glory both of patriotism and heroism, and to reprove the resentment of mankind against tyrants and arbitrary power.

Let us take now the other side of the proposed contrast, and fix

upon the salient points. David Nasmyth was a moral reformer and philanthropist from his youth, a philosopher of the best and purest class. His career was much shorter than that of Hume, but it was all devoted to the improvement of the intellect, the heart, the character, and condition of his fellow men. He was no mere speculator in ethics, but a sturdy practitioner.

His life was spent neither in constructing nor demolishing theories, which when constructed or demolished add nothing to the virtue of actions, or the strength of conscience. The philosopher spent his long life in refining upon principles and ideas, till truth itself evaporated in his philosophic alembic, or became so subtilized that he doubted whether he held it himself, or whether any one else could ascertain its existence. The philanthropist surely was the truer disciple of the Inductive Philosophy, and pursued it to better purpose. He grappled with things as they are, and possessed an intuitive perception of the causes of human misery, against which he brought to bear all the resources of strong good sense, heroic firmness, inventive genius, and a benevolent heart. The degraded and suffering condition of human nature presented to his energetic and comprehensive soul a grand sphere for the exercise of all his energies. This was noble, self-renouncing, and worthier of perpetuation in perennial brass, or monumental marble, than all the achievements of David Hume. The ruling passion of the philosopher was, probably, the love of fame, and it was 'strong in death;' and next to this was the love of wealth. Self was uppermost in all he wrote and all he did, and yet he was neither an envious, vicious, nor unamiable man. The philanthropist's sphere was as far above that of the philosopher, as a moral nature is above mere intellect. He proceeded to his great work of improving his species with the courage of a hero, the tenderness of a woman's heart, the purity of a saint, and the devotedness of a martyr. His magnanimity was not limited even by his own powers, for he aimed at large, almost universal, schemes of usefulness, with no resources of his own, save such as pertained to a scheming head, a loving heart, and an inflexible will. It may be said, that he accomplished those schemes to a wonderful extent, and set them fairly on the road to complete success. Yet, in the literary sense of the term, he would be described as utterly destitute of genius; though no philosopher of the Utilitarian School, or any other, ever evinced a bolder genius for great and philanthropic enterprises, or greater skill in executing what he designed. True, he wrote no philosophy, yet he possessed and evinced it in his intuitive perceptions of the true and the fair: he composed no poetry, and yet he

enacted scenes surpassing fable, and possessed an imagination which was thrilled with rapturous joy, or agonizing grief, amidst the dramas of real life with which he was hourly surrounded: he constructed no schemes of ethical philosophy, but he had discovered the purest, and extensively promoted the best: he employed no time in analysing the human understanding, or anatomising human nature; but he came, like the skilful surgeon, opportunely, to cut off the diseased part, and to administer the elixir of life to the drooping spirit: he wrote no histories of his country, and probably understood little of its political economy; and yet he more effectually subserved social improvement, and individual happiness, by his plans and personal labours, and is accomplishing more at this hour, than if he had followed his namesake to the arena of philosophical speculation, and had acquired an equal or superior fame. His name, while he lived, was little known to his own countrymen, and never heard of in foreign nations; and yet it stands recorded higher in the list of benefactors to the human race, commands a more affectionate reverence in the hearts of the good, and will be more permanently embalmed for future ages, than that of the man of philsophy, whose renown once filled the civilized world.

This eminent philanthropist may be said to have lived and died in comparative poverty. He had no revenues to dispense, and yet he opened and directed perennial springs of benevolence, which have fertilized thousands of desert fields, and made fruitful in virtue and benevolence tens of thousands, where, but for the energies of his genius, nothing would have been brought forth but briars and thorns. The fields that he cultivated, and the seeds that he planted, are still producing fresh and progressive harvests. Thousands have blessed his name who understood neither his philanthropy nor his philosophy; and thousands more are reaping the fruits of both, who never heard of his name, and never will hear of it, till they reach that blessed immortality, where they will be permitted to trace the causes of their felicity through its human agents up to its Divine source. Yet the philanthropist, who has thus improved human understandings which he probably could not analyze, and purified human hearts which he only knew were human and depraved, and by whose schemes these incalculable blessings will be perpetuated through ages to come, received no pension for his services to the state; but bequeathed a wife and family to be saved from pauperism by the practical influence of that charity, which he had so eminently taught and practised. The philosopher, however, whose pernicious scepticism has probably wrecked the moral principles of thousands, was flattered and rewarded while

he lived, and, when dead, finds a conspicuous place in the records of fame. But there is a better record than that of fame; and better kept; where the name of the philanthropist has found a place, and where it would be a real joy to think that the philosopher had found one also, however humble.

Of Mr. Hume's PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS, on which we now propose to offer some remarks, it will be difficult to speak, within the limits prescribed to this article, in sufficient detail to give the reader even a general notion of the whole. His subjects are very miscellaneous, take a wide range, and intermeddle in the discussion of them, with first principles in almost every region of human knowledge. The utmost we can attempt is to touch upon a few prominent points. His 'treatise of Human Nature,' which, subsequently, he endeavoured to replace by a more matured 'Inquiry concerning Human Understanding,' was the boldest, and unquestionably the most able, attack which had ever been made in this country upon all the principles both of human knowledge and belief. Its author took the rank of a master in the school of universal scepticism. The latter work, which he was so exceedingly anxious to have substituted for the unripe fruit of his youthful speculations, differed nothing in the essentials of the system from its precursor; but merely softened and corrected those matters in argument or illustration, which his maturer judgment disapproved. In the course of all his writings, whether on metaphysical, moral, political, or theological subjects, the same leading principles are either openly repeated, or may be traced, as directing the current of his thoughts, and the entire cast of his reasonings.

His starting point in philosophy was eternal necessity— immutable law—unintelligent, inexorable fate—and this notion he laboured to carry out through every region of thought; just as if the entire universe, material and immaterial, could be explained in analogy with a complicated piece of mechanism, as utterly removed from the supremacy of wisdom and benevolence, or any moral principle whatever, as the movement of a pendulum, or the concretion of atoms in a stone. If there is a '*Dry-as-dust*' in literature, there is, also, as '*Hard-as-steel*,' and '*Cold-as-stone*, in philosophy—and here it is. It was, indeed, as Sir James Mackintosh has observed, though we pretend not to quote his words, a remarkable, a highly memorable fact, that this philosopher, who was not himself destitute of the emotions of benevolence, nor insensible to their value in human society, nor sceptical even of their deep root in the human constitution, could yet contemplate with satisfaction, and even announce to the world, with the authority of what he believed to be the highest philosophy—the total absence of benevolence from the

throne of the universe. Yet he never attempts to explain how such a principle could have arisen and become prevalent in human nature, if it had not formed an essential part of those laws which govern human nature. The sceptical philosophy altogether seems to assort ill with the notion to which we have just alluded; for that which results from absolute and universal necessity, ought to offer the most stable and immutable foundations for human knowledge. Where nothing is left to be accounted for by the exercise of free-will, either in the supreme agent or in inferior ones, where no abstract notion of voluntary and invisible power is admitted, but every thing reduced under the law of invariable necessity, there the succession of cause and effect is unquestionably placed in the keeping of this *à priori* necessity. Yet the philosopher commenced his career, not by simply attempting to prove that nothing was certainly known, but that it was impossible to know any thing, so as to justify belief; and that, from the very nature of man's understanding, he is doomed to utter and hopeless ignorance and uncertainty. The theory of speculation which had thus led to universal scepticism, is, in itself, innocuous and powerless; provided it be kept fully up to the point of universality; because then everything remains in the same relation to every other thing; and the theory itself, becoming implicated in its own principle, is resolved into the absurdity of believing that there can be no belief, which is as comfortless a dilemma as any understanding can reach, and as direct and palpable a contradiction as any stupidity can construct. The very effort to reason the mind into universal scepticism, is just an attempt to employ the powers and laws of the mind to stultify themselves, and to reason in direct opposition to those principles of the human mind upon which alone any reasoning can be founded. That argumentation which explodes all principles of knowledge and belief, can really invalidate none; and the only danger, therefore, to be apprehended from the sceptical philosophy is, its partial application. If the sceptic will assert that the mathematician can no more prove the principles of his science than the theologian his, and that all the principles of metaphysical philosophy are just as destitute of proof, as all those of natural religion and natural philosophy, then each party may safely remain just where he was; and his science may retain its relation to all the other branches of human knowledge undisturbed. In this case nothing is endangered or destroyed, but the reputation of the sceptic himself, who, when all other arguments fail, may be told, that the laws of human nature are too strong for his philosophy; and that he cannot, if he would, make his scepticism a practical system; that indeed he never intends to do so; but must inevitably con-

tinue to act upon those principles of knowledge and belief, whatever they may be, which bear the denomination of common sense. But the mischief of sceptical philosophy has always consisted in the dishonesty of its abettors, and the partial application of its principles. No man ever argued more forcibly against all belief than Mr. Hume, and yet no man ever proved more clearly, both in argument and practice, that many things could be certainly known, ought to be believed, and ought to become rules and laws of human action. So that, while no man ever laboured more energetically to sap the foundations of human knowledge and belief, yet no one was guilty of greater inconsistency, or greater injustice, by the limited application of his own theory. Had he carried out his sceptical philosophy fully and fairly to every department, it would have brought, as we have shown, its own antidote along with it; and the philosopher would have been compelled to take refuge in the region of common sense. But, unhappily, he reduced it to practice exclusively against the principles of natural and revealed religion.

This was not the only logical inconsistency in which his philosophy involved him. His doctrine of cause and effect, which we shall presently notice, stands forth in memorable contrast to his doctrine of eternal necessity. His notion of cause and effect seems to exclude all idea of necessary connexion, and to assert that our idea of causation, the result exclusively of experience and observation, not only contains no conception of *à priori* necessity, but that there really *exists no absolute power* which connects effects with causes; and that there is nothing beyond, or additional to, precedents and sequents. Consequently the idea of an absolute necessity, or a preexisting and predetermined *nexus* between cause and effect, seems to be precluded. Yet, on the other hand, his eternal law of necessity involving both matter and mind, seems to remove the doctrine of causation farther back than he has represented in his treatise on that subject, and to place it under the power of this *à priori* law, which is introduced to supply the place of the common notion of a deity; but which does not really embody the notion itself of that secret and impalpable power, against which his entire argument upon causation seems to be directed. There is one view, however, in which his theory of absolute necessity, and his theory of causation may be identified; and that is in the denial of ruling, intelligent power; to exclude which both theories appear to have been constructed, and in which, therefore, they agree. If, however, in one theory he denies all power, and admits nothing but the juxta-position of phenomena, yet in the other, he felt compelled to uphold the notion of an invisible

power, under the name of a law invariably executing itself. Thus it seems impossible to reconcile the two theories; and his philosophy, in the one case or the other, becomes worthless. To us it appears utterly inconsistent, to say, we have, and can have, no idea of any *à priori* power in causes, or necessary connexion between them and their effects, and yet to say that every known and observed cause and effect is under a law of universal and absolute necessity.

Upon his theory of causation itself we shall now offer a few observations. The subject, though treated by him in a very confused manner, may be divided into two branches; the first is an attempt to analyse the idea of causation, in which he concludes that antecedents and sequents are the total both of our idea and of the thing itself;—the second is an argument to show, that we acquire the idea of causation exclusively by experience and observation, and that, consequently, it falls under the law of association of ideas. Of the first part of this theory, as opposed to the notion of active power, so strenuously maintained by Reid, and backed by Stewart, it may be sufficient here to say, that while Hume challenges the production or proof of any power or of any relation between cause and effect, beyond that of invariable juxtaposition; his opponents, on the other hand, insist, that our notion of cause and effect is not exhausted by his explanation, and can never find its equivalent in the mere relation of time expressed by antecedence and sequence. The controversy between these opposing philosophers seems to be reduced to this issue; the one side challenges the proof that there is anything more, and the other side defies the proof that there is nothing more than the alleged antecedence and sequence. For our own part we are inclined to think that this portion of Hume's theory when elucidated fully, and corrected, as it is, very ably, by Dr. Brown, and as perhaps its author would have improved it, does sufficiently explain, if not the absolute reality of causation, yet all our knowledge, and perhaps all that can be logically said to be contained in our idea of it.

The other branch of Hume's theory respecting the manner in which the idea is first formed, is, we conceive, much more open to formidable objection. It cannot be by the law of association, nor by experience of repeated instances, that we come to form the notion of one thing being a cause and another the effect. Mr. Hume's exposition of his doctrine is given in the following extract:—

'Every idea is copied from some preceding impression or sentiment; and where we cannot find any impression, we may be certain that there is no idea. In all single instances of the operation of bodies or minds, there is nothing that produces any impression, nor

consequently can suggest any idea of power or necessary connexion. But when many uniform instances appear, and the same object is always followed by the same event, we then begin to entertain the notion of cause and connexion. We then *feel* a new sentiment or impression, to wit, a customary connexion in the thought or imagination between one object and its usual attendant; and this sentiment is the original of that idea which we seek for. For as this idea arises from a number of similar instances, and not from any single instance, it must arise from that circumstance in which the number of instances differ from every individual instance But this customary connexion or transition of the imagination is the only circumstance in which they differ. In every other particular they are alike.'—*Inquiry concerning Human Understanding*, sec. VII.

Several parts of this paragraph are as false, in point of fact, as the whole is fallacious in respect of reasoning. Let us take the very first sentence:—'Every idea is copied from some preceding impression or sentiment.' How then can first ideas and first impressions of all the different classes be accounted for? If every idea is copied from a preceding one, then let us know after what copy our first idea was formed? The doctrine is either nonsense, or it presupposes innate ideas. But no philosophy ever precluded more effectually and completely that notion than Mr. Hume's. If, then, we have no innate ideas, the first we ever gained can be a copy of no prior one; and till we have at least one idea fixed and formed distinctly in the mind, perfectly independent of every other idea, it would be impossible, upon Mr. Hume's showing, that we could ever acquire a copy, and consequently, if the first is necessarily a copy, we can have no idea at all.

But let us proceed to the next sentence. He says: 'In all single instances of the operation of bodies or minds, there is nothing that produces any impression, nor consequently can suggest any idea of power or necessary connexion. But when many uniform instances appear, and the same object is always followed by the same event, we then begin to entertain the notion of cause and connexion.' But if there were no intuitive tendency in the human mind to attribute effects to causes, no law constraining it to infer a connexion in the cases supposed, it would be exceedingly difficult to imagine why, if the first phenomenon had failed to produce any impression, a second, a third or a fourth of a like kind, should suggest an idea for the first time, which could be a copy of no one previously existing. The very fact, however, upon which Hume rests for the confirmation of his theory, is false; for it is certain beyond dispute that first impressions of phenomena, where antecedence and sequence are observed, suggest the idea of causation just as certainly as at the

second or the tenth repetition. When a child is stung by a bee or a wasp for the first time in his life, if he perceives the insect at the point where the pain is felt, he has just as strong an impression that it was the cause of his pain, as he ever acquires afterwards, though he may be stung a hundred times. It is certainly incorrect to say, that we never gain the idea of causation but by many uniform instances; for it is an idea very easily suggested to the mind. Repeated instances assist us to form a more correct judgment in any particular case; but the idea of the causes of our sensations is very nearly synchronous, if not quite so, with the sensations themselves, and is as clear and strong in the mind of a child as it ever becomes in future life. The philosophy of Hume would go to prove that children, whose impressions are all new, of every kind, and of which there must be, in every case, a *first*, could in no case have any idea whatever of causes and effects till they had experienced many impressions, 'for only then,' he says, 'do we *begin* to entertain the notion of cause and connexion.' On the other hand, the tendency of the human mind is to too sudden and too implicit a conclusion of such cause and connexion, before repeated instances have furnished grounds for judging correctly in all cases. The first exercises of thought in children show that their errors do not arise from their disconnecting effects from causes, or from the total absence of all notion of causation from their minds, when phenomena are contiguous in time and place, but in the too hasty and prompt application of that idea to mere juxta-position, and the too great proneness to infer causation on first impressions without waiting for experience. The first taste of anything bitter or sweet as certainly suggests to the child, that the thing put into his mouth was the cause of his pleasant or unpleasant sensation, as any number of repetitions can do. His ejection of the thing that caused the sensation of bitterness, and his reluctance ever again to admit the same thing to his mouth, and, on the other hand, his eagerness after the same object as produced the sensation of sweetness the first time, would be sufficient to convince any one, that the idea of causation is suggested on first impressions, whether correctly or incorrectly is not of the slightest moment, for every thing depends upon the question whether we gain the idea intuitively or according to Mr. Hume's doctrine, by the law of association. To us it appears, that if the idea in question does not come with the first impression, it cannot be produced by any repetitions of similar impressions; for there can be nothing in the second more than there was in the first, nor in the third more than there was in the second, to suggest any additional idea which could find previously no copy in the mind. Mr. Hume's theory seems to

omit or overlook the fact of our necessary, implicit, belief in the information conveyed by our senses. Our intuitive confidence in the truth of these sensations is the basis of that reasoning upon them, which, from observed contiguity in time and place, leads us to refer internal sensations to their external causes. Both this intuitive belief in the truth of one sensation, and the inferences, as to causation, to which our reasoning propensity leads us, are ultimate laws of our constitution, which no philosophy can ever set aside or alter, though it may assist in regulating and correcting the conclusions which are formed in particular instances. The idea of causation seems to be the immediate and natural result of that reasoning which follows upon the observed connexion between an external object and an internal impression, which the very first instance or experience of their conjunction suggests to the mind. The reasoning into which the mind enters upon any specific case, is the application of the axiom arising from the very laws of our mental nature, that every phenomenon must have a cause, and that every observed change is produced by something. That something in each case the mind intuitively finds, or believes itself to find, in that object which it perceives to be contiguous to the effect; and hence its inference or conception which makes out the whole doctrine of causation, that similar antecedents under similar circumstances will always be followed by like consequences. This idea of causation does certainly not require repeated instances to give it birth, though it may require them to correct and establish confidence in it.

Mr. Hume's antipathy to received opinions upon all fundamental subjects, and his determination to invalidate them, seem to have seduced him into those sweeping generalizations, by which he thought to make short work both with natural and revealed religion. Thus, in his 'Dialogues on natural religion,' he constructs an argument which he believed would for ever preclude all attempts to demonstrate the existence of a Deity, because, if valid, it would reach the high point of showing, that the being of a God was a thing impossible to be proved. In like manner, in reference to revealed religion, he had, as he believed, proved, in another part of his writings, that its chief evidence resulting from miracles, under which term he endeavours to bring prophecy, would be entirely subverted by that ingenious argument which he had constructed to show, that miracles never could, by any amount of testimony, become credible. He imagined, moreover, that he had effectually closed the door against the *à posteriori* argument for the being of a God, because nothing could be inferred of necessary connection between cause and effect; and farther, because the

exclusion of invisible power from our notion of causes, seemed to exclude any inference from natural effects and causes to the existence of any supreme being sustaining the whole. Moreover, the entire tendency of his ethical theory went to depreciate the virtues, and elevate the vices, by bringing both to a much nearer equality than any other moral philosopher. It has been confessed, even by favourable and partial commentators, that he has unquestionably been much too lenient and palliative towards many vices which he is constrained to acknowledge are hostile to social happiness, and ill assorted with his favourite theory of general utility. The same tendency to reduce all mankind to a common level is observable in his great historical work. He is cold and unimpassioned towards all the inspirations of patriotism, liberty, and heroism; labours hard to sully their glory; and is equally artful and assiduous to extenuate the worst of characters, and whitewash their crimes, that he may sustain his favourite theory of moral equality.

Upon his vaunted argument against the proof of an intelligent first cause, which has so greatly tended to sustain atheism in speculative minds, and which has been so generally acquiesced in by philosophers, we shall present a passage from a work which was some months ago introduced to our readers.

In part IX. of his dialogues concerning natural religion, he says, 'I shall begin with observing, that there is an evident absurdity in pretending to demonstrate a matter of fact, or to prove it by any arguments *à priori*. Nothing is demonstrable, unless the contrary implies a contradiction. Whatever we conceive as existent, we can also conceive as non-existent. There is nothing, therefore, whose non-existence implies a contradiction. Consequently, there is no being whose existence is demonstrable. I propose this argument as entirely decisive, and am willing to rest the whole controversy upon it.'

'It may be remarked, that since Mr. Hume rests the whole controversy upon that argument, our atheists may be thoroughly assured, that if it turn out to be the very reverse of clear and satisfactory, his cause is a mighty bad one. 'There is,' says Mr. Hume, 'an evident absurdity in pretending to demonstrate a matter of fact, or to prove it by any arguments *à priori*.' *Because* Mr. Hume *has said so*, many take the existence of the absurdity for granted, who, perhaps, have never seriously weighed the evidence of its reality. The sceptical argument against any *à priori* argument for any matter of fact, is happily very easily answered. And for the reason already brought out, if it can but be shown, that it is weak and most unsatisfactory, we have his authority for the good sense there is in pretending to demonstrate at least one matter of fact.

'He opens his argument in the following manner.—'Nothing

is demonstrable, unless the contrary implies a contradiction. Nothing that is distinctly conceivable implies a contradiction.' Both these propositions are granted, to the fullest extent. But that which follows,—'Whatever *we conceive as existent, we can also conceive as non-existent,*' is most completely to be denied. 'I demand of any one to remove any part of pure space from another, with which it is connected, even so much *as in thought.* I would fain meet with that thinking man, that can, *in his thought,* set any bounds to *space,* more than he can to duration; or, by thinking, hope to arrive at the end of either.'—*Locke.* 'As the order of the parts of time is *immutable,* so also is the order of the parts of *space.* To remove these from their places, were (as I may say) to remove them from themselves.'—*Newton's Princip.* 'He that can suppose eternity and immensity removed out of the universe, may, if he pleases, as easily remove the relation of equality between twice two and four.'—*Dr. S. Clarke.* (Similar extracts are given from Butler's 'Analogy,' Dr. I. Watts. President Edwards, Dr. Reid, and Dugald Stewart. The author then proceeds) 'Now here we have, just by way of specimen, eight individuals of the utmost veracity and intelligence, asserting, in express terms, or in terms from which the inference is necessary, that they *cannot conceive the non-existence of space.* To add any thing to the foregoing authorities were perhaps superfluous. They are clear and satisfactory. Mr. Hume, therefore, is entirely wrong in appealing to our mental constitution, when he says, '*Whatever we conceive as existent, we can also conceive as non-existent.*' We cannot conceive *space* as non-existent. His proposition, therefore, must undergo this modification, at least,—whatever, with the exception of space, we conceive to exist, we can also conceive not to exist. The conclusion from his argument,—'consequently, there is no being whose existence is demonstrable,'—must, therefore, be limited to this extent, if no farther,—consequently there is no being, except space, or, if space be not a being, the being which it necessarily supposes, whose existence is demonstrable. Now, as that exhibition of the *à priori* argument for the being of a Deity, which we are concerned to defend, lays hold on space as its foundation or groundwork; if infinite space be a property, or mode of existence, as theologians express themselves, of a supreme mind, then, unless we cannot ascend from the property to the substance invested with it, the being of a supreme mind is a thing demonstrable, is a necessary truth, our atheist himself being judge. What has now become of Mr. Hume's argument against any *à priori* argument for any matter of fact? It has turned out to be, indeed, the farthest thing possible from being clear and satisfactory.'*

* Gillespie's Necessary Existence of God.

We shall now advert briefly to the celebrated argument against the belief of miracles. This is one of the most remarkable instances in all his works, of his propensity to form those sweeping generalizations to which we have before alluded, and which, in so many instances, notwithstanding his preeminent subtlety, have been shown to be rash, and deficient in philosophical precision and comprehensiveness. His argument sets out with an attempt, most obviously dishonest, to show that it is sanctioned by the authority of the eminent Archbishop Tillotson, who, in his reasoning against the doctrine of transubstantiation, insists, that the evidence of our senses can never be destroyed by the evidence of testimony. But Hume failed to point out, that the conflicting proofs must, according to Dr. Tillotson's argument, *both relate to the same matter of fact*,—that is to say, in a given case, if the evidence of our senses be on one side, and testimony be offered against that evidence, we must conclude that the evidence of our senses is stronger than the evidence of testimony. But the argument of Mr. Hume against the belief of miracles, is in no respect parallel to this. That argument may be described in substance as follows: that a miracle being contrary to the usual course of nature, and opposed to universal experience, no testimony whatever can make it credible. But it is to be observed, that in the case of any specific miracle for which testimony is offered, it is pre-supposed that there is no evidence whatever before our senses on that particular fact, and no counter testimony to invalidate that which is supposed to be in its favour. The argument constructed upon general experience no doubt grew out of Mr. Hume's doctrine of causation, and his deep-rooted notion of eternal necessity, which admitted of no voluntary exercise of power, and seemed to preclude all idea of novel causes and unique effects. On the other hand, it seems to have struck him, that the possible falseness of human testimony supplied a good background to throw into full light the argument, that the course of nature is necessary and invariable. The conclusion appeared tempting, that a miracle which is supposed to be an interruption of this necessary law of cause and effect, is the introduction of an entirely new cause, and can therefore never take place. Hence the man who was so averse to *à priori* reasonings, becomes himself their patron, by adopting an argument, *à priori*, against the possibility of proving a miracle.

The worst part, however, of his essay upon this subject, is the half-apologizing, half-sneering manner in which he alludes to the bearing of his argument upon Christianity. It is hard to conceive that he could persuade himself into the belief, that the hypocrisy of the following sentences would not be transparent:

'Our most holy religion is founded on faith, not on reason; and it is a sure method of exposing it, to put it to such a trial as it is by no means fitted to endure;'—and again, 'as if the testimony of man could ever be put in the balance with that of God himself, who conducted the pen of the inspired writers.'

It has been well remarked by the author of the present life, that 'the leading principle of this theory is, in conformity with its author's law of cause and effect, that where once our experience has taught us that two things follow each other as cause and effect, by an unvarying sequence, if we hear of an instance in which this has not been the case, we ought to doubt the truth of the narrative. In other words, if we are told of some circumstance having taken place out of the usual order of nature, we ought not to believe it; because the circumstance of the narrator having been deceived, or of his designedly telling a falsehood, is more probable than an event contradictory to all previous authenticated experience. It is a rule for marking the boundary and proper application of the inductive system, and one that is highly serviceable to science. But, in applying it to use, we must not be led away by the narrow application, in common conversation, of the word experience. There is the experience of the common workman, and there is the experience of the philosopher. There is that observation of phenomena which makes a ditcher know that the difficulty of pulling out the loosened stone with a mattock, indicates it to be so many inches thick; and that observation, fully as sure, which shews the geologist that the stratum of the Pennsylvanian grauwacke is upwards of a hundred miles thick. The experience and observation of the husbandman teach him, that when the opposite hill is distinct to his view, the intervening atmosphere is not charged with vapour; but observation, not less satisfactory, shews the astronomer that Jupiter and the moon have around them no atmosphere such as that by which our planet is enveloped. Now, there is nothing more fully founded on experimental observation than the fact, that there was a time when the present order of the world was not in existence. That there have been convulsions, such as, did we now hear of their contemporary occurrence, instead of attesting their past existence through the sure course of observation and induction, we would at once maintain to be impossible. To this, then, and this only, comes the theory of miracles, that, at the present day, and for a great many years back, the accounts that are given of circumstances having taken place out of the general order of nature, are to be discredited, because between the two things to be believed, the falsehood of the narrative is more likely than

the truth of the occurrence. But the very means by which we arrive at this conclusion, bring us to another, that there was a time to which the rules taken from the present observation of the course of nature did not apply.' In a note, the author observes, 'This matter seems, on another occasion, to have passed under his own view. In the 'Dialogues concerning Natural Religion,' he makes Philo say, 'Strong and almost incontestible proofs may be traced over the whole earth, that every part of this globe has continued for many ages covered with water. Although order were supposed inseparable from matter, and inherent in it, yet may matter be susceptible of many and great revolutions through the endless periods of eternal duration.' That even Hume's argument makes allowance for miracles having some time or other existed, and that it can only be urged against this or that individual statement of an unnatural occurrence, is the weapon which Campbell wields with chief effect in his admirable dissertation.'—*Life*, vol. i., pp. 282, 283.

Mr. Burton has very properly pointed out the danger of being led astray by the use of the term *experience*, since it admits of all but infinite degrees, according to the observation of individuals. But he might have added, that its continued extension is constantly supplying corrections of its former information, and of the conclusions drawn from it. We must be permitted to add, also, that there is a deception practised in Mr. Hume's idea on which his whole argument is founded, of *a certain and universal experience*. There exists no such thing as human experience beyond each person's own consciousness. The extension of the idea of experience towards universality, that is the collected experience of all men in all times and places, is an accumulation of experiences founded on testimony. Each one's own experience may be confirmed, corrected, or contradicted by that of others; but then the individual so endeavouring to collect the universal experience of mankind is compelled to admit the credibility of human testimony. Now this testimony, with regard to causes and effects which other men observe, must be subjected to the ordinary rules which establish our faith in testimony. But then this very foundation on which rests, what Hume calls, universal experience is not the evidence of our own senses, but that very same evidence of testimony on which our faith is claimed for miracles. The sceptical philosopher endeavoured to set his doctrine of universal experience in the light of personal evidence from sense, and so to overbear and explode that faith which Christians repose in the testimony afforded to miracles. His whole argument, however, depends upon the truth of the

representation that our own experience is necessarily stronger than any human testimony offered to us. But the analysis of the argument shows, that the notion of universal experience itself rests upon the foundation of human testimony. The attempt, therefore, to close the door against human testimony in the case of miracles is obviously unfair, and must necessarily fall to the ground. As long as human testimony is clear and unimpeachable, and is rebutted by no testimony, in the particular case, from our own personal experience, it must be as valid in proving a strange as in proving a common event. Mr. Hume has shown no good reason why testimony should be a sufficient ground for his notion of universal experience—and an insufficient ground for the Christian's faith in miracles. No argument can set that evidence aside, but that which goes to a direct invalidation of the testimony in each particular case. We must conclude that Mr. Hume employed his notion of universal experience against the force of testimony either dishonestly, or with a complete oversight of the identity of its basis with the basis of belief in miracles.

At the same time we fully admit, and lay it down as a distinct principle, that just in proportion to the singularity and apparent improbability, or even impossibility, of the fact testified, ought to be the strength, abundance and clearness of the testimony adduced in its support. The friends of revelation have never been unwilling that the testimony for the sacred miracles should be examined with the utmost severity, and that no fair means of testing its credibility should be overlooked. Our controversy with such objectors as Mr. Hume and his followers is, not that they subject the testimony of the witnesses to too searching a test, but that theypresume to say, no testimony whatever can establish a miracle, and so supersede all examination, by setting up their supposed *universal experience* against testimony, when, as we have shown, their notion of experience is itself only a collection of testimonies. The whole argument is reducible to this,—a witness is credible, yea, all witnesses are credible, when they speak in conformation of my own experience, but unworthy of credit when they testify to anything which surpasses it.

But we must dismiss the subject, having already trespassed upon the attention of our readers beyond our usual limits, and we fear with discussions which too many will deem dry and uninteresting, though others may attach to them no inconsiderable importance.

Of Mr. Burton's 'Life of Mr. Hume' we can say, that it is the most complete and the best written that has yet appeared in a distinct form, and with advantages which no previous

biographer of Hume has enjoyed. The author might have indulged in comment further than he has done; but what he has said by way of disquisition upon any of the multifarious topics that arise, is generally well said; and, upon the whole, we can commend his work as a piece of excellent and interesting biography.

Art. V.—*Scotland, its Faith and its Features; or, a Visit to Blair Athol.* By the Rev. Francis Trench. In 2 vols. London: R. Bentley.

To the imagination it presents a pleasing picture of antiquated comfort, to realize a gentleman and his lady starting together in a pony chaise on a long journey through a pleasant, and to them, an unknown country. Let them be supposed to have plenty of leisure, plenty of money, plenty of introductions to agreeable friends, and withal, a fair proportion of the love of nature and the love of each other, and we confess that we could envy them such a trip. The steam-engines of the rail-roads may puff away as they please, as if in self-admiration, or pant, as with excessive exertion, to hasten to their destined goal;—give us, we say, at least occasionally, the time and the means for a good old English way of proceeding over hill and dale, with a companionship to stimulate our intellect, and to sympathize with our observations. Let us start on a bright summer morning—not exactly in the sultry season, and not without the grateful interchanges of sun and cloud—nay, even if you will, of fitful showers to refresh the face of nature, and teach us, by little temporary inconveniences, the more to relish the felicities of our lot;—let us have British hearts within, and British landscapes without;—good roads, well-fed animals, a strong-built vehicle, comfortable inns, and the et cetera of our country's accommodation, and we shall be quite willing to pass at right angles from the noisy train, nor hear its ominous whistle for a month.

It is not, however, for mere amusement that the man of property, and especially the clergyman, like our author, should travel. While pursuing enjoyment or gaining health, it is wise to gather information, and then to communicate it to others. Mr. Trench has acted on this principle: he has made pleasure subservient to usefulness, and knowledge to religion; and although there be a certain degree of superficiality pervading the whole, which often prompts rather than satisfies inquiry, we thank him for his not unpleasing or unprofitable volume.

At Kendal, whither our author had proceeded by leisurely

myself unexpectedly among a crowd of the workmen, of above two hundred in number, who, in consequence of a slight shower, had collected under the shelter of some trees. I was in a certain degree known to some of them, and they immediately collected in a circle round me; many of them asking me what I wanted among them; some of them charging me with being a character very unpopular with them, that is, a teetotaller, and others with being a ranter, mixing with their observations oaths, threats, and no slight share of ridicule. 'What do you come among us for?' 'Don't you know that we are like a set of wild horses, who wouldn't mind knocking your brains out?' or, 'We don't care for such chaps as you.' 'All we want is beef and beer, and a good song.' However, at the same time a few were endeavouring to get for me a hearing. I had a small bible in my hand, and took advantage of a lull in the storm of tongues to commence the perusal of our Lord's words on the brazen serpent. By raising my voice. and making some quick answers to some of the most direct and troublesome opponents, I was enabled, after a few minutes, to obtain perfect silence, which I thankfully employed in preaching the gospel of Christ, according to the glorious passage which I had just read. I have seldom witnessed a more striking change than that which came over the countenances and the mien of these rough and (as it might have seemed a few minutes before) impenetrable men. Tears appeared in many eyes when I had done. Some shook hands with me; many thanked me. All contradiction, abuse, and ridicule, had passed away. I trust that much good ensued, and indeed it would have been wrong and faithless to doubt it.'—vol. i. pp. 50—55.

From Kendal, our traveller pursues his way through Penrith, where he is frightened from the premises of Lord Brougham by the dread of encountering a rebuke for intrusion from one so endowed with the *copia fandi*, and a dangerous severity. Knowing something of his lordship, we should unhesitatingly say, that this was a miscalculation; for, while he may be freakish, eccentric, and caustic enough in his public station, he would have been very likely to welcome even a clerical intrusionist, whom curiosity had brought to his country domain. He is never savage when admired or wondered at. His passion is fame. However, escaping from this awful dilemma, Mr. Trench goes right on, with passing remarks—often too cursory—through Carlisle, Gretna Green, Annandale, to Glasgow; Loch Lomond, the Trosachs, Stirling, and other places, to Edinburgh; landing us at length in a long report and discussion of the Free Church question, which every one by this time pretty well understands. He, not unnaturally, as a clergyman of the English establishment, takes care to give his own views, and those of his community, of what '*our* church' thinks and prescribes, in regard to ecclesiastical matters.

Our author hardly makes so much of Blair Athol as we had expected. However, we must give him the opportunity of expressing in our pages his impressions of Scotch mountain scenery, in which we fully participate.

'I must here introduce a few words on the leading and characteristic features of the Scotch mountains, as they struck me on comparing them in my memory, not only with others of Great Britain and Ireland, but also with their Alpine and Pyrenean brethren. In line and extent, uninterrupted by plains, cultivated land, or human habitation, they *seem* equal to the mountains of any land; because, though of more limited dimensions, geographically speaking, still they quite fill up and exceed any compass of the most far-seeing eye. As to height, they are, of course, far inferior to the great mountain chains of Europe; and they do not rear up the abrupt and sharp pinnacles, *les aiguilles*, either covered with snow, or shooting aloft in bare rocky points, which form so much of the beholder's delight and admiration on the borders of Spain, and still more in Switzerland. In lakes, they are far superior to any in the Pyrenees, and far inferior to the Alps. To me their chief charms, as a matter of comparison with all other mountains which I have ever seen, consist in their colour, and in the details of their surface. Their colour is perfect, chiefly in consequence of the purple heather—the varied and lovely vest thrown over them by the great Creator of these 'everlasting hills.' It is at all times beautiful, and specially so when brought out into rich and bold relief by the rays of the glowing sun. Never did I see 'the morning and evening spread upon the mountains' with a more admiring eye; and, to my mind, neither the verdure of meadow and pasturage, nor clothing trees, nor glistening snow, nor any other garb is near so lovely as this truly Scottish hue—almost claimed as their national colour, and that not without right.

'Again, the details of their surface are a constant source of pleasure to the eye. For, once that a traveller enjoys a wide and extensive scene, he must and will gaze, perhaps hundreds of times, at foregrounds close to his path. Now, one cannot look upon the face or side of a Scotch mountain, without looking into a most picturesque intermixture of rocky eminence, sinking hollow, called here a 'quarry,' or dark winding water-course, with grey, brown, purple, and green hues, most harmoniously intermixed.

'Such is my attempt, faint as it is, to transfer to my page a few of my own impressions with regard to these Scottish scenes; and I say to the traveller, however familiar he may be with 'Alps and Appenines, the Pyrenean, and the river Po,' do not listen to those who would persuade you that, having seen what Europe can thus offer, Scotland's mountains will seem tame. Do not listen to them! Visit the land, and judge for yourself; and I hope you will have such a sunshine to brighten them before you, as that which now lights them up around me; a breeze, such as that which now, according to

Shakespeare's accurate description of Scotch air, 'nimbly and sweetly recommends itself' to our senses; an atmosphere, as that which now so sharply and distinctly marks every rise and every fall in the line of their border aloft; and may we both join in fervent adoration of their great and glorious Maker, who in his wisdom and might has bound the earth with each chain, ridge, and cluster of his everlasting hills.'—vol. ii. pp. 31—34.

About seven miles before reaching Stirling, the traveller finds himself at Dumblane; a spot far more consecrated than the former, though that is celebrated for its historical associations; for it presents to the view of the Christian a great moral example of concentrated virtues in the fadeless image of Archbishop Leighton. The pomp of the worship, and the splendour of the architecture belonging once to that now roofless cathedral, seem eclipsed in the retrospect by the true glory shining forth from the character of that illustrious man. *He* lives, though these outward things are in ruins; and, by his example, and his writings, will ever live cotemporaneous, as it were, with all posterity. Part of the old structure, however, as in almost every building of the kind in Scotland, is occupied for Presbyterian service. It is no wonder that with such bright examples in her ecclesiastical records, and such an universal system of education as that which distinguishes Scotland, the country should be remarkable for the observance of the sabbath. The following is a truly characteristic story. It displays at once religious feeling and moral courage. A geologist, while in the country, and having his pocket-hammer with him, took it out, and was chopping the rocks on the way-side for examination. His proceedings were noticed by an old Scotch woman.—'What are you doing there, man?' 'Don't you see: I'm breaking a stone.' 'Y'are doing mair than that; y'are breaking the sabbath.' One would hope the reproof was effectual. At least it deserved to be so.

One is always interested in whatever relates to so distinguished a man as Sir W. Scott; and as we find two original anecdotes of him in these volumes, our readers will probably thank us for transferring them to our pages. They were detailed by an intelligent man who was game-keeper and fisherman to a proprietor in the neighbourhood of Abbotsford.

'Like so many others in this neighbourhood, he had much information at command, from personal observation, on the character and habits of Sir Walter Scott. One story which he told, illustrated his gentleness and kindliness of spirit. Another his energy, courage, and determination. I insert them both, believing them original, so far as print is concerned.

'The first was, that one day when Sir Walter went into Selkirk, as sheriff, with a new and highly varnished carriage, he had no sooner descended, and gone out of sight, than a crowd of children gathered around, and some of them began to rub the panels of the doors, with their fingers, by way of clearing away the dust, but certainly in a manner likely to prove of serious detriment to the brightness and beauty of the equipage. Sir Walter, on returning from his business, came up to them while thus employed; and, instead of scolding them, kindly told them to listen to him, said, 'he was very glad they should see his fine carriage, that he hoped to come into town again with it, and that they might all come and look at it as long as they liked; but if they rubbed the panels and spoiled them, it would not be near so pretty, and he hoped none of them would ever touch it again, as they would be very sorry to see it scratched and spoiled!' J— O— added, in the most feeling manner: 'That was always his way: so kind, so familiar; and, if the carriage had stood in the street till now, not a bairn would have touched it again.'

'The second story was one which illustrated Sir Walter's boldness and energetic presence of mind, when the display of such characteristics was requisite. At a time when he was advancing in age, and weak from ill health, he was one day sitting in the court as sheriff, trying several poachers:—'and you know, sir,' said J— O—, (turning round to me with a 'canny' look, and shewing the *looks* of the gamekeeper), what desperate characters those poachers are!' All the officers in attendance had gone out of court, each taking an offender away, as each case was adjudged. Still, however, there was one prisoner remaining, a very strong and determined fellow. This man, seeing there was nobody left to watch or guard him, all at once said, 'I shall go away,' and, suiting the action to the word, strode fiercely and rapidly towards the door. Sir Walter immediately rose from his seat of justice, hastened to the place of exit, which was nearer to him, intercepted the man's progress, and clenching his hand, said—'No! If you leave this room, it shall be over the body of your old sheriff.' The man was abashed, turned about, and went quietly back to his appointed place.'—vol. ii. p. 244—246.

On reading the references to Sir Walter, we were on the point of breathing forth an earnest desire that his genius had been consecrated to the highest purposes, when we were suddenly arrested by the following passage in speaking of his little study:—

'How marvellous it is to think that sitting here, and usually writing with rapidity, quick as hand could act, he swayed the feelings of men in all civilized lands! Oh for such a display of genius, mental power, and mastery over the minds of men in behalf of divine truth, according to the gospel of Christ! Such was the thought which passed over my mind ere I quitted the place. But was it scriptural? I believe not. 'The kingdom of God cometh not with

observation,' but is still, like its Master, in the day of his humiliation, a tender plant, 'a root out of a dry ground,'—not the result of human skill, power, attainment, or attractiveness—tending to the glory of God, and not of any man—making, and to make its progress by humble and obscure means, and not by such as those which dazzle and arrest universal attention in one day—the day of a novel's birth into the world from the pen of Sir Walter Scott.'

Now, we must confess, this does appear to us a fastidious sort of piety; and we take the opportunity of remarking on it because it is a clerical pietism, peculiar, as we believe, to the excellent class of evangelical churchmen — excellent, notwithstanding— which has a tendency rather to foster than remove the prejudices of many against real religion. Why we should not rejoice in the numerous instances, or wish their multiplication, of men of the noblest intellectual eminence, who have, or may yet consecrate their talents to the purpose of directly propagating the gospel, we cannot divine. Are we to interpret the language, 'The kingdom of God cometh not with observation,' as meaning that it is to come either without means, or that those who aim to promote it are to eschew the best order of instrumentality, rather adhering to the worst. If there be any use in means at all, surely the most energetic, the most adapted, the most effective should be sought; and who will question that in these respects vigour is better than dullness, learning than illiteracy, skill than weakness? But we need not pursue the argument; we only indicate it, as a caution to other pious writers, lest they should furnish a weapon to the enemies of truth, who are ready enough to sneer at what they deem cant and irrationality, and what cannot sometimes be defended against the charge.

Art. VI. *The Life and Correspondence of John Foster.* Edited by J. E. Ryland. With Notices of Mr. Foster as a preacher and a companion, by John Shepherd, author of 'Thoughts on Devotion,' &c., &c. In 2 vols. pp. 468, 590. London: Jackson & Walford. 1846.

THE effect of these volumes will be like 'life from the dead.' We mean it in reference not to the public mind, but to their subject. To many there would be a difficulty in realizing for Mr. Foster any actual personal existence at all. That the writer of the celebrated essays on 'Decision of Character,' and 'Popular Ignorance,' dwelt among men, had intimate social relationships, wept and rejoiced, will be something of the nature of a

surprise to not a few. And many more will receive from these volumes a fresh and solemn impression of the reflection, what a mass of awful thought and deep emotion are daily passing through individual souls, little cared for or suspected by the world! Had they not been published, the varied and interesting exercises of a great mind would have been unknown, even as facts, to but a small number of chosen friends, and how many other minds are now having the same 'searchings,' are being 'troubled about the 'same' things,' and 'wearied with the greatness' of the same 'way,' without the sympathy or knowledge of the dwellers upon earth? Human life is a great mystery!

We quite agree with Mr. Ryland, that the plan he has selected in executing the somewhat difficult and delicate task committed to his hands, will be found to gratify the readers of these volumes. 'The Memoir is chiefly compiled from Mr. Foster's Letters; so numerous, happily, are the references to himself and the subjects, in which he took the deepest interest, that little more than a proper selection and arrangement has been requisite, in order to form them into a continuous narrative. A biography drawn from such sources will be found, probably, to present a more vivid and truthful exhibition of character, than even a record by a self-observer, however faithfully intended, if composed after a lapse of years, when the events, and the emotions they called forth, have begun to fade upon the memory.' Nothing could have been more judicious. The chief interest of any account of Mr. Foster must of necessity be found in the view presented of the workings of his mind, and their results. Events, there were few in his history. The real life was within, not without. Two hundred and thirty-nine letters written by such an one in the confidence and freedom of friendship, upon endlessly diversified occasions, private and public, joyful and sorrowful, secular and religious, may well be expected to supply many materials interesting to the Christian, the philosopher, and the man of general intelligence. Mr. Foster loved more than he was willing to acknowledge, and than his dilatoriness would lead one to suppose, this particular kind of literary occupation; and his letters are free from all those features which frequently take off from the value of great men's epistolary communications. They bear no traces of a determination or anxiety to preserve an intellectual fame. They are not the results of severe study. We have not detected any marks of their being composed 'with a view to publication.' They were not sent to the public 'favoured by' the persons to whom they were immediately addressed. They contain more feeling, if less thought, than some readers would be prepared for.

observation,' but is still, like its Master, in the day of his humiliation, a tender plant, 'a root out of a dry ground,'—not the result of human skill, power, attainment, or attractiveness—tending to the glory of God, and not of any man—making, and to make its progress by humble and obscure means, and not by such as those which dazzle and arrest universal attention in one day—the day of a novel's birth into the world from the pen of Sir Walter Scott.'

Now, we must confess, this does appear to us a fastidious sort of piety; and we take the opportunity of remarking on it because it is a clerical pietism, peculiar, as we believe, to the excellent class of evangelical churchmen — excellent, notwithstanding— which has a tendency rather to foster than remove the prejudices of many against real religion. Why we should not rejoice in the numerous instances, or wish their multiplication, of men of the noblest intellectual eminence, who have, or may yet consecrate their talents to the purpose of directly propagating the gospel, we cannot divine. Are we to interpret the language, 'The kingdom of God cometh not with observation,' as meaning that it is to come either without means, or that those who aim to promote it are to eschew the best order of instrumentality, rather adhering to the worst. If there be any use in means at all, surely the most energetic, the most adapted, the most effective should be sought; and who will question that in these respects vigour is better than dullness, learning than illiteracy, skill than weakness? But we need not pursue the argument; we only indicate it, as a caution to other pious writers, lest they should furnish a weapon to the enemies of truth, who are ready enough to sneer at what they deem cant and irrationality, and what cannot sometimes be defended against the charge.

Art. VI. *The Life and Correspondence of John Foster.* Edited by J. E. Ryland. With Notices of Mr. Foster as a preacher and a companion, by John Shepherd, author of 'Thoughts on Devotion,' &c., &c. In 2 vols. pp. 468, 590. London: Jackson & Walford. 1846.

THE effect of these volumes will be like 'life from the dead.' We mean it in reference not to the public mind, but to their subject. To many there would be a difficulty in realizing for Mr. Foster any actual personal existence at all. That the writer of the celebrated essays on 'Decision of Character,' and 'Popular Ignorance,' dwelt among men, had intimate social relationships, wept and rejoiced, will be something of the nature of a

surprise to not a few. And many more will receive from these volumes a fresh and solemn impression of the reflection, what a mass of awful thought and deep emotion are daily passing through individual souls, little cared for or suspected by the world! Had they not been published, the varied and interesting exercises of a great mind would have been unknown, even as facts, to but a small number of chosen friends, and how many other minds are now having the same 'searchings,' are being 'troubled about the 'same' things,' and 'wearied with the greatness' of the same 'way,' without the sympathy or knowledge of the dwellers upon earth? Human life is a great mystery!

We quite agree with Mr. Ryland, that the plan he has selected in executing the somewhat difficult and delicate task committed to his hands, will be found to gratify the readers of these volumes. 'The Memoir is chiefly compiled from Mr. Foster's Letters; so numerous, happily, are the references to himself and the subjects, in which he took the deepest interest, that little more than a proper selection and arrangement has been requisite, in order to form them into a continuous narrative. A biography drawn from such sources will be found, probably, to present a more vivid and truthful exhibition of character, than even a record by a self-observer, however faithfully intended, if composed after a lapse of years, when the events, and the emotions they called forth, have begun to fade upon the memory.' Nothing could have been more judicious. The chief interest of any account of Mr. Foster must of necessity be found in the view presented of the workings of his mind, and their results. Events, there were few in his history. The real life was within, not without. Two hundred and thirty-nine letters written by such an one in the confidence and freedom of friendship, upon endlessly diversified occasions, private and public, joyful and sorrowful, secular and religious, may well be expected to supply many materials interesting to the Christian, the philosopher, and the man of general intelligence. Mr. Foster loved more than he was willing to acknowledge, and than his dilatoriness would lead one to suppose, this particular kind of literary occupation; and his letters are free from all those features which frequently take off from the value of great men's epistolary communications. They bear no traces of a determination or anxiety to preserve an intellectual fame. They are not the results of severe study. We have not detected any marks of their being composed 'with a view to publication.' They were not sent to the public 'favoured by' the persons to whom they were immediately addressed. They contain more feeling, if less thought, than some readers would be prepared for.

Very little need be said about the editor's share in the work. We have expressed what we doubt not will be a universal approbation of his plan, in very briefly sketching the principal events of the several periods of Mr. Foster's life, and leaving his letters to say the rest. This plan he has executed with care and judgment. At the same time, it may be thought that a sounder discretion would have dictated the exclusion of some of the letters, or of passages in them. The earlier ones occasionally contain expressions of thought and feeling which, though perfectly intelligible to the parties addressed, and to readers in general, may yet convey an erroneous impression to some; and in the later ones, there is the frequent recurrence of the same sentiments on the same or similar occasions in communications intended for different persons, which has another, and not a desirable effect when they appear in the same volume. Some of the reflections on the experience of departed souls, occur several times in connexion with the deaths of Mrs. Foster and other relations and friends. Ignorant as we are of the materials from which the editor had to make a selection, we are unable to say whether for the portions that might have been advantageously omitted there could have been substituted others not open to the same objection. On general grounds, we should think there might; but the inference is discountenanced by other considerations. We confess to a surprise, that the correspondents of Mr. Foster, as appears from these volumes, should have been so few, and, for the most part, so unknown to fame. This very fact may, however, impart additional value to the *letters*. The 'Notices' of Mr. Foster as a preacher and a companion, by Mr. Shepherd, are a valuable portion of the work. The writer's personal knowledge of his subject, with his discriminating mind and refined taste, fitted him to sketch the social and ministerial character of Mr. Foster. He has done it with wisdom and love. One passage we must give, describing an interview of Mr. Shepherd with Mr. Foster, about five weeks before the death of the latter.

'He came down from his chamber to see me in the customary sitting room, and although his thin and pale looks indicated great debility, conversed in his usual manner. I think I noticed to him the blessing of having the intellectual powers so entirely unimpaired during illness; to which he answered, 'It is a comfort even to understand what is read and heard.'

'I then referred to the melancholy mental decay of the late distinguished Southey; on which Mr. Foster remarked, 'No doubt his mind was worn out by the toil of building up many books; as if there were a want, a *famine* of books.' 'So it is,' he added with a smile, 'there are men who even apologize for their errors and

haste, and for not delaying in order to greater correctness, as if the world were labouring under a dearth of the article.' I replied, 'Consider, dear sir, you are speaking to one of the culprits;' to which he rejoined, 'No, hardly that, yet.' I said to his daughter, who sat by, 'We all wish Mr Foster had been *more* a culprit.' He then intimated, 'Perhaps we may wish this at times, now that nothing more can be done;' adding, 'Much has been omitted every way, partly from trifling. One feels that in the great concern of religion, much more might have been done.' I observed, 'All, however, no doubt, is for the best.' To which our friend replied, 'Yes, in the deep sense. These feelings of defect serve to humble us, and to show that in ourselves we are nothing.' I said, 'It is happy, sir, that you have good daughters near you. Even a son would not be able to afford such aid and solace.' He answered, 'Yes, indeed, they are very kind.' The following sentiment was also uttered by him with peculiar seriousness: 'How dreary would old age and illness be without the great doctrine of the atonement!' I left him, bearing with me a deep impression of that thought; but certainly not with the apprehension that in this world we should meet no more. It was, however, so appointed.'—vol. ii. pp. 514—516.

John Foster was born Sept. 17, 1770, at Wadsworth Lanes in the parish of Halifax, of parents who united the occupations of farming and weaving. Of this worthy couple the following account is given by Mr. Ryland:—

'Mr. Foster was a strong-minded man, and so addicted to reading and meditation, that on this account, principally, he deferred involving himself in the cares of a family till upwards of forty. He received his permanent convictions of Christian truth from that model of apostolic zeal, Mr. Grimshaw, of Haworth; but subsequently joined a small Baptist church at Wainsgate. Though a person of retired habits,* and averse from mixing in society further than a sense of duty required, he possessed great cheerfulness and enlarged views. 'I remember,' a valued correspondent observes, 'seeing him in company with a dear relative at the time when the British and Foreign Bible Society was first formed, and it is impossible for me to forget the devout exhilaration of the venerable Christian as he conversed on the subject, and indulged in bright visions of hope, in reference to the world he was leaving.' His acquaintance with theological writers was extensive. His conversation was generally full of instruction, and showed an acute and discriminating mind. In the society of which he was so valuable a member, he took a leading part; and, on the decease of their pastor, read at

* A secluded spot at the bottom of a wood near Hebden-bridge, and adjoining the river Hebden, with a projecting rock, whither the good man used to retire for prayer and meditation, is still known by the name of *John Foster's cave.*

their meetings every alternate Sunday, 'Gurnal's Christian Armour.' It is said, that when any passage struck him as peculiarly excellent, he would pause and express his approbation by exclaiming, 'Author, I am of thy opinion.' 'That's sound divinity.' In Mrs. Foster he found a partner of congenial taste, and his counterpart in soundness of understanding, integrity, and piety. They both lived to a very advanced age, but suffered much from bodily affliction during the latter part of their course. The following characteristic inscription was placed on Mr. Foster's tomb-stone, by his own desire:—'John Foster exchanged this life for a better, March 21, 1814, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, and the sixty-third after God had fully assured him that he was one of his sons.' Mrs. Foster survived her husband, nearly three years, and died December 19th, 1816.'—vol. i. pp. 1—3.

The circumstances of Foster's early life and lot were not favourable to the healthy training of his mind. Feeling, at twelve years old, 'a painful sense of an awkward but entire individuality,' and obtaining by the gravity of his ways and sentiments the appellation of 'old-fashioned,' he greatly needed the mellowing and knitting influences of kindly intercourse and generous confidence. These were to a great extent denied to him, and the sensibility, and tendency to isolation, that naturally belonged to him were strengthened instead of moderated. He recoiled 'from human beings into a cold interior retirement,' where he felt as if 'dissociated from the whole creation.' He was marked by a timidity amounting to 'infinite shyness.'

'A very large proportion of his feelings were so much his own, that he either 'felt precisely that they could not be communicated, or he did not feel that they could.' His early antipathies were strong, but 'not malicious.' His associations were intensely vivid; he had, for instance, an insuperable dislike to a book, during the reading of which he had done anything that strongly excited self-reproach; or to whatever was connected with feelings of disgust and horror. For a number of years he would not sit on a stool which had belonged to a man who died in a sudden and strange way, and whose ghost was said to have appeared in a barn near his house. In short, his imagination was imperious and tyrannical, and would often haunt him with a scene of Indian tortures, or the idea of a skeleton meeting him each night in a room he had to pass through to bed. 'The time of going to bed was an awful season of each day.' He was excited to strong emotion by reading passages in favourite authors, such as 'Young's Night Thoughts.' Even simple words (as *chalcedony*), or the names of ancient heroes, had a mighty fascination over him, simply from their sound; and other words from their meaning, as *hermit*.—vol. 1, p. 4.

''I had, when a child,' was his affecting confession to Mr. Hughes, 'the feelings of a foreigner in the place, and some of the earliest

musings that kindled my passions, were on plans for abandoning it. My heart felt a sickening vulgarity before my knowledge could make comparisons. My involuntary, unreflecting perceptions of the mental character of my very few acquaintance was probably just, as to their being qualified to reciprocate my sentiments and fancies.' Thus, full of restless thoughts, wishes, and passions, on subjects that interested none of his acquaintance, it can excite no surprise that his weaving was often performed very indifferently, and that the master-manufacturer by whom he was employed, was continually resolving that he would take no more of it. When Foster brought his piece into the 'taking-in-room,' as it is commonly called, he would turn his head aside, and submit with unequivocal repugnance to the ordeal of inspection.'—vol., i. pp. 6, 7.

Foster was not more than fourteen when he first allowed a second mind to share the secret of his religious solicitudes, and just after the completion of his seventeenth year he joined the Baptist church at Hebdenbridge, of which the estimable Dr. Fawcett was the pastor. Urged by him and others to devote himself to the ministry, he soon approved their counsel, and became an inmate at Brearley Hall, where the doctor, in addition to the labours of a school, superintended the studies of a few theological candidates. The zeal with which he is stated to have applied himself at this period to the acquisition of knowledge, was vehement, displaying itself sometimes in the occupation of the entire night in reading and meditation. His lessons were not easily learned, inferior minds surpassing him in the facility with which they performed the prescribed tasks. 'One method which he adopted for improving himself in composition, was that of taking paragraphs from different writers, and trying to remodel them, sentence by sentence, into as many forms of expression as he possibly could. His posture on these occasions was to sit with a hand on each knee, and, moving his body to and fro, he would remain silent for a considerable time, till his invention in shaping his materials had exhausted itself. This process he used to call *pumping*. He had a great aversion to certain forms of expression which were much in vogue among some religious people, and declared that if possible, he would expunge them from every book by act of parliament, and often said, 'We want to put a new face upon things.'

In his twenty-first year, he entered the Baptist college, Bristol, of which institution the Rev. Joseph Hughes, the founder and secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, was classical tutor, a man of superior and well-cultivated mind, with whom, there being but little difference of age, and much congeniality of mind, Foster soon formed a deep and permanent friendship, from which it is easy to perceive that he derived considerable advantage in the way of check and stimulus. It is

impossible to estimate the worth of such a friendship to one possessing the constitution and temperament that belonged to Foster. Next to the presence and presidence of a sincere religious principle, there was nothing that operated so powerfully in promoting his mental healthfulness and activity. Hughes entertained towards him a high but not undistinguishing respect, and, able to detect defects, he had the courage to expose them. The intercourse between these gifted minds seems to have been conducted in a style and temper of singular manliness, the affection which bound them together being proof against injury from shocks of fidelity that would have shivered to pieces a weaker and less honest love.

On leaving the college at the close of the first year, he preached for a time at Newcastle and Dublin, without receiving any invitation to the pastorate. This, as the editor observes, 'will not appear surprising to the readers of the correspondence, in which he lays open his character and views with so much ingenuousness. His recluse habits, his peculiar style of preaching, less adapted, probably, than at any subsequent period to popular or useful effect, and especially the fluctuating, unconfirmed state of his own mind,—all these circumstances would conspire, with his latitudinarian opinion respecting churches, to render it unlikely that, though he would always secure the admiration and attachment of a select few, the general suffrage would be in his favour; or if it were, that he would accede to its decision.' It is obvious that Foster was ill-adapted to the ministry, according to its general indispensable conditions among orthodox dissenters. He had not the requisite endowments for a proper denominational man. Various intimations, express and incidental, are found in these volumes of his inherent and essential inability to take the requisite interest in ecclesiastical and institutional religion. While holding 'accurately the leading points of the Calvinistic faith,' he could not but 'contemn the circle and the spell of any denomination as *a party of systematics professing a monopoly of truth.*' It was with him an 'old opinion, that churches are useless and mischievous institutions, and that the sooner they are dissolved the better.'* While strongly opposed to pædobaptism,

* Very forcibly did Mr. Hughes resist the conclusion of his friend.—'To be sure, if there were no churches, there would be no ecclesiastical squabbles; and it may be added, if there were no states, there would be no civil broils; and if there were no vegetable productions, there would be no deadly night-shade; and if there were no water, no one would be drowned; and if there were no fire, no one would be consumed; and if there were no victuals, no one would be choked. Church-framers may egregiously err; but when you scout the whole tribe, and all their works, tell us how we ought to proceed; make out a strong case, and say at least that the way you would substitute would be free from the objections that cling to the old ways, and would secure greater advantages.'

'he never administered, nor even witnessed in mature life, (it is believed,) the ordinance of baptism, and was known to entertain doubts respecting its perpetuity.' Even as late as the year 1828, he wrote, 'I have long felt an utter loathing of what bears the general denomination of the *church*, with all its parties, contests, disgraces, or honours. My wish would be little less than the dissolution of all church institutions, of all orders and shapes; that *religion* might be set free, as a grand spiritual and moral element, no longer clogged, perverted, and prostituted, by corporation forms and principles.' With these opinions we shall not be supposed to sympathise. Very considerable modifications must they undergo before we could regard them with complacency. Yet are we far from unconditionally rejecting them. It is unquestionable that many minds are tending towards them, and that not a few have arrived at them, of a kind and order that may well suggest the desirableness of a careful consideration of the whole question of churches. The conditions of membership that are frequently insisted on, in ignorance or forgetfulness of its design not to be a test of spiritual maturity, but a means of spiritual growth; the modes sometimes adopted to ascertain the existence of those conditions; the grounds upon which church-fellowship is not seldom based, and the arguments by which it is urged; the Judaic spirit in which Christian institutions are often observed and enforced; the bigotry and uncharitableness of which they are made the matter and the instruments; these and other such things may go far to account for a state of feeling like that of Foster's, respecting ecclesiastical organizations, without impeaching their essential principles.

For rather more than two years, Mr. Foster preached to a General Baptist church at Chichester. 'A walk in the vicinity of the town is still known by his name; but his most favourite resort for meditation was the chapel, where the well-worn bricks of the aisles still exhibit the vestiges of his solitary pacings to and fro by moonlight.' His labours in this place had no effect in preventing the decline of the church. 'I think,' said he, 'the society is hastening to dissolution with a progress that no revival is likely to retard. Fate has fixed her seal.' So it was proved, not long after his departure, by the extinction of the interest. After a residence of a few months with his friend Mr. Hughes, at Battersea, during which his preaching powers were frequently exercised, and he was introduced to a new circle of acquaintance, he removed to Downend, a village near Bristol, where he preached regularly at a small chapel erected by Dr. Caleb Evans. In 1804, he was invited to become the minister of a congregation meeting in Sheppard's Barton, Frome, through the introduction of Mr. Robert Hall, who described our preacher as 'a young

man of the most original and extraordinary genius, of unexceptionable character, of most amiable temper.' In less than two years and a half, he was compelled to resign the charge by 'a chronic disorder of the bronchial glands,' which threatened to destroy all his prospects as a preacher. Here he first appeared as an author, publishing his celebrated Essays, and contributing in right earnest to this Journal—the articles from his pen, between 1806 and 1820, amounting to not less than one hundred and seventy-eight. On his marriage, May 1808, with Miss Maria Snooke, (the 'friend' to whom he had addressed his Essays), he went to live at Bourton-on-the-Water, and for nine years united the the characters of reviewer and evangelist. Towards the close of 1817, he returned to Downend, where he had officiated several years before, 'the deciding point' being his desire to make the experiment, how far he could adapt his sermons to his rustic auditory—'sermons made on a plan of combining perfect simplicity and intelligibleness, even a degree of obviousness, with what shall have as much as possible of novelty or originality in the way of illustration.' The 'failure,' however, he confessed to have been 'complete.' 'It cannot be honestly denied,' he wrote, in resigning the charge, 'that by the application of a great deal of time and effort, a more obvious and attractive mode of exhibiting religious subjects would be attainable, (that is, as a *habitual* strain, for *some* of my sermons I should perhaps consider as in this respect nearly as much adapted as I could well make them), but I cannot feel the duty of making a laborious effort to change my manner, for the sake of attracting persons, to whom, after all, it would be less attractive than the very crudest exhibitions at the Methodist meeting—persons who are no longer in the way for being attracted, and who will, for the most part, never come again in the way;—I cannot feel the duty, unless it were impossible for me to be in any place to which I should be more adapted, and unless I felt it a compulsory duty at all events to preach.' On abandoning this engagement, Mr. Foster retired to the quiet village of Stapleton, where he continued till death, suffering severe afflictions in the loss of his only son and beloved wife, and for a considerable period before his decease being incapacitated for literary exertion.

'During the whole course of his illness, he showed the greatest consideration for the servants and all about him, and was anxious to give them as little trouble as possible. He never allowed any one to sit up, even for part of the night; he would not listen to such a proposal, and when urged, would say that it would so annoy him as to prevent his sleeping.

'Speaking of his weakness to one of his two servants, who had both lived with him for about thirty years, he mentioned some things

which he had not strength to perform; and then added, 'But I can pray, and that is a glorious thing.' On another occasion, he said to his attendant, 'Trust in Christ—trust in Christ.' At another time, the servant heard him repeating to himself the words, 'O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ'

'On October 3rd he wrote to Sir J. Easthope, and stated that he had no expectation of surviving more than a very few months; but though he felt unequal to the exertion of a personal interview, he 'would not yet say farewell.' Two days later, however, his debility had increased so rapidly, that he limited his expectations of prolonged life to only a few days, and ended his last letter to the same friend with the words, 'I commend you to the God of mercy, and very affectionately bid you—*farewell*.'

'His family were much struck by the perfect dignity and composure with which, as soon as he relinquished all hope of even a partial recovery, he resigned himself to the divine appointment.

'On Saturday, October 14th, the day before his death, he complained of feeling some confusedness in his head, and was much oppressed in his breathing; he was therefore obliged to desist that day from his usual practice of hearing some one read to him; and finding it very difficult to converse, he requested to be left quite alone during the afternoon and evening. This desire was complied with; some of his family going occasionally into his room, but so as not to disturb him, till the usual hour of retiring to rest; they then particularly requested that some one might be allowed to sit up with him through the night. This, however, he steadily refused, though, in consequence of a long-continued fit of coughing he was in a state of greater exhaustion than usual. The kind old servant who attended upon him, from an apprehension lest she should disturb him, did not go at all into his room in the course of that night, as she had been in the habit of doing every night for the past fortnight. But towards four o'clock she went to the door of his room to listen, and being satisfied from the sound she heard that he was sleeping, returned without going in. At about six o'clock she went again to the door, and this time hearing no sound she went in, and found that he had expired. His arms were gently extended, and his countenance was as tranquil as that of a person in a peaceful sleep. Death had taken place but a very short time, for only the forehead was cold.

'On the following Saturday his remains were laid in the grave, which just seventeen years before had been opened to receive those of his son, in the burial-ground belonging to the chapel at Downend, where he formerly preached.'—vol. ii. pp 356—359.

It is very far from our intention to attempt an analysis of Mr. Foster's mental and moral character. The time has scarcely arrived for more than has been already attempted in this journal. Seldom do we meet with a mind demanding more delicate discrimination in its treatment. Certain features

are, of course, prominent. A wayfaring man, though a fool, may detect, and to some extent appreciate, them. But to do exact justice to his intellect and his heart, to distinguish between what he was and what he was not, to separate the natural growth of his soul from the product of the powerful influences through which he passed to manhood, and to point out how far he was wrong, and how far right, in the respects in which he thought and felt almost alone,—this would be a great, and not a very easy, task. Unqualified praise or censure are out of the question, and yet the one or the other is very likely to be his fate. His undeniable abilities will serve to pass off his more doubtful characteristics, as marks of manifest superiority among a crowd of undistinguishing admirers; and the exhibitions of sentiment which, least lovely in general appearance, may, and often do spring, from the excessive operation of the finest principles, will be taken advantage of, for the purpose of depreciating his real and great endowments. Foster, however, can pass through both these ordeals; he can afford something to the folly of friends and the malice of foes. After the maturest and fullest judgment has been passed upon him, he will retain the reputation of gifts that very rarely indeed fall to the lot of mortals.

The general characteristic of his mind was *originality*. That young want of his, 'to put a new face upon things,' never left him. It marked all he did. He was thoroughly disgusted with the prevailing modes of thought and phrase; and his dissatisfaction arose not from their commonness only, but their shallowness. His intellect was eminently curious and penetrating. 'I like my mind,' said he wisely, 'for its *necessity* of seeking the abstraction of every subject.' He could not be contented with a superficial truth and beauty. The covering must be removed, and the hidden essence exposed to view. Walking over the well-trodden field of life and fact, he found, and not by accident, the pearl of great price. Very little would supply material for deep and protracted meditation; but that little was like the water that is poured down the dry pump in order to obtain a large supply. Small 'fires' kindled 'great matters.' In happy mood, his analysis was severely delicate. He stripped every fibre from every thought. The 'Extracts from his Journal,' which fill more than seventy pages, would supply many choice specimens. From this valuable collection we must enrich our pages.

'All pleasure must be *bought* at the price of pain: the difference between false pleasure and true is just this—for the *true*, the price is paid *before* you enjoy it; for the *false*, *after* you enjoy it.'

'I know from experience that habit can, in direct opposition to *every* conviction of the mind, and but little aided by the elements of temptation, (such as present pleasure, etc.), induce a repetition of the most unworthy actions. The mind is weak when it has once given way. It is long before a principle *restored* can become as firm as one that has never been moved. It is as in the case of a *mound* of a reservoir; if this mound has in one place been broken, whatever care has been taken to make the repaired part as strong as possible, the probability is that if it give way again, it will be *in that place.*'

'One has sometimes continued in a foolish company, for the sake of maintaining a virtuous hostility in favour of wisdom; as the Jordan is said to force a current quite through the Dead Sea.'

'There is not on earth a more capricious, accommodating, or abused thing than CONSCIENCE. It would be very possible to exhibit a curious classification of consciences in genera and species. What copious matter for speculation among the varieties of—a lawyer's conscience—cleric conscience—lay conscience—lord's conscience—peasant's conscience—hermit's conscience—tradesman's conscience—philosopher's conscience—Christian's conscience—conscience of reason—conscience of faith—healthy man's conscience—sick man's conscience—ingenious conscience—simple conscience,' &c., &c., &c., &c.

'(Said of a narrow-minded religionist.) Mr. F. sees religion not as a *sphere*, but as a *line*; and it is the identical line in which *he* is moving. He is like an African buffalo—sees rightforward, but nothing on the right hand or the left. He would not perceive a legion of angels or of devils at the distance of ten yards on the one side or the other.'

'Argument from *miracles*, for the truth of Christian *doctrines*. Surely it is fair to believe that those who received from heaven superhuman power received likewise, superhuman wisdom. Having rung the *great bell of the universe*, the sermon to follow must be extraordinary.'

'I want to extract and absorb into my soul the sublime mysticism that pervades all nature, but I cannot. I look on all the vast scene as I should on a column sculptured with ancient hieroglyphics, saying, 'There is significance here,' and despairing to read At every turn it is as if I met a ghost of solemn, mysterious, and undefineable aspect; but while I attempt to arrest it, to ask it the veiled secrets of the world, it vanishes. The world is to me what a beautiful deaf and dumb woman would be; I can *see* the fair features, but there is not language to send forth and impart to me the element of soul'

'Burke's sentences are pointed at the end,—instinct with pungent sense, to the last syllable. They are like a charioteer's whip, which not only has a long and effective lash, but cracks, and inflicts a still smarter sensation at the *end*. They are like some serpents of which I have heard it vulgarly said, their life is the fiercest in the tail.'

'Attachment must burn in oxygen, or it will go out; and, by oxygen, I mean a mutual admiration and pursuit of virtue, improvement,

utility the pleasures of taste, or some other interesting concern, which hall be the element of their commerce, and make them love each o her not only *for* each other, but as devotees to some third object which they both adore. The affections of the soul will feel a dissatisfaction and a recoil if, as they go forth, they are entirely intercepted and stopped by any object that is not *ideal*; they wish rather to be like rays of light glancing on the side of an object, and then sloping and passing away; they wish the power of elongation, through a series of interesting points, on towards infinity.'

'Reading lately some of Newton's *letters to his wife*, I wondered at the phenomenon of so warm and long protracted an affection, or rather passion, with so little of this oxygen; no literature, no romancings of fancy, no excursions over the creation, no moral discussions, no character-criticism, no plans of improvement, no analysing of each other's qualities and defects; no, all mere *I and you, you and I*. A measure of piety, indeed, there is; but without any variety of specific thought.'

'I still less and less like the wealthy part of your circle (H.'s). It appears to me, that the main body of principle is merged. As to religion, sir, they are in a religious diving-bell, 'religion is not circumambient, but a little is conveyed down into the worldly depth, where they breathe by a sort of artificial inlet—a tube.'

'Idea, partly serious, partly comic, of formally judging myself, sentencing, and then hanging myself; the thousand faults that still attach to me might almost tempt to this.'

'(In the vestry of Battersea meeting, during evening service.) Most emphatic feeling of my individuality—my insulated existence—except that close and interminable connexion, from the very necessity of existence, with the Deity. To the continent of Human Nature, I am a small *island* near its coast; to the Divine Existence I am a small *peninsula*.'

'Theology and philosophy have been entirely separated by most divines, and some have attempted an awkward association of them; they joined them without producing unity or union. All the emanations of both ought to converge to one focus; and thence, combined and identified, dart forward, a living beam of light, *in infinitum*.'

'What is that sentiment approaching to a sad pleasure, which a mind of profound reflexion sometimes feels in a far inward incommunicable grief, though the fixed expectation of calamity, or even guilt, were its cause?'

'One object of life should be to accumulate a great number of grand questions, to be asked and resolved in eternity. We now ask the sage, the genius, the philosopher, the divine,—none can tell; but we will open our series to *other respondents*,—we will ask angels—God.'

'I doubt if S. is not too *innocent* to become sublimely excellent; her heart is purity and kindness; her recollections are complacent; her wishes and intentions are all good. In such a mind, conscience becomes effeminate for want of hard exercise. She is exempted

from those revulsions of the heart, that remorse, those self-indignant regrets, those impetuous convictions, which sometimes assist to scourge the mind away from its stationary habits, into such a region of daring and arduous virtue, as it would never have reached, nor even thought of, but for this mighty impulse of pain. Witness Albany in Cecilia. Vehement emotion, mortifying contrast, shuddering alarm, sting the mind into an exertion of power it was unconscious of before, and urge it on with restless velocity toward the attainment of that moral eminence, short of which it would equally scorn and *dread* to repose. We fly from pain or terror more eagerly than we pursue good ;—but if both these causes aid our advance!'

'One of the strongest characteristics of genius is—*the power of lighting its own fire.*'

'A man of ability, for the chief of his reading, should select such works as he feels beyond his own power to have produced. What can other books do for him but waste his time and augment his vanity?'

'Shakespeare had perceptions of every kind; he could think *every* way. His mind might be compared to that monster the prophet saw in his vision, which *had eyes all over.*'

'Superlative value in connexions of friendship or love, of mutual discrimination. I cannot love a person who does not recognize my *individual* character. It is most gratifying, even at the expense of every fault being clearly perceived, to see that in my friend's mind there is a standard, or scale of degrees, and that he exactly perceives which degree on this scale *I reach* to. What nonsense is sometimes inculcated on married persons, and on children in regard to their parents, about *being blind to their faults*, at the very time, forsooth, they are to cultivate their reason to the utmost accuracy, and to apply it fully in *all other instances!*—as if, too, this duty of blindness depended on the will!'

'(Expression in an evening prayer). May we consider each night as the tomb of the departed day, and, seriously leaning over it, read the inscription written by conscience, of its character and exit.'

'Common-place truth is of no use, as it makes no impression; it is no more instruction than *wind is music.* The truth must take a *particular bearing*, as the wind must pass through tubes, to be any thing worth.'

'Some people's religion is for want of sense; if they had this, they would have no religion, for their religion is no more than prejudice —superstition.'

'Lord Chatham in his speeches did not *reason;* he struck, as by intuition, directly on the *results* of reasoning; as a cannon-shot strikes the mark without your seeing its course through the air as it moves towards its object.'

These extracts will bring before the reader the *reflective* habit and power of Mr. Foster's mind. In this he excelled; in

this was his prime excellence. He not only loved to know, he loved to think. His mind was not a window, but a workshop. What he received he assimilated. He had not entered deeply into the studies that might have been judged most congenial to his taste. Contemplating a visit to the British Museum, he says: 'Amidst such spectacles, however, it is a great grievance, and partly a shame, to me, to be so destitute as I am of *scientific* knowledge.' He 'exceedingly deplored' to his friend Hughes his 'total want of all knowledge of intellectual philosophy, and of all metaphysical reading.' Allowing, as we readily do, that these confessions say more than they mean, it is yet indisputable that he could not boast that extensive acquaintance with science and philosophy, that some might expect. He knew comparatively little of systems. But he had a great insight into the things that make systems of any worth. With their forms in other minds, and in books, he might not be familiar, but he had found and mastered them by his independent power. He was 'his own' philosopher, and if this accounts for some unconscious exaggeration of his achievements, it gave to his views and style a personal force and freshness that we would not part with for a great deal. To him the objects that nature and life presented were not arbitrary and isolated signs, but representations and types. They were, like fragments of another world, helps to a conception of its general state and processes. Like a skillful workman, he could make his own tools.

There is one feature of Mr. Foster's mind which it is well just to refer to. Our readers will probably anticipate our mention of it—a strong tendency to gloomy judgments of men and things. He confesses to have been 'addicted through experience, if not somewhat given by temperament, to sombre meditations,' and whether confessed or not, the fact appears beyond all possibility of doubt. He was 'apt to be invaded,' to borrow from his description of his wife, 'by gloomy sentiments respecting the awful moral condition of our nature, and the tremendously mysterious economy of the divine government of this world.' These sentiments haunted him like ghosts. They made their appearance on all occasions, disturbing the scenes of joy, and adding new shades of darkness to the gloom. 'On every field of thought the awful mystery of the divine government surrounds us with its darkness, and abases our speculations and presumptions.' The death of children he therefore looked upon in the light of a great escape: 'I constantly and systematically regard this world with such horror, as a place for the rising human beings to come into, that it is an emphatical satisfaction, I may say pleasure, to me (except in a few cases of rare promise), to hear of their prematurely leaving it.' In viewing

from the top of the Colosseum the Metropolis, 'the first on our planet, beyond all doubt and comparison,' he 'could not help the invading thought, 'What an awful, what a direful spectacle it was in one view,—the stupendous amount of *sin* in it.' So when he heard of the extension of Hebden-bridge, his melancholy comment was—'This, on a more moral account than its breaking up the old picture in my imagination, did not please me at all. It was just saying that there were so many more *sinners* in the locality. Unless men were better, an augmented number is nothing to be pleased with. On the contrary, I am always apt to be pleased at seeing vacated cities, and houses deserted and in ruins.' His prospects for the race could not escape the contagion of these views. He was 'compelled to conclude that religion is utterly incompetent to reform the world, till it is armed with some new and most mighty powers; till it appears *in a new and last dispensation*.' Much more of the same kind might be quoted. There need not be any difficulty in accounting for it all. He had a natural sympathy with the awful. The sight of the buttercup, as betokening the far advance of the season, sometimes led him to exclaim, 'I've seen a fearful sight to-day—I've seen a buttercup!' His theological views were of the darkest kind. His conception of human depravity fell scarcely short of physical inability, while his principle of necessity led him to approve the sentiment, 'Whatever is, is right.' But there were other and higher elements at work. He brought to his investigations of human character and experience a moral sense exquisitely acute, and a faculty of perception singularly keen. The phenomena that many minds pass by as involving nothing of importance, suggested the most profound reflections, and awakened the most energetic emotions, within his breast. 'Upon one stone' were 'seven eyes.' It is very easy, doubtless, for the superficial and the careless, who go through the world without meeting with any difficulties, or becoming at all conscious that one of the most solemn functions and effects of the present system of things is that of a severe moral test and probation of men, to condemn the intellect that wonders, and the heart that sometimes trembles, at the providence of God. Mr. Foster will be very severely handled by this class—a class whom he was in the habit of looking upon as among the most mysterious of all the mysterious things in the universe. At the same time, it would be preposterous to deny that Mr. Foster's mind sometimes yielded to morbid influences; that he felt it, as he confesses, most difficult to preserve anything like an ardent benevolence towards mankind; that 'a very strong tendency to misanthropy' occasionally showed itself; and that he was often tempted

rather to bewail the wickedness and misery of the world, than to set resolutely about the task of amending it. While admitting this, let it not be forgotten, that the brightest light casts the deepest shade.

We should have liked very much to present various specimens of Mr. Foster's style of sentiment and writing from his correspondence, but it is impossible. Nor can we attempt to characterize its contents. One thing appears in it with beautiful distinctness—the deep and humble piety of the writer. This was the conservative influence of his intellect and heart. It is not to be wondered at that his religious feelings were mostly conversant with the mysterious. The state of the departed especially engaged his thoughts. To know the secrets of the world to come was almost a passion with him—a passion revived and quickened by the deaths of his friends, and his own approaching dissolution. 'The nearer I approach by advancing age to the grand experiment, the more inquisitive, I might almost say, restlessly inquisitive, I become respecting that other scene and state of our existence.' These are the inquiries he supposes to be made to a visitant from that world:—

'Where is it—in what realm of the creation—and have you an abode fixed to one locality? Do you exist as an absolutely unembodied spirit; or have you some material vehicle, and if so, of what nature? In what manner was it at your entrance *verified* to you that you were in another world, and with what emotion? Was an angel your conductor? How does the strange phenomenon, *Death*, appear to you, now that you *look back* upon it? What thought or feeling have you respecting your deserted body? What is your mode of perceiving external existence, and to what extent does that perception reach? Do you retain a vivid and comprehensive remembrance of the world and the life which you have quitted? Are you associated with the friends who preceded you in death? What is the manner of intercommunication? What are specifically your employments? What account do you take of time? What new manner of manifestation of the divine presence? Is there a *personal* manifestation of Jesus Christ? Have you a sense, a faculty, to perceive angels as personal objects, analogously to what we should here call a visible appearance? Are you admitted to any personal knowledge of the wise and good of ancient times? Is there an assignment into classes? Do the newly arrived acquire immediately an adaptation to the amazing change? Do you still take a peculiar interest, for those who were dear to you, whom you left behind? Have you any intimation how long it will be before they follow? Are you apprised continuously of much, or of any thing, that is taking place on earth; if so, by what means, and with what feelings? Have you any appointed intervention in the affairs of this world? Is the awful mystery of the divine government of this world in any degree cleared

up to your view? Is the great intellectual superiority which some have possessed on earth maintained in the other world? Is there a continual progress in knowledge; if so, must not those who have been in the spiritual world centuries, or thousands of years, be so immensely in advance of those recently entering, as to be almost humiliating to the latter? In what manner is the *retributive* destination signified?—is it by any formal judicial act, or only by a deep internal consciousness? Is the separation so wide between the good and the evil that no distinct information of the condition of the one is conveyed to the other? Or are they so mutually apprised as our Lord's parable of Dives and Lazarus would seem to intimate? How is maintained your complacency in the appointment to wait an indefinite, but certainly very, very long period, before the attainment of complete and ultimate happiness?'—vol. ii. pp. 366, 367.

Mr. Foster was a dissenter from principle. Strongly convinced that religious establishments are engines of oppression, and obstacles to true godliness, he contemplated them with an indignation which had almost the severity of personal hate. There could be no mistake as to the exciting cause of his animosity. The christianity that was in him rose up in protest against what he deemed, and believed he could prove, to be one of the gravest of spiritual nuisances.* His letters to the *Morning Chronicle*, and to Mr. Cottle, sufficiently disclose the religious character of his main objections. We cannot refrain from citing a passage from a letter, written in 1840 to Sir C. E. Smith, bearing very closely on a matter of considerable interest just now.

'Here occurs to me a consideration which strikes me very strongly. You wish the controversy to be carried on in an amicable manner; quite right for an intercommunication direct, and almost, as it were, personal, between the parties. But at the same time in an interchange of reasonings on these terms, the dissenter is precluded from by far the most effective of his resources; I mean, an unqualified exhibition of the practical character of the hierarchy reviewed on the wider ground of history, or (more immediately avail-

* We can foresee that use will be made of Mr. Foster's name in condemning the present aggressive movements of dissenters. In 1836, he wrote to Mr. Hill, 'Do you stand quite aloof from the grand *dissenting commotion?* They—(I say not *we*, for I would not have been a concurring particle in the dust the dissenters have raised—I mean as to the *extent* of their demands)—have mistaken their policy in calling out (*at present*) for the '*separation*,' a thing most palpably impracticable, till a few more Olympiads have passed over us.' Without binding ourselves to Mr. Foster's judgment, as an authority, and being least disposed to do so on matters involving a severely practical character, we can scarcely doubt that the circumstances that have occurred since his decease would have greatly affected his views. With the immediate prospect of the endowment of his supreme abomination, Popery, what might he not have done?'

able) as seen in our own history during the last four generations, and as manifested in the present times. . . . . Look at the present state and temper of the church; the intolerance of the most ostensible and prominent portion of it, acquiesced in by the main or whole body, or at least not protested against by any part of it;—the firm alliance with political corruption; the opposition to all sorts of reform; the identifying of Christianity with the establishment, or almost giving the precedence to the latter; the essentially worldly nature of the whole system of appointment by patronage, purchase at auction, etc. etc., and the melancholy and disastrous fact that a vast majority of the clergy teach a doctrine fatally erroneous, if the doctrine of the reformers be true. Now, all this belongs to the dissenters' argument, it is of the essence of their case, and without it they can do but very partial justice to that case. They have a right to insist on this as manifesting the essentially vicious nature of an established church; that these are not mere *incidents*, foreign and separable; if they had been so, in what country so likely as in England should they have been cleared off, leaving the establishment a pure Christian institution? Why do I trouble you to read this prolixity of sentences? it is to show that the dissenting principle cannot be asserted in the fullness of its legitimate argument in such a controversy as churchmen will admit to be amicable or even civil. They will require you to come away out of sight of all this, and to go quietly with them on some ideal ground of a plausible theory. They will talk to you (just as if the thing were not palpably Utopian) about a supposed ecclesiastical institution, that should send throughout the country some dozen thousand pious, well-disciplined, diligent, exemplary instructors, vigilantly superintended by faithful, zealous, apostolic bishops, authorized and aided in every way by patrons and a government intent on the spiritual welfare of the people; and then they will challenge you with the question, 'Would not *this* be an excellent thing, far better than leaving the important concern to voluntaryism, fanaticism, and chance?' To which the proper answer would be, 'It is not worth making a question about so idle a fiction; wait till the government, the prelacy, and the body of aristocratic patronage shall consist at least of men decidedly religious; till the universities shall be 'schools of the prophets,' and till young men shall enter the church no longer as a mere *profession*, or in pursuit of the *prizes*, but from the serious desire to promote religion. *Then* bring the question into discussion. In the meantime we must be allowed to judge of an establishment according to its actual quality and working, as exemplified in such institutions, heretofore and at the present time, and not according to any fanciful and impracticable theory.'

'By all means, let the arguments of a mere theoretical kind, such as *may* be debated amicably with the better tempered of the opponents, and especially the scriptural one, so much insisted on by Dr. Wardlaw and others, be kept in action. They will be adapted to the small proportion of speculative thinkers. But for popular effect there is incomparably greater power in an exhibition of the actual

vices and mischiefs of establishments, and our own in particular. And the recent and present spirit of the church is such as to deserve no forbearance of this mode of conducting the war—a *defensive* war as it is.'—vol. ii. pp. 383—385

Among the most important of the letters which appear in these volumes, we would draw especial attention to the 28th, To an unknown lady; the 29th, To the Rev. Joseph Hughes; the 48th, intended to be introductory to the 'Essays;' the 157th, To Joseph Cottle, Esq.; those on the Metropolis, the Established Church and Clergy, and the Voluntary Principle, the Ballot, the Intermediate State, the Eternity of Future Punishments, Missions, and the nine addressed to Miss Saunders.

To one of these letters we must make a further reference, because of the importance of the subject which it discusses. It is that to a young minister, (the Rev. E. White, of Hereford,) in answer to one in which he stated his enquiries and difficulties respecting the eternity of future punishment. It is well known that on that subject Mr. Foster did not hold the opinion which prevails in orthodox circles. He early renounced it. In the year 1796, he wrote to Mr. Hughes, 'I have discarded the doctrine of eternal punishments,' and he suggests in his letter to Mr. White, the possibility of his having let the 'opinion (or impression) admitted in early life dispense with protracted inquiry and various reading.' The letter referred to may be reasonably supposed to contain the strongest representation of the case that could well be made within the same compass. We are not surprised that it is not stronger, nor are we surprised that, without being stronger, it should have excited considerable commotion in certain quarters. The name of Foster stood too high to allow of its sanction of a doctrine generally regarded with vehement disapprobation being passed over without particular remark, and orthodox christians are generally too ignorant of the great theological controversies to prevent their deeming novel what is really old. The mode of putting the case adopted by Mr. Foster is one familiar to those who have a tolerable acquaintance with unitarian literature, and it is one which will not be felt very formidable, at least not to involve insuperable difficulties, by those who have fairly grappled with the whole question of orthodox evangelism. Admitting 'the general, not very far short of universal, judgment of divines in affirmation of the doctrine of eternal punishment,' to be 'a weighty consideration,' and the language of scripture to be 'formidably strong, so strong that it must be an argument of extreme cogency that would authorise a limited interpretation,' he thinks that he finds the justification of such 'limited interpretation,' in the *moral* argument—that which comes in the

stupendous idea of eternity.' Upon this he dwells with a congenial expatiation, with a calm severity of illustration, and an irresistible truth, which are exceedingly adapted to *dispose* to a rejection of the popular doctrine. We use the word 'dispose' with a particular purpose. We reverence Mr. Foster's character and intellect, and no feature of his mind has more powerfully excited our respect than that depth and delicacy of moral feeling which shrunk from the conception of everlasting punishment, yet we dare to say that in the way in which he arrived at the conviction in which he rested, on this subject, there were principles involved that cannot be successfully maintained, and that would be equally potent, if true, as opposed to doctrines which he did believe. It is plain to us that the 'impression' of the moral view did unfit him for a sufficiently cool and careful survey of the whole evidence upon the point. His language is remarkably significant. Speaking of the *annihilation* theory he says—'Even this would be a prodigious relief: but it is an admission that the terms in question *do* mean something final, in an absolute sense. I have not directed much thought to this point; the grand object of interest being a negation of the perpetuity of misery. I have not been anxious for any satisfaction beyond *that*.' No one, we imagine, would maintain the best, or a good, state of mind, for investigating the evidence of a doctrine to be that in which 'the grand object of interest' is its 'negation.' Far be it from us to suspect Mr. Foster of any wilful mistreatment of the matter, but very little knowledge of human nature is required to perceive great peril of error in the having a grand object of interest in aught but the discovery of truth, whatever it may be. The subject is one of immense moral difficulty, but the difficulty attaches to other views than the orthodox. We have said that Mr. Foster's opinion respecting the depravity of men was unusually severe, involving 'real and absolute impotence,' and yet he held that 'on *no* allowable interpretation do they, (the terms in question) 'signify less than a very protracted duration and formidable severity.' Now, we have no hesitation in avowing our conviction that the doctrines of Mr. Foster, as to the present utterly helpless state of man's nature, and the terrific punishment which nevertheless will be inflicted on the unbelieving in the future state, present a moral difficulty, not perhaps as great, but *quite as insuperable by us now*, as the doctrine of eternal punishment. Any reader going carefully through his remarks will at once perceive how forcibly against the belief of the writer itself may his objections be turned.

We should insist, were we arguing the subject, on putting the controversy on the ground of scriptural criticism, as the only

safe, and the only *philosophical*, one. And on that ground, whatever might be the issue as to the *eternity* of future punishment, (we entertain no doubt as to what it ought to be,) very little evidence indeed would be forthcoming for the view to which Mr. Foster seemed to cling, viz. that of restoration 'somewhere in the endless futurity.' If the terms employed do describe annihilation, there is no way of avoiding the conclusion that it will take place *at the judgment*, so that there will be no punishment at all, unless indeed, the terms in question being admitted, as Mr. Foster suggests, by this theory to 'mean something final, in an absolute sense,' it is supposed that the eternity of punishment is vindicated after all. But we must stop.

Art. VII.—1. *The Macauley Election; or, the Designs of the Ministry.* By John Robertson. 8vo. pp. 16. London: J. Johnston.

2. *A Few Words to the Electors of Edinburgh, with a corrected Report of some Speeches delivered during the late Contest.* By Sir Culling Eardley Smith, Bart. 8vo. pp. 20. Edinburgh: W. Innes.

In our last number we referred to the Irish ecclesiastical policy of our new ministers, and now return to the subject in conformity with the promise then made. For doing so we need not apologize. Necessity is laid upon us, and the readers of the *Eclectic* will be sure to take a deep and lasting interest in the matter. With them at least, the latitudinarianism of a concealed infidelity, or the treacherous connivance prompted by political expediency, to the sacrifice of religious conviction, will find no favour. They will look for and rightfully demand an honest application of the principles we have avowed. We admit their title to do so, and have no intention to forfeit their confidence. The question to which we now allude is imminent, and its bearings are extensive and most important. It involves principles of the highest order, brings up the history of many past generations, opens anew to public observation the enormities of the system hitherto maintained, and directly affects the most sacred and permanent interests of the people. In this view of the subject we must be excused, if we recur to it frequently, and dwell on it at some length. It claims reiteration, and there is no time to lose in preparing the public mind for what awaits us. The corn-law question having been settled, that of the church is obviously destined to engage public attention. It cannot fail to do so. Events have been moving in this direction for some years past. Old errors have been in the course of relinquish-

ment, truth has obtained a wider currency, the reasonings which have been successful against one monopoly are felt to be applicable, with augmented force, to another; and even the pecuniary interests of landlords are beginning to be identified with a readjustment of ecclesiastical property. The signs of the times are in this respect distinct and indubitable. He who runs may read, and whatever opinions men may hold as to the result of the struggle, all parties are united in judgment that the church system is about to undergo a searching ordeal.

Equally clear are the indications that the first stage of this great controversy will respect the Irish church. Opinion has been gathering force against it for many generations past. Churchmen have felt that silence was their wisdom; and statesmen of all classes, conservative, whig, and radical, have been compelled to admit that it was a disgraceful and pernicious anomaly. The earth is covered with ecclesiastical institutions. They have sprung up everywhere from the universal tendency of our nature to formalism and secularity. In the old and in the new world, in Catholic and in Protestant countries, under the despotism of Russia and the republicanism of Switzerland, they have been alike visible. Yet, in no case, and at no period, has an analogous instance to that of the Irish church been exhibited. Let the records of all nations be ransacked, and the most diligent of our historical students will fail to discover a parallel case. Instances may indeed be adduced, of the religious rites of a conqueror being forced on the conquered; the sword has often been used to propagate the faith; confiscation, imprisonment, and death, have been the agencies employed to coerce a reluctant people, and the outward conformity thus induced has been lauded as national conversion:—but where is the parallel to Ireland? In what region, amongst what people, civilized or barbarous, do we find a richly endowed establishment, whose dignitaries rank with nobles, whilst its altars are attended by less than one-eighth of the people?—The church of a few, exacting its unrighteous claims from the reluctant many, who are unbelievers in its creed, hostile to its worship, and bitterly incensed against its clergy. This is the case of Ireland, a portion, be it remembered, of our own empire, lying at our very door, known to us all, and seen day by day.

And it has been so for generations past. The anomaly has been continually growing; for a retributory providence working by its general laws has diminished the number of the oppressors, and multiplied that of the oppressed. The condition of things in Ireland has not been the feature of a year or of a generation. It has not been the characteristic of a people in a state of transition, to whom it was difficult to secure an immediate

participation in just and equal laws. Had this been the case, some excuse might have been found, some extenuation have been urged. The accidents of the age, the limits to human power, the overwhelming necessity of the case might have been pleaded, and we should possibly have felt it difficult to pronounce a simple condemnation. The temporary would, in such case, have been an exception to the permanent; the transition state would have stood out in contrast with that to which it led, and in its very sadness have exhibited in yet brighter colours the glory and the blessedness of what followed. Would that it had been so. It would be well for the honour of England if such had been the case. We might then have looked up unabashed amongst the nations. Our statesmen would have escaped many perplexities, our religion have been spared much reproach. The Celt and the Saxon might have united in good brotherhood, and worshipped at the same common altar. Far different, however, have been the facts, and the result is seen and known by all.

At length, however, there is something like unanimity in one point pertaining to Ireland. This, in itself, is significant of change, and holds out the prospect of good. We must not, however, overrate it, but by a steady effort seek to ascertain its worth, and the measure of the good it promises. The conviction, then, is spreading wide, and has been diffused through all classes, that the Irish ecclesiastical system has hitherto been wrong, essentially vicious, and productive only of social disquietude and of political agitation. This conviction exists in very various degrees. In some cases it respects the social; in some, the political; and in others, the religious bearings of past legislation; but, in all instances, the past is acknowledged to have been a failure, so radical and entire, as to operate rather as a warning than as a guide. So far, the thoughtful and candid of all parties are one, and there is much gained in the existence of such a conviction. It betokens, at least, the breaking up of the old and vicious system; and if the future be not seen with equal clearness, if the perception of what is due to the righteousness of the case be not as clear as the conviction of past injustice, we need not wonder. It is what we might have expected, what history has often told us, what the prejudices, and passions, and partial knowledge of our nature render almost inevitable. It has uniformly been so. The perpetrators of wrong become the victims of errors, from which it is in the last degree difficult to extricate them. They grope and stumble as in the dark, long after they are sensible of the folly of their ways. They condemn the past, its selfishness, injustice, and tyranny, and are yet for a time, utterly unequal to the correc-

tion of its errors, or the substitution of a course more commensurate with the claims of righteousness and truth. In politics, as in morals, the effects of vice remain, long after the vicious practice is abandoned. Men's judgments are beclouded, their prejudices and party interest are bound up with the system they have administered, and a second wrong is therefore often perpetrated, in the effort, and as the means, of extricating themselves from the first. We need not wonder that it should be so. God's providence is inexorable, and the laws by which it works are clearly to be traced. It would not comport with the order of the moral world, that the workers of folly and of crime, even where they repent of their misdeeds, should wholly escape from punishment. The reverse of this is visible throughout the history of our world, and we have no ground to expect that the vices and blunders of statesmen should be an exemption.

An illustration of this principle was recently furnished in the Maynooth Endowment Bill. Much of the reasoning adduced in its defence, was founded on a sophism which could have had no existence, had not wrong been previously perpetrated, and which never would have been urged, had our senators possessed as enlightened a view of what was right, as they had a deep conviction of what had been wrong. The language used, at least by the more liberal members of the Commons' House, betokened an advanced stage of conviction, a mental state partially illumined by the rays of truth, a sense of wrong, and a solicitude to offer reparation. So far they were right; and while we condemn their decision, we see in their language and arguments encouragement for hope. Protestant ascendancy was abandondoned; the 'No Popery' cry was contemptuously rejected; the hideous anomaly of maintaining the church of the rich, and those few in number, by the coerced contributions of nearly 8,000,000, was reprobated and held up to scorn. This was as it should be; and we receive and treasure up these facts, in the conviction that a time is coming when they will do us important service. They have cleared the ground, have removed much rubbish out of the way, and will not be forgotten when the real struggle comes. It is true that the men who talked thus, and who were loudest in their condemnation of the past, were the most inconsistent in their votes. Seeing so much of truth they ought to have apprehended more; and had they done so, they would have devised some other mode of doing justice to the Irish Catholic, than by perpetrating a wrong on the whole Protestant population of the empire. But their eyes were only partially opened. The glaring wickedness of the Irish church stared them in the face, and they hailed the measure of Sir Robert Peel as an instalment of an admitted debt. It would

have been far wiser, more equal, and better for every portion of the empire, had they met the proposition of the minister by a more consistent and a sounder policy. They might have said to him, 'You admit the anomaly, and now claim for the Catholic population of Ireland a consideration which has hitherto been denied them. This is as it should be. We concur with you in the opinion that wrong has been done, and are willing to strengthen your hands for the performance of what is right. But is not the change required more thorough and radical than you propose? The Irish catholics complain of the presence of an established Protestant church amongst them. They feel it to be an insult and grievous wrong, 'the monster grievance,' which irritates and deeply injures them. The endowment, therefore, which you propose, is a pitiful tribute to a sound principle, and if submitted as a means of satisfying Irish demands, must utterly fail. The great mass of the people you are seeking to conciliate, repudiate your Protestant church. What they demand is its suppression; and what they are entitled to look for, is some measure on your part which shall compass this end, with the least possible suffering to those whose interests are identified with the existing system. In the concession you offer, you admit the soundness of their complaint, while you wholly fail to remove its causes. You tithe the mint, the anise, and the cummin, but forget the weightier matters of the law. Abide, therefore, where your predecessors stood, or apply the principle of religious equality and social right to the whole bearings of the case. Maintain the enormity with all its hideousness, or remove from the face of the land that ecclesiastical institute, beneath whose deadly shade disquiet, turbulence, deceit, and formality, have found their dwelling-place for generations.' Such language might and ought to have been used by the Liberals of the Commons' House; but it was reserved to a few, 'faithful amongst the faithless,' to adopt it, and the many deemed it Utopian and theoretical, or stupidly branded it as bigotry. So far respecting the past, and we refer to it only with the view of illustrating the future.

The same defective views which led to the endowment of Maynooth are now working out their legitimate issue, and unless counteracted by a united and enlightened people, will ere long secure the establishment of the Catholic church in Ireland. We are well aware that this was denied by many advocates of the Maynooth bill, and are of opinion that some of the supporters of that measure will refuse their sanction to this application of their principles. But this fact works no change in our conviction, but merely illustrates the short-sightedness and defective logic of our senators. It is no uncommon thing—the

history of our parliaments is full of it—for men to employ arguments, and to give votes, without perceiving the obligations under which they are thereby placed. The course of events will come to their aid, and when the legitimate application of principles formerly avowed is called for, the ready excuse will not be wanting to many. Times, it will be pleaded, have their necessities superior to general laws; or some other miserable evasion, some mere verbal quibble will be resorted to, to gloss over the treachery practised. Lord John Russell was more honest than many of his party, and fearlessly avowed what was involved in the vote he gave.

'The arguments, said his lordship, 'which are so sound, and, as I think, so incontrovertible, to induce this house to found an endowment for the education of the Roman-catholic priesthood, will prove, upon another occasion, as sound and as incontrovertible with respect to an endowment for the maintenance of that priesthood. For my own part, preferring most strongly, and more and more by reflection, a religious establishment to that which is called the voluntary principle, I am anxious to see the spiritual and religious instructors of the great majority of the people of Ireland endowed and maintained by a provision furnished by the state.'

His lordship is now prime minister and his avowal, coupled with the circumstances to which we shall presently allude, is of ominous import. It has been repeated since his accession to office, and the practical adoption of the measure to which it refers is evidently regarded as of the highest moment. To affect to doubt his lordship's intention in the face of so distinct an enunciation of his views would be to incur a charge of folly, to which few parallels can be found. He may pause, he may delay. A month, a year, a parliament may elapse before he records his views on the statute-book, but his policy is declared, his settled conviction and purpose are made known. He only bides his time, and whensoever he thinks that has come, the whole machinery of government will be employed to carry through his measure. 'My belief is,' said his lordship a few weeks back, when replying to the inquiry of Mr. Thomas Duncombe, that if Mr. Pitt had carried that measure ('some provision for the Roman-catholic church by the state,') he would have carried a measure conducive to the welfare of Ireland, to the maintenance of the Union, and to the peace of the United Kingdom. In conformity with that opinion I gave my vote in 1825, in favour of a motion made by Lord F. Egerton, now the Earl of Ellesmere, who moved that a provision be made for the maintenance of the Roman-catholic church. But what do I find at this moment? . . . . I cannot pledge myself

if I find the people of England and Scotland disposed to what I think a more just and useful arrangement, I will not pledge myself to be an opponent of such arrangement.' Such then are the recorded views of the Premier, let us see whether he has surrounded himself with associates who are likely to concur in his policy.

In supporting Mr. Ward's motion, on the 23rd of April 1845, for charging the expense of Maynooth on the Irish ecclesiastical funds, Viscount Palmerston, now Foreign Secretary, said,—

'Is it possible that you regard as permanent the arrangement that 6,500,000 or 7,000,000 of the poorest portion of the people of Ireland are to receive their religious instruction from a priesthood dependent upon the eleemosynary contributions of their flock, going from door to door, from farm to farm, and from cabin to cabin, to collect the wretched and precarious sums of which their income is composed? Sir, I say that, in my opinion, whatever may be the feeling of any portion of this house, and of (as I admit it to be) the people of this country upon that subject, a provision by the State for the Catholic priesthood, is a measure to which the government and this house will at no distant period be compelled by their sense of justice to proceed.'

'Lord Grey, now Home Secretary, in bringing forward his motion on the state of Ireland, on the 23rd of March of the present year, said,—'Another proposal which was last year made by a noble friend of mine on the other side of the house (Lord Wicklow), was to tax the landed property of Ireland for the payment of the Catholic clergy. I think that proposition perfectly just and reasonable as far as it goes, and I hope some day to see it adopted. But I think that by itself this would be insufficient, and that to make such a measure effectual, you must add to it an arrangement for taking away, as existing interests fall in, some part of the property now held by the established church in Ireland.'

'Sir George Grey, now Colonial Secretary, in supporting the Maynooth Bill, 17th of April, 1845, said—'He agreed with his noble friend the member for Dorsetshire, who spoke last night, that it involved a distinct principle—ay, and a very important principle too—the principle, namely, of the recognition of the Roman-catholic church in Ireland; the church to which the great body of the inhabitants of that country were warmly attached, and in whose communion they lived; that it was a recognition of that fact, and of more than that fact, namely, that in matters of this kind it was unjust, impolitic, and unwise, to disregard the opinions of the great majority of the people, and exclusively to maintain in a Catholic country a Protestant church.'

'Lord Lansdowne, now president of the Council, on the third reading of the Maynooth Bill in the Lords (June 16th) said,—'He agreed with the noble Duke that the present state of Ireland was full of danger, and that measures ought to be taken for the improvement of

that situation; and if the time should come when parliament should recognise the necessity of placing the clergy of Ireland in a different situation, he could have no doubt that the wisdom—the omnipotence—of parliament would find the means of carrying that salutary measure into effect.'

'Lord Campbell, now Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, said on the same occasion,—'He did not complain of the existence of the Episcopal Protestant Church in Ireland; he was one of those who placed no trust in the voluntary principle. * * * * * The Protestants should have their religious wants amply supplied; and he would never sanction any measure which had the slightest tendency to deprive them of the rights to which they were entitled. But we knew there were 7,000,000 of Roman-catholics who were required to obey the law—who were called on to contribute to the public revenue, and who were asked to defend the State by their personal services. Now ought not a similar provision to be made for the religious instruction of such men, as for that of their Protestant brethren?'

Again we say, it were folly, stark madness to doubt that the present government, whose official life is in the keeping of O'Connell, is resolved on this measure, and only waits a convenient opportunity to carry it into effect. The Premier, three Secretaries of State, the President of the Council, and the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, have distinctly avowed their mind, and several of their subordinates, like Mr. Ward, Secretary to the Admiralty, and Mr. Gibson, Vice-President of tho Board of Trade, have done the same.

'If ever,' says Mr. Robertson in his earnest and able pamphlet, 'there was an administration which had its purpose blazoned upon the forehead of it, this administration has been constructed with a view to the endowment of popery. For one person in the upper Liberal circles against paying any sect, there are twenty in favour of paying all. Every body thinks it good policy to pay the priests and make good subjects of them. Catholic ascendancy is the cherished purpose of Conciliation Hall. It will be done when O'Connell wishes it; for he is the strongest, and premiers are not false to their own convictions when their interests coincide with them.'—p. 15.

Against this formidable array of witnesses, which in all ordinary cases would be deemed conclusive, the evidence of Mr. Macauley is adduced, given, be it remembered, in the course of a contested election, and expressed withal in terms sufficiently vague to allow ordinary politicians to escape. We give the words of Mr. Macauley, with the comments of his opponent, and should be glad to receive his reply. We are constrained to suspect—though we do it with great reluctance—that these comments unveil the miserable shifts to which an able man can

stoop in the accomplishment of his design. We need scarcely remark, that we have no sympathy with the closing assertion of Sir Culling Smith. Believing that the constitution ought not to involve the recognition of any ecclesiastical polity, we cannot refer to its Protestantism in condemnation of the anticipated ministerial measure.

'Let me refer to the words which Mr. Macauley used at a recent meeting. He says, 'Let no man say that I mean,—what has been absurdly and calumniously imputed to me,—that I wished to make the Irish Catholic priests State-pensioners,—that I take up the opinion that Catholic bishops should be in the House of Lords. Is it necessary that a sane man, speaking to sane men, should contradict such frivolities as these? I shall most deeply deplore, and most strongly oppose, a proposition to pay the Irish Catholic clergy; and I can truly say that, if I had contemplated such a proposition as likely to be brought forward by the present government, I would not have been a member of it.' Now, I should like to ask Mr. Macauley, does he think it also an absurd and calumnious imputation, that he, and those with whom he is acting, intend to apply a portion of the ecclesiastical revenues of Ireland to pay the Roman-catholic clergy? Does he mean to say that he will give his opposition to any measure having in view that a portion of these revenues should be applied to purchasing manses and glebes for the Roman-catholic clergy? It is all very well to use the phrase, 'not to make the Roman-catholic clergy state-pensioners.' They themselves say that they will not be made state-pensioners, and I do not wish to raise the question here, where the Catholics are in a minority, whether their assurances upon that subject are to be believed or not; but without making them state-pensioners,—without involving them in that dependence on the State, to which they say they would not consent,—it is perfectly practicable, and, upon the principles of secular whig politics, perfectly consistent, to purchase for them manses and glebes; and Mr. O'Connell is understood to have declared that there is nothing to prevent the Roman-catholic clergy accepting glebes and manses, if they were in any way furnished to them. Well, I should like two questions to be answered; the first question to be answered by Mr. Macaulay,—Are you willing and prepared to do this? and the second question to be answered by the people of Edinburgh, of Scotland, and of England,—Are you willing and prepared that it should be done? Then there are other and very possible ways in which the government may give its weight and sanction to the encouragement of the Roman Catholic religion. There are a number of parishes in Ireland in which there is not a single Protestant. Now I will anticipate any feeling which may be expressed by any friend of Mr. Macauley's present, by saying, that, in my opinion, it is neither legitimate nor reasonable, that in a parish where there is no Protestant, a minister should be paid for doing nothing. In such a parish as I have described, it is in the highest degree probable that Government will propose that the Established Church of Ireland should be curtailed; and I for one will add, that if that were the whole of their proposition, I would not be prepared to oppose it; but I conceive it also to be in the

highest degree possible and probable, that in those parishes it will be proposed that the churches thus made vacant, shall be given for the use of the Roman Catholics of the district; and I fearlessly assert that I shall consider it a violation of the fundamental principles of our Constitution, if one single steeple or church tower in Ireland, shall be given for the use of the Roman Catholics.' *—pp. 16, 17.

Such then is the present position of this great question. We look upon it as settled so far as ministerial *intention* is concerned. This is the conviction of all impartial men, friends or foes, dissenters or churchmen, whatever may be pleaded on behalf of a truculent or vacillating policy. 'We have,' says the *Address of the Scottish Board of Dissenters*, which has just come to hand, 'in near, and if we do not bestir ourselves, in certain prospect, the endowment of popery in Ireland. The leaders of the two great parties in parliament have united in commending this course, and there can be no question that a large majority in the present House of Commons are disposed to aid in the prosecution of it; so that nothing but the strong and declared opposition of the constituency can long avert the infliction. Lord John Russell, accordingly, while he acknowledges that the public mind is inadequately prepared for such a policy, explicitly avows that he defers it with manifest reluctance, and holds out the hope that, before many years shall have elapsed, it will be more favourably regarded.'

Against this all but universal belief it is urged by some that our judgment is precipitate. The government, it is alleged, has not yet avowed the design, and it is, therefore, neither generous nor just to charge them with it. It is marvellous how far the credulity of some men will carry them. We pity their folly, but must decline to follow them as guides. If ever coming events cast their shadows before them, these shadows are distinctly visible in the present case, and Lord Russell and his associates must smile at our simplicity, if we fail to be forewarned. The measure to be anticipated, at least in the first instance, is not, technically speaking, a provision by the state:

* We are glad to find that some of the most objectionable passages attributed to Sir Culling Smith by the newspaper press, are not to be found in the corrected reports of his speeches contained in the pamphlet before us. We hope they were not uttered, or that if uttered, they have been on reflection discarded. We greatly honour his integrity of purpose, and the gentlemanly bearing which he observed towards his opponent. Truth, however, compels us to say, that we dissent from much of his reasoning. We do not attach the importance which he evidently does to the distinction between an annual grant and the present state of the Maynooth endowment, and are bound to disclaim all sympathy with his views on the State conscience. In his correspondence with the Lord Provost, he appears to great advantage. It is marvellous, that the latter should deem his conduct consistent with the profession of independency.

and here we apprehend is the mean evasion, the unprincipled subterfuge, of which some will take advantage. A readjustment, or, as it will probably be termed, a more equal distribution of church property, is the measure to be first apprehended. The eight millions it will be urged are entitled to share the revenues now restricted to the eight hundred thousand; and parishes will be referred to in which no Protestant worship is maintained, and the inquiry be boldly put, 'Is it to be borne, is it consistent with the lowest standard of right that, in such cases, a Protestant incumbent, a mere hireling, a sinecurist, an absentee, should continue to receive the ecclesiastical revenue?' To all such queries we fearlessly answer, 'No: but what then?' Have we conceded the wisdom and justice of handing over such revenues to the Romanist church? By no means. The property in question, termed for purposes of popular delusion, church property, belongs as really to the state, and is as subject to its controul, as the proceeds of the taxes, or any other portion of the public revenue. There is, therefore, no difference, so far as principle is concerned, between the application of this kind of property, and that of any other, to the endowment of the Romanist priesthood. The ecclesiastical revenues of Ireland belong to the nation, and may rightfully be employed, as they verily ought to be, to diminish its burdens. But the Catholics, it may be urged, are the great majority, and the appropriation of church property to their good, may so far be termed national. To this we reply, that such appropriation is without the province of government, and cannot be effected without hazarding much greater evil than it can compass good. And further, the property in question being national, belongs to the minority as well as to the majority. The Protestants have an interest in it equally with the Catholics, and to assign it therefore to the latter, in any degree, is to inflict on the former a similar wrong to that of which the Romanists now so justly complain. The joint interest which the two parties possess, forbids the appropriation to any other than mutually advantageous purposes. When will statesmen learn that to do justice is to relieve themselves from perplexity, and to secure the largest good to the people they govern? Let, then, the state resume whatever revenues it has granted for religious purposes. Such revenues have only served to foment pride, secularity, and idleness. They have been the bane of religion, and the weakness of the church of Christ; and so long as they are continued, will prove a source of contention and malignity. An impoverished and starving people clamour for relief, and here are the means of supply. Religion would thus be unshackled, the load of secularity by which she has been bowed down would be removed, hirelings would be

driven out of the church, and the truth of God would have 'free course, run, and be glorified.'

Some men, and even some dissenters, place great reliance on the unwillingness of the Catholics to take the pay of the state. We marvel at their folly, after the events of last year; and refer them to Mr. Robertson's indignant rebuke.

'It is amazing,' says that gentleman, 'what some heads are fitted to believe, and some tongues to say. Did not the welkin of the whole world ring with a shout of Catholic joy when the State undertook to provide for the education of the priesthood in Ireland? Will they who rejoiced over the maintenance of the students reject the maintenance of the priests of Maynooth? Catholic ascendancy in Ireland is the Catholic notion of justice. In the teeth of all his loud professions of Voluntaryism, now silent, Mr. O'Connell, in a memorable speech in the beginning of last year, made his last declaration on this subject; which was, that as Presbyterianism was the established religion of Scotland, and Episcopacy of England, Catholicism ought to be the established religion of Ireland. Only imagine the Vatican spurning State pay! As much of State pay, and as little of State control as possible, is the object of the Irish priesthood. Gold as much as they can get, with as little of it as possible in the shape of chains, is the object of the priests.

'O'Connell has been strong hitherto, because he has been on the side of justice. The spectacle presented by Ireland is a rich church without a people—a people without bread—a Protestantism with the curse of persecution withering it into infamy—a Catholicism the consoler of the robbed and persecuted always. In six centuries the English spoilers and Protestant persecutors have robbed the Irish Catholics of eleven-twelfths of their lands. These wrongs are the source of the power of O'Connell. Let us wash our hands of them. The language of the friends of righteousness to Mr. O'Connell ought to be, 'We will help you to equality, but not to ascendency—half the English, two-thirds of the Scotch, educate and pay their own clergy—you shall be our equals, you shall not have the degradation of an ascendency—the slavery of an alliance with an aristocracy—the baseness of a subsistence on the alms of your spoilers. Liberator of your race! it is your people, and not your priests, who want bread! Emancipator of your religion! assist not in taking the minister of it from the bed-side of the peasant to giggle as a sycophant at the table of the landlord. Behold those thousands of your wretched countrymen lying in their cabins, famishing in the dreadful season between the old potatoes and the new—hear the yells of your countrywomen, infuriated by their famished children, around the potato carts, which are driven away because they cannot pay the price—O give not, give not the children's bread to a sacerdotal lackeyhood!'' —pp. 15, 16.

What then, it may be asked, does it devolve on us to do? The question is a fair one, and we will honestly meet it. In the

first place, then, it becomes us to look our danger in the face. We must not evade or trifle with it. There must be no shrinking back, no attempt to keep ourselves in ignorance, or to hold our judgments in suspense. Once and for all we must sift the facts, must look below the surface, must scrutinize the evidence, and satisfy ourselves of the probabilities of the case. There must be no temporizing in the matter, no communing with a low-minded and truculent expediency. The principles involved are too sacred, the interests threatened too solemn and weighty for this. We must rise to the elevation of our position, and with the earnestness of Christian men must meet the claims of duty. Our fathers have set us a noble example. Let the same moral courage and rectitude which they evinced, be seen in our demeanour.

Happily we have the means of preventing the anticipated evil. Fidelity to ourselves, or rather to the principles we have avowed, is alone required in order to this. Let us discharge our duty as Christian men, in the fear of God, and without respect of persons, and we need not fear the infidel policy of our rulers. It has happened in the course of God's providence, that the intimation of danger has come upon us on the eve of a general election. The question will probably be staved off during the present parliament, and we shall not be surprised if attempts are made before a dissolution, to involve the intentions of government in doubt. To be forewarned, however, is to be forearmed. Come when it may, the question will really be decided at the next election. If the Christian men of this country then prefer repose to their duty, if they allow the miserable charge of being political to deter them from the exercise of their right as citizens, if they suffer personal interests or local influence to induce them to record their votes otherwise than as religious fidelity enjoins, if, in a word, they merge their higher and holier obligations at the dictate of party, or the solicitations of friendship, a *House* will inevitably be constituted by which the chains of ecclesiastical usurpation will be strengthened, and the circle of governmental interference with Christianity be greatly enlarged. Let dissenters, then, be instantly on the alert. Let local organizations be effected, having respect to local returns. Let suitable candidates be provided, and every provision be made which earnest zeal and prudent foresight can devise. Were we alive to the religious bearings of this question as we ought to be, we should look out for men of our own class, who know our principles, are religiously earnest in their advocacy, and qualified to expound and enforce them before the national intellect. The greatest service which could be done to religion would be the return of a few such at the ensuing

general election, and we know not a higher and nobler application of a portion of the wealth of our rich men, than the furtherance of such an object. But whatever steps are taken, we say to our readers, in the language of the Scottish address:—

'Let them be characterised by energy and despatch. An emergency is at hand; every day is increasingly precious; and the well-being of remote lands, and of future generations, wait upon your faithfulness. It is not meant that you are to display rashness and fury in your procedure; these are poisoned weapons, and must not be brandished. Avoid every word or act that could reasonably offend; beware of personal attacks, and imputation of motives, and unbecoming ridicule. Be not only just but generous in your judgment of opponents. Concede to them all the credit for upright and benevolent intention you claim to yourselves. If they accuse and malign you, return not railing for railing. Rejoice that the truth of God has so largely neutralized human folly, and that our national churches, based as they are on a false principle, contain nevertheless so many who exemplify and adorn our common Christianity. Do all this, and more, in commendation of charity. But remember that He who is the Lamb of God is also the Lion of the tribe of Judah, and that the same religion which inculcates kindness, inculcates courage; makes diligence a virtue and indolence a crime. We have slept long enough—too long. The calls of Providence, like the sound of a trumpet, waxing louder and louder, rebuke our slumbers, and summon us to action. Up, then, and be doing; quit yourselves like men—be strong. Meet immediately; hold meetings everywhere; interchange counsels; form and mature plans; and, whatever else you resolve on, be at all events determined to inscribe on the page of history that, IN THE EVENTFUL ELECTION OF 1847, NOT A DISSENTING VOTE WAS TENDERED THAT WENT TO SECULARIZE RELIGION, AND MULTIPLY ITS WRONGS.'

Brief Notices.

Life of Cardinal Wolsey. By John Galt. Third edition, with additional Illustrations from Cavendish's 'Life of Wolsey,' and other sources. London: D. Bogue.

MR. BOGUE has acted wisely in the selection of this volume. It is well suited to the 'European Library,' and will be highly acceptable to the numerous purchasers of that excellent series. The times of Wolsey have left their impression on English history, and his agency was mainly instrumental in the great work then accomplished.

It is of importance that his character, and the circumstances of his age should be accurately known; and we therefore welcome this popular reprint of Mr Galt's volume. The editor has rendered a valuable service by supplying, in the form of notes, many of the personal details furnished by Cavendish, the earliest biographer of Wolsey. The value of the volume is thus greatly increased, whilst its power of interesting the reader is enhanced vastly. The selections made are so extensive as to 'include well nigh all that constitutes the peculiar superiority of Cavendish's relation.' The Appendix also contains a far greater number of Cardinal Wolsey's letters than have ever before been brought together, so that we need scarcely say the present edition is incomparably superior to either of its predecessors.

The Privateer's-Man, One Hundred Years Ago. By Captain Marryat, R.N. Two vols. London: Longman and Co.

THIS book cannot fail to be a great favourite with the young. It is so crowded with romantic incidents, as to be well fitted to please and stimulate their imagination, while the limited nature of their experience will prevent their recoiling from the improbability of many of the adventures narrated. It is written in an easy, off-hand, careless style, as though the author had more regard for his own ease, than respect for his reader. Its philosophy is in keeping with its style, and its general tone of sentiment correct and healthful. Such productions do not, we confess, satisfy us. We are not content to receive them as substitutes for other and higher works. Captain Marryat is capable of better things, and his self-respect, and gratitude to the public, should prompt him to maintain his right position. He cannot rival 'Robinson Crusoe;' but the author of 'Jacob Faithful' possesses powers, which, if diligently cultivated, will retain him no mean place amongst the writers of fiction. We do not wish to disparage the present publication, but merely remark that there is another and higher department of fiction, in which our author is more qualified to excel, and in which he has already won an honourable name.

The History of Greece. By Connop Thirlwall, D.D. 8vo. Third Volume. New Edition. London: Longman & Co.

WE have already expressed our opinion of Bishop Thirlwall's history, and of this edition of it. It is the production of an accomplished and able scholar, and has gone far to redeem our literature from the reproach under which it previously lay. The present volume brings down the history to the close of the Sicilian expedition, and to the commencement of the rupture between Alcibiades and the Spartans. We need not say one word in commendation of a work which must have a place in the library of every accomplished Englishman, or of an edition which alone is worthy of its merits. Our readers may assure themselves of a rich treat in its perusal.

The Reformers before the Reformation in the Fifteenth Century. John Huss and the Council of Constance. By Emile de Bonnechose. Translated from the French by Campbell Mackenzie, B. A., Trin. Coll. Dublin. Two volumes in one Longman and Co.

NOTHING is more common in this world than for one man to do the work and another to have the glory. There is so little reasoning upon causes and consequences, that the result is generally ascribed to him who appears immediately connected with the fact of its occurrence—the reaper is praised, the sower is forgotten. This has been the case with the Reformation. Those who were directly employed in giving definite shape to that event have been exalted at the expense of others without whose patient labours, when success was not either certain or probable, it could never have taken place. We rejoice, therefore, in every wise effort to make the public acquainted with the 'Reformers before the Reformation.' Some of them were noble men, even seeing further into truth than their successors, and working amid hardships and discouragements that would have overcome less faithful and determined spirits. The work before us is, in many respects, the sort of work that we desire to see in the hands of our people. It is carefully compiled, and well-written—but it does not deserve the comprehensive title which it bears. 'Huss, and the Hussites,' would have left no room for objection—but 'Reformers before the Reformation' is simply incorrect—at least, the notices of some of them, and of the principal of them, as Wycliffe, bear no proportion to the position which they filled, and the effects they produced.

Luther, Milton, and Pascal: three Lectures. By D. Rhys Stephen. pp. 80. Aylott and Jones.

THESE lectures are very creditable to their author. They are the wise and warm productions of a right-minded man.

Six Lectures on the Importance and Practicability of Christian Union, chiefly in relation to the Movements of the Evangelical Alliance. By J. Aldis, Pastor of the Church in Maze Pond, Southwark. Pp 152. London: Aylott and Jones, 1846.

MR. ALDIS deserves attention on any subject which he takes up with interest, but on the subject of *union* his claims to regard are peculiarly strong. He has a right to speak upon it. This right he exercises with much judgment and good sense. The tone of his volume is that of manliness, candour, and charity. If he seem sometimes to express his own opinions with great strength, at other times he refers to his differing brethren with remarkable generosity. We desire for his excellent sentiments and advice a wide circulation.

The Anglo-Indian Passage; Homeward and Outward: or, a Card for the Overland Traveller from Southampton to Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. With Letters descriptive of the Homeward Passage, and Notices of Gibraltar, Malta, Alexandria, Cairo, Suez, Aden, Bombay, Point de Galle, Madras, and Calcutta. By David Lester Richardson. With numerous Illustrations. pp. 190. Madden and Malcolm, 1845.

WE have copied the whole of the title-page, in order to give a full view of the contents of this book, which we imagine will be found very valuable to those who travel to India, and, at the same time, interesting to those who do not.

Family Expositions: on the Epistles of St. John and St. Jude. By the Rev. E. Bickersteth, Rector of Watton, Herts. Pp. 253. London: Seeley. 1846.

WE need not do more than quote the esteemed author's own account of this volume. 'I feel anxious that the reader should not mistake the character of these expositions. They do not at all pretend to be critical and exact. They are abridged notes, by my children, of those explanations, and simple practical remarks on the sacred text, which I gave in morning worship, and which appeared at the time likely to be useful to my own family. They were written by my children, without any view to publication for their own benefit. The manuscripts were lent among their friends, and it was only after many requests that their author, giving them such slight revision as his many occupations allowed, has agreed to their publication.'

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan, of Kabul: with his political proceedings towards the English, Russian, and Persian Governments, including the victory and disasters of the British Army in Affghanistan. By Mohan Lal, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo.

A Memoir of the Life and Character of Thomas Wilson, Esq. By his Son.

The North British Review. No. X.

Discourses and Essays, by J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, D.D. With an Introduction, by Robert Baird, D.D.

The Modern Orator. Edmund Burke. Part III.

A Manual of the Baptist Denomination for the year 1846.

The Biblical Repository and Classical Review. Edited by John Holmes Agnew. July.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR OCTOBER, 1846.

Art. I.—1. *The Proclamation of War by the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope against the Caffres.* Cape Town: 31st March, 1846.

2. *The Times, Morning Chronicle, and other London Papers, of July and August, concerning the Invasion of the Cape Colony by the Caffres, in May,* 1846.

THE subject to which we are now desirous of calling attention, is calculated to excite most diversified feelings. The fearful event to which it relates has many bearings, and all of them are exceedingly important. Hordes of infuriated barbarians have turned a flourishing and rich* settlement into a vast and smoking ruin. The vengeance of a civilized government will come next, and remorselessly crush the fellow-creature, whose better qualities might have been cultivated with good effect, if set about in earnest. A great plan of benevolence, after making for a little while remarkable progress, is signally disappointed; and its failure throws undeserved discredit upon a cause, which wants only wise guidance to insure complete success. These things would justify a tone of indignation, that might be thought unbecoming a calm inquiry, even when the calamities at the Cape are traceable to local faults, for which there is no excuse, and to a system of administration at home, abandoned even by the statesmen who have so long permitted it.

On the other hand, there is a compensation even for such calamities, in the deep attention which they will compel to the whole of South African affairs; so that indignation may well give way before the hope of better prospects, which the right use

* The wool of the Cape, in 1845-6, exceeding 3,200,000 lbs., and of *a higher price than the Australian*, comes extensively from the invaded districts.

Monthly Prize Essays. No. II.

The Pictorial Gallery of Arts. No. XIX.

The English Hexapla, consisting of the six important vernacular English Translations of the New Testament Scriptures. Part XII.

The Life of Wesley, and Rise and Progress of Methodism. By Robert Southey, Esq., LL.D. Third Edition. With Notes by the late Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Esq., and Remarks on the Life and Character of John Wesley, by the late Alexander Knox, Esq: Edited by the Rev. Charles Cuthbert Southey, M.A., Curate of Cockermouth. In 2 vols.

ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ; or, The Revelation of Jesus Christ minutely interpreted and considered, in relation to the church's expectation of the nearness of the Lord's appearing and Kingdom. By the Rev. John Hooper.

The use of the Body in relation to the Mind. By George More, M.D.

Thoughts on some important Points relating to the System of the World. By J. P. Nichol, LL.D.

Mental Discipline, or Hints on the Cultivating of intellectual and Moral Habits, addressed particularly to Students in Theology, and young Preachers. By Henry Forster Burder, D.D.

The Biliad, or how to Criticize. A Satire, with the Dirge of Repeal, and other jeux d'esprit. By T. M. Hughes.

Sermons occasioned by the death of the Rev. Hugh Heugh, D.D., Glasgow, delivered in Regent Place Secession Church, on Sabbath June 21, 1846, with the Address before interment. Published by request.

Thoughts on Christian Union, with reference to the present efforts to bring about a union of all Evangelical Christians.

The Duties solemnly binding on the various sections of the Church of Christ for suppressing the Emulations and Strife which prevent its fulfilling its Mission to the World. By the author of 'A Revived Ministry our only hope for a revived Church.'

Lectures on Ethics. By Thos. Brown, M.D. With a Preface, by Thomas Chalmers, D.D.

England's Colonial Empire: an Historical, Political, and Statistical Account of the Empire, its Colonies, and Dependencies. By Charles Pridham, Esq., B.A. Vol. I.—The Mauritius and its Dependencies.

Elements of Physics. By F. Peschel, Principal of the Military College at Dresden, &c. Translated from the German, with Notes, by E. West. Vols. 2 and 3.

The Dream of the Opium Eater. By Owen Howell.

Political Dictionary, forming a Work of Universal Reference, both Constitutional and Legal, &c., &c. Part XIV. First Half.

The Spiritual Claims of Teetotalism, addressed to British Christians. By Newman Hall, B.A.

Apostolical Loosing and Binding, or Remitting and Retaining Sins, together with the Keys and Loosing and Binding, as given to Peter, explained and illustrated by the Rev. W. Blackley, B.A.

The Macaulay Election; or, the Designs of the Ministry. By John Robertson.

The People's Dictionary of the Bible. Part XII.

An Initiatory Grammar of the English Language, with numerous Exercises. By John Millen, Teacher of English, George Square, Glasgow.

A New Universal Etymological and Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language, embracing all the Terms used in Art, Science, and Literature. Part X.

Gilbert's Modern Atlas of the World for the People. With an Introduction to the Physical Geography of the Globe, and an Alphabetical Index of the Latitudes and Longitudes of 24,000 Places. Part VI.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR OCTOBER, 1846.

Art. I.—1. *The Proclamation of War by the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope against the Caffres.* Cape Town: 31st March, 1846.

2. *The Times, Morning Chronicle, and other London Papers, of July and August, concerning the Invasion of the Cape Colony by the Caffres, in May,* 1846.

THE subject to which we are now desirous of calling attention, is calculated to excite most diversified feelings. The fearful event to which it relates has many bearings, and all of them are exceedingly important. Hordes of infuriated barbarians have turned a flourishing and rich* settlement into a vast and smoking ruin. The vengeance of a civilized government will come next, and remorselessly crush the fellow-creature, whose better qualities might have been cultivated with good effect, if set about in earnest. A great plan of benevolence, after making for a little while remarkable progress, is signally disappointed; and its failure throws undeserved discredit upon a cause, which wants only wise guidance to insure complete success. These things would justify a tone of indignation, that might be thought unbecoming a calm inquiry, even when the calamities at the Cape are traceable to local faults, for which there is no excuse, and to a system of administration at home, abandoned even by the statesmen who have so long permitted it.

On the other hand, there is a compensation even for such calamities, in the deep attention which they will compel to the whole of South African affairs; so that indignation may well give way before the hope of better prospects, which the right use

* The wool of the Cape, in 1845-6, exceeding 3,200,000 lbs., and of *a higher price than the Australian*, comes extensively from the invaded districts.

of this bitter experience opens before us. It is in the latter point of view that we shall treat the subject. The cause of humanity will be best served by marking the errors of the humane without respect of persons. Conflicting interests may be reconciled by frank concessions on every side, without the violation of any good principle. The plain description of universally admitted abuses, will recommend a reform which will render our colonial administration equal to its duties.

The present tendency of public opinion encourages efforts having just ends in view; and there are signs abroad, that the old indifference to colonies is being formally abandoned in the highest quarters, as well as on the part of the public. Mr. Macauley's declaration on the hustings at Edinburgh, that colonial interests so long postponed to 'the intrigues of faction,' are to be seriously attended to at last, and the strong expression of his desire to take a part in these new and glorious labours, are full of meaning. There is therefore reason to expect that affairs involving the well-being of hundreds of thousands of human beings, will cease to be left to the management of clerks, and be cared for by statesmen appointed to the task, and by a parliament inclined to controul those statesmen, with a well-instructed public, capable of correcting both.

This is a great change, springing directly from the increasing notice taken of colonial affairs by the public. The time was, when a war with the aborigines in any of our colonies where they still survive, would have occasioned merely a stray sentence in a ship letter, or at the most a solitary paragraph in small type. Nor is it long since, horrors older than Christianity itself continued to be as rife and as unheeded in our settlements, as if Christianity had never been heard of; and the very same spirit which, one thousand nine hundred years ago led the polished Romans, with Cicero * at their head—forgetting the universal philanthropy of old Terence †—to shrink from social contact with our rude forefathers; and then softening down crime with a figure of rhetoric, to call the extermination of barbarians, *peace—solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant,*—this same spirit, within a short time, permitted the more polished press of London to be silent on receiving news of a like result in the purely British colony of Van Diemen's Land, although our callous government was alarmed at the act, when consummated. The despatch of the governor of the colony, with an account of his extraordinary war, and more extraordinary peace with the remnant of the aborigines, stifled in an island too small for them, to which they

* See Cicero's Letter to Trebatius on the Britons.

† It was one hundred and fifty-nine years before our era, when the well-known line of Terence called forth a shout of applause in the theatre of Rome.

had been sent for safe custody, frightened Lord Glenelg; and he hurried off orders to stop the atrocious imprisonment, which was destroying the poor creatures at the rate of some sixty per cent. in less than a year. The colonial papers exposed the whole matter, but it attracted no attention from the London press. Again, in this very South Africa, upon which, as will presently be seen, our ablest editors can now write with abundance of eloquence, and an inconceivably small stock of correct intelligence, because fighting with savages has suddenly become almost a fashionable topic, the colonists and blacks were cutting each others throats for several years together since 1836, without a single expression of regret in any one leading article throughout the United Kingdom.

This degree of apathy has passed away; but its worst effect, and inevitable but proper punishment—*an extreme ignorance of material facts*—remains; and the very first step towards the beneficial change of colonial policy* and colonial administration† promised us, is, to remove that ignorance, and to acquire, in its place, a competent knowledge of the leading circumstances of colonial history. How grievously this is wanted in those who have the most abundant means of knowledge at their command; and who can lavish enormous sums of money to obtain it on many occasions not more worthy of their zeal, will now be shown.

The *third* invasion of the Cape by the Caffres, not the 'FIRST,' as the '*Times*' states, gives an apt opportunity for enlarging on this capital point of the great need of correct colonial information in London, along with several other topics, which constitute the essence of the promised reform. Nor is this point the less worth general attention because it is raised upon a question which concerns a barbarous tribe; for it deserves particular remark, that no great improvement can be made in our proceedings towards the aborigines, which will not directly promote general colonial reform. Of the 'war at the Cape,' after noticing the supineness of the government on the subject, the 'Times' says:—

'The present outbreak of the Caffres wears a more serious aspect than any of previous occurrence. *On former occasions the country of the natives had been made the seat of war, and our own district had been protected from desolation. Now they have crossed the frontiers, and*

* Earl Grey, the present colonial secretary, was the first to declare in the House of Commons, a disapproval of the anti-colonial policy for many years leaned to by the government.

† The late Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Goulburn, announced in the House of Commons last June, the intended remodelling of the Colonial Office.

brought fire and sword to the very doors of the colonists. . . . . . The destruction of property has been enormous. The eastern districts of the colony have been actually swept by these heathen invaders, who have driven off flocks and herds by thousands, and desolated our plantations like a torrent of fire. . . . . In the causes which appear to have induced or precipitated this catastrophe, it is not unlike those terrible outbreaks in Hindustan *which have been occasionally consequent upon the indiscriminate zeal of our missionaries.* Another item must be set down against these Exeter-Hall counsels, which have designed so much good, and effected so much mischief from VELLORE to Timbuctoo. The natives have been treated as amiable proselytes, while the colonists have been represented as godless oppressors. *They have been released from a superintendance which they were compelled to respect, and subjected only to treaties, which they could not be presumed to understand.* They have been indulged with independence, and supplied with copies of the Scriptures; and the result is found in their loading their guns with the types of a missionary press, and using as wadding the sheets of the New Testament translated, and printed for their special use.'—*July* 20, 1846.

Upon the same subject, the 'Morning Chronicle' 'WILLINGLY publishes the following statements, in the hope that they may receive the attention they deserve. 'By what has the war been caused? Simply by the line of policy adopted by Lord Glenelg, ten years ago, at the instigation of Mr. James Stephen, and the clique of intriguing missionaries, who have long ruled at the Colonial Office. Sir Benjamin D'Urban's policy was comprehensive, just, and based on the most humane principles, whether as regards the Caffres or the colonists. Because he exposed the schemes, and would have frustrated the self-interested objects of these insidious philanthropists of the Stephen school, he was dismissed from office. Now, what has come to pass? Exactly what he predicted, and what every rational person foresaw.—*July* 18, 1846.'

The cause of the war is said, by the 'Times,' to have been 'a dispute between the local government and the Caffres;' and, it adds, that 'the contest has been going on since the middle of April.—*July* 20, 1846.'

In criticising these papers, put forth with unusual solemnity, and with a sort of official weight, by the two great leaders of public opinion, it is satisfactory to be able to divest the case of the only disagreeable personality that exists in it. It is here proposed to prove that the little facts of the 'Times' and 'Chronicle' are grossly inaccurate, and their great ones either directly false, or most illogically abused, but there is no longer any occasion to take into the account for any purpose whatever, MR. STEPHEN, who is attacked so bitterly in the 'Chronicle.' Since *his defence* against 'the injustice of the

public,' which has held him responsible for the wrong policy of the Colonial Office, he may be entirely laid aside in these discussions as an individual who has passed a long life in vainly labouring to correct the errors of other men, 'his superiors,' who would not listen to him. This is not a very uncommon thing. Its peculiarity in the instance of Mr. Stephen is, that for the thirty or forty years that he has been so employed, he has been gaining a large salary and high station for his wasted labour.

According to the 'Times' and 'Chronicle,' the calamity at the Cape may be easily accounted for. First, the Caffres are irreclaimable savages, fit only for the iron yoke, under which we had once got them, and might have kept them, for Sir Benjamin D'Urban succeeded (in 1836) in so keeping them down. Finally, the influence of the missionaries in Downing Street, prevented the system of Sir Benjamin D'Urban being permanent, and occasioned the present outbreak.

It is now proposed to show that all those propositions are opposed to well established facts, and to the most rational view of Caffre affairs; for which purpose a carefully drawn sketch of the history of those affairs since 1806 is now submitted to the reader's judgment.

These affairs are recorded to a much earlier period; but without offering any features which differ from those of a subsequent date. As the relations of the inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope with the Caffres, which, at the present day, are of the greatest importance to their mutual well-being, and upon which any differences of opinion prevail, may be conveniently noticed in a brief history of the Caffre frontier, it will be early enough to take up their history at our second occupation of the colony after the peace of Amiens. Many interesting events occurred upon that frontier before, both under the Dutch government, and during our first occupation of the Cape from 1795 to 1802; but for many years after our second occupation of the colony we continued the system instituted by the Dutch in regard to the natives, so that a survey of what we did in our first twelve or fourteen years possession will fairly represent the character of the earlier governments.

There is a general agreement as to the transactions of those governments on this frontier except on one fact, which ought at the first to have been scrupulously investigated; and although by the lapse of time that fact has lost most of its original importance, it may still have influence enough upon the Caffres, to demand attention even now. It is their allegation of having acquired a portion of the country within the nominal colonial boundary, by fair purchase from the right

* 'Westminster Review,' June, 1846.

owners, a Hottentot tribe, and with the sanction of the Dutch *frontier* authorities. This title is denied by our government; and it would be satisfactory to be able to ascertain its real value; which might be done without much difficulty through the records at the Cape, and those in Holland. In both places, there are collections of the highest interest, not only for the history of this colony, but in reference to the far wider subject of the relations between civilized, and uncivilized men. The first portion of those documents for the seventeenth century has been published lately by a private society at Cape Town; but there are serious omissions in the volume, which ought to be completed, and the work be brought down to the present day by the care of government.

Another fact, of a date previous to the beginning of the following sketch, is very remarkable. The principle steadily pursued for many years by the Dutch, in order to keep the peace upon the Caffre frontier was, the prohibition of intercourse between the colonists and the Caffres; notwithstanding that both wished to hold such intercourse; and that it could unquestionably have been maintained to their mutual advantage. The true reason of the prohibition seems to have been, the wish of the Dutch government to keep the monopoly of the interior cattle market for the East India Company. In an interview with the last Dutch governor, a Caffre chief warmly objected to this law. Peace is impossible, said the *savage*, where near neighbours are not allowed to come together. Nevertheless, the civilized statesman, a very able and good man, Governor Ianssens, was inexorable; and we persisted in the same policy, without being influenced by his original motives, down to about 1827.

In other respects we maintained the Dutch system of Colonial government with little change. The old Commandos were continued to a very late date. They were levies of the colonists by an inferior functionary, to pursue alleged offenders, without proper means of ascertaining the culprits; or of preventing the innocent being confounded with the guilty; or of visiting the guilty with a reasonable amount of punishment. Too often the alleged offence is believed to have been either a false alarm, or a fiction, made for the purpose of a foray. In fact, the commandos were not only a grievous burthen to the well-disposed colonist, but they produced all the evils of marauding border expeditions; and especially excited in the Caffres a violent spirit of vengeance.

Before this mischievous system of police was introduced along the whole Caffre frontier, and the old principle of non-intercourse fully enforced, a measure was resolved upon by us, which has stamped a peculiar character upon Caffre history. This was the

expulsion of those tribes whom we found in possession of large tracts of land within the boundaries of the colony. Whatever foundation there may have been for their alleged purchase of *some part* of these lands, it was clear they had intruded upon the colony far beyond that part; and had burned and destroyed many of our farms, after a succession of frightful border wars.

The Caffres, like ourselves, are a spreading people,—*not migratory*, but in a state of progress and improvement. They are a people of herdsmen; and have long possessed great numbers of cattle, without sheep or horses, until lately. They also grow some grain. But the increase of their herds, and that of their people has long led them to seek for additional lands. The country to the east, and north-east of their confined territory, being in possession of powerful and kindred tribes of the same habits with themselves, they spread to the west, where they found the comparatively weak tribes of Hottentots in possession of the soil.

Caffreland, as it is called by the Colonists, is a very small portion of the Caffraria of the maps. It is bounded towards the colony by the Great Fish River; to the north by the Winter Berg range of mountains; on the east by a line run at a short distance beyond the river Kei; and on the south by the eastern ocean, breaking in on an iron-bound coast without a single port, although full of streams of fine water. In this country they seem to have been fixed for at least a century; but the names of some of the rivers, and other circumstances, show that they must have once dispossessed Hottentot tribes of it. It may be roughly estimated at an extent of 4,000,000 of square acres. Their population is above 150,000 souls, which is far more dense than the population of the civilized Cape colony. Their correct name is, the Kosæ, or Amakosæ, by which they are distinguished from the other tribes of the great Caffre race, covering so large a portion of south-eastern Africa. The neighbours of these Caffres are the Cape Colonists, the Bushmen of the mountains, and the interior and eastern Tambookies.

The Caffres, or Amakosæ, are divided into several tribes, each having sovereign power, but acknowledging a great chief over them all, with an authority on certain occasions not very well understood by us. This great chief has a tribe of his own, and is entirely separated from the colony by several intermediate tribes. All the chiefs have hereditary councillors possessing extensive influence. Their plan of government has strong indications of reflection and progress; so, that wisely dealt with, they could not fail of becoming a civilized people.

The Caffres who had established themselves within the colonial boundaries, were a portion of these intermediate tribes. The Dutch government had in vain negotiated with them to

retire; and about the year 1811, we resolved to expel t
which was effected with much difficulty. At this period,
relations with the colonists were often friendly and mu
advantageous. They furnished good farm labourers, and
of them were in service, scattered far to the west, amon
colonists. They had also placed some of their children a
school of the remarkable Dr. Vanderkemp, a Dutch missio
connected with the London society. After a sanguinary
however, they were driven beyond the great Fish River. T
thus we had formed an alliance with a powerful Caffre chief,
had not intruded upon us, Gaika, so well described in
youth by Barrow; and a rival of the intruding chiefs. H
not the great chief of the interior, acknowledged by al
Caffres as their common suzerain; yet we long persisted i
attempt to exclude all but Gaika from the right of m
treaties with us. Thus we not only committed the fault o
independent tribes of a privilege of the highest valu
we did so in favour of their enemy.

The cost of this war, and the loss of life in it, were
evils; but it was far worse to throw away an opportun
laying a deep foundation for African civilization by the im
ment of the Caffre people, and by their ultimate amalgan
with us. In the place of such a prospect, we excited the
passions of our neighbours, and threw them back into barb
by compelling them to be plunderers for subsistence and re

If the missionaries, and especially Dr. Vanderkemp, ha
listened to at this period, things would have had a very di
result. He warmly advocated conciliation with the Caffres
upon a system of peace, he had planned a line of stations
the frontiers of the Cape Colony, by Caffreland, to Nat
Delagoa Bay. He had gained a correct acquaintance wi
populous region, from Dutch books unknown in other cou
and especially to our own most diligent geographers, as
be shown by curious mistakes on the subject.* But
unwearied appeals were vain. Whatever may be the real
ence of missionaries upon the government in our days,
which the whole truth is little known; and, however the
have used the influence which they really possess, they
least, clear of all reproach for the course of Colonial aff
the period in question. Even the proved and eminent s
of the Moravians, and the great talents of Vanderken
surprising learning, his knowledge of the world which he
high stations in Europe, with his disinterested devotio
good private fortune to this cause, could neither gain the

* See Pinkerton; and several articles in the 'Quarterly Revie
the Cape, attributed to Sir John Barrow.

ence of the government, nor shield them from the hatred of great numbers of the Colonists. Their appeals were treated with the same neglect as those of several distinguished travellers and shipwrecked seamen, whom the Caffres had treated with signal kindness. The opportunity of doing a great and good work in South Africa, was, therefore, thrown away at that time, and Caffreland became crowded with people so much the more exasperated, as, at least one-third of the tribes expelled from the colony must have been born there in the twenty-three years, during which the intruders had occupied the south-eastern districts; whereupon commenced, almost necessarily, a long series of plunderings on the part of the Caffres, and of commandos, with every kind of abuse in border police on the side of the Colonists and Cape government. After several years, in 1819, the expelled tribes very nearly surprised the principal military post on the frontier, since called Graham's Town, now the chief place of the eastern province. The Caffre hero, who roused his people to this effort, and invaded the colony to carry it into effect, was Makanna, the prophet, a man of great eloquence and talents, who, upon learning that a price was set upon his head, gave himself up, for a sacrifice, as he said, on behalf of his countrymen.

Up to this time, inglorious Caffre wars were the acts of the local authorities, with the silent sanction of the home government, undisturbed by one word of reproach from any quarter. In England, all colonial interests were absorbed in those of the French wars; and philanthropy, which, in the preceding century, was not limited by Granville Sharpe and his numerous admirers of all ranks, to race or condition, had now long been directed exclusively to the negro slave, and almost to the slave trade. The colonial press did not extend beyond the government gazette, and the bold and eloquent African travellers,* who formerly reported to Europe the abominations practised at the Cape, had no successors. Among them was one, who, when secretary to the excellent Lord Macartnay, had earned a deserved reputation for his humane and judicious semi-official book upon the Cape; but who, afterwards high in station, and in literary influence, abandoned the good cause, and became a steady assailant of its few advocates. We have before alluded to the geographical blunders of Sir John Barrow respecting South Africa; and refer with far deeper regret to his partisanship in the Quarterly Review, in favour of those who are responsible for enormous oppression in South Africa.

The formation of the British settlement in Albany by a vote of Parliament was one of the sources of a great change. The

* Sparrman, Le Vaillant, and Barrow.

misfortunes of that settlement, combined with the reviving zeal of the philanthropists, led to the appointment of a commission of inquiry, which began a revolution in the policy of the Caffre frontier. A struggle was commenced at the same time for a free press in Cape Colony, which ended successfully, although to the great peril of all concerned, and to the ruin of one of its most honest and able champions, the late Mr. Pringle, afterwards the secretary to the Anti-slavery Society.

The result was, *the abolition of the system of non-intercourse between Caffres and colonists.* An extensive trade was therefore opened between them; and at length even the employment of the former upon the farms of the latter was again permitted, as before the expulsion of the Caffres from the colony in the war of 1811. Other beneficial changes accompanied this reform; and several years were consumed in establishing it. The official opponents in the colony were strong; and it met with so little favour in the colonial office at home, that some of its best points recommended by the commissioners of inquiry, were utterly neglected. For example: they proposed to place *civil agents* among the border tribes upon a good system,—a most admirable step, which ought to be taken *in advance* of all our settlements. Before the arrival of the commissioners of inquiry, such agencies, even on a narrow, vacillating plan, had done good. Nevertheless, this indispensable measure was not followed up until forced upon the government by the great invasion of the colony by the Caffres in 1834. Again, although the commissioners were at the Cape from 1823 to 1827, the border police by commandos (which they condemned) remained little changed long after this period; and its peculiarly mischievous character was aggravated by *our encroachments upon the Caffre country*, in a way not sufficiently guarded against by the commissioners, although they strongly declared the injustice and impolicy of such encroachments.

In fact, our own steady lawless acts respecting lands belonging to the Caffres, met with no permanent check; whilst our police against their occasional lawless acts, continued to be as mischievous as their lawless acts themselves. *These territorial encroachments*, and the fears to which they gave rise, were the first causes of the invasion of 1834, which cost the colony and England together not less than half a million sterling, in addition to other enormous evils which do not admit of a money price.

This difficulty as to land by no means stood alone. All parties were dissatisfied with the border police, and with the *fluctuations* in our border policy. The Governor at Cape Town was too far off; and he rarely had a correct know-

ledge of the wants, or grievances, either of the colonists; or of the Caffres in their new relations; or he became acquainted with them too late. So strong was the general opinion against the system in force previous to the Caffre invasion of 1834, and 1835, that the Governor of the Cape himself informed the Secretary of State of his own decided conviction that a change was indispensable. It was, therefore, in the last degree unjust to declare, as the Governor did after that invasion in a public proclamation, that the Caffres were in fault; and 'irreclaimable.' Without doubt the Caffre tribes have cattle stealers among them; and some of the chiefs, being of the same marauding habits as their people, largely share the spoil; but it is a gross calumny to call the whole Caffre people, or any one tribe, thieves, and 'irreclaimable' savages; or to deny that their chiefs have seconded our measures to suppress crime. It is surely no less our duty, than it is our interest, to admit, and so to strengthen, the good dispositions of the Caffres, and not to aggravate their vices. But by being forgetful, with the 'Times,' of the very fact of such an invasion as that of 1834, and 1835, to say nothing of the previous invasion of 1819, and of the unquestionable *main* cause of both, is to put the question of land, and especially our own territorial encroachments, out of the case altogether in our speculations, whilst with the Caffres, those encroachments on our part, and their pressing want of land, are predominant ideas. It is this that gives great importance to carelessness about *little* historical facts.

A few details upon the land case will place our steady encroachment upon the Caffres in a clear light; and this is not the time for blinking even an unpleasant truth in this quarrel. These details do not in any way concern the old pretensions of the Caffres to a title to lands within the colonial boundary.

Between that boundary, as we received it from the Dutch, at the Great Fish River, and another river further east, the Kaiskamma, lies a large tract commonly called the *Neutral*, or ceded, territory. So early as the time of General Craig, about 1796, as is recorded with becoming indignation by Sir John Barrow, the border colonists attempted to prevail upon the government to sanction their taking possession of the most desirable part of this territory towards the interior. This portion belonged to the Gaika tribe; whose right to it was undisputed. At no distant period it had been the scene of some very barbarous outrages on the part of the colonists upon the Mandanka Caffres, afterwards incorporated with the people of Gaika. The government would not hear of the design; and during many years it

was coveted to no purpose. At length, Gaika, whom we still supported against the tribes driven from the colony into Caffreland, was prevailed upon to form this tract into a *neutral* territory, or an intervening space to prevent collisions between the colonists and his people. After a short lapse of time it became convenient to a governor, more compliant than General Craig, to grant some of this neutral land as farms to colonists. For this purpose it soon acquired the character of *ceded* territory, in a series of transactions most disgraceful to the powerful civilized state, while they materially impeded the progress of a small active race of barbarians. Those transactions were, commandos after the old fashion, and springing from *comparatively* petty border plunderings by Caffres; over-reaching negotiation, and oppressive treaties, often broken by us as readily as they were often unfairly made. Out of these transactions, there grew up gradually in the minds even of our friend Gaika's tribe, a strong suspicion, which he is known to have shared, that we had designs upon his country. This suspicion was not a little strengthened by our forcibly expelling a powerful section of this *friendly* tribe, Macomo and his people, from their part of the neutral ground, under circumstances which could not but excite the highest degree of exasperation among them. They had a flourishing missionary station in the tribe; and might fairly be said to be the advanced post of a people capable of any degree of civilization upon the appliance of proper means for promoting it. The offences of some individuals among them, were perfectly insignificant, when compared with the burning of their villages, the ruin of their harvests, and the expulsion of their people of all ages. This violent act was followed up by similar expulsions of the same tribes from hill to hill, and stream to stream, until oppression could be borne no longer: and a frightful outbreak of all the Caffre tribes, except one, into the colony, took place in December, 1834—the *invasion* forgotten by the 'Times.'

It is no reply to this strong imputation upon the integrity of the British government, and upon the Colonial authorities, that the steady acquisition of land from the Caffres here insisted upon so broadly, is inconsistent with the known policy pursued for a long time against the extension of our colonies. Our Colonial administration on this head, has been full of inconsistencies. Such a restrictive policy has been professed—and in some spots sincerely followed. Nevertheless, in all quarters, our boundaries have been extended in part; and the real error has lain in their irregular extension without respect to the claims of humanity, or to the national interests. It has been a strong example how far the system has been a 'Chapter of Accidents.'

ledge of the wants, or grievances, either of the colonists, or of the Caffres in their new relations; or he became acquainted with them too late. So strong was the general opinion against the system in force previous to the Caffre invasion of 1834, and 1835, that the Governor of the Cape himself informed the Secretary of State of his own decided conviction that a change was indispensable. It was, therefore, in the last degree unjust to declare, as the Governor did after that invasion in a public proclamation, that the Caffres were in fault; and 'irreclaimable.' Without doubt the Caffre tribes have cattle stealers among them; and some of the chiefs, being of the same marauding habits as their people, largely share the spoil; but it is a gross calumny to call the whole Caffre people, or any one tribe, thieves, and 'irreclaimable' savages; or to deny that their chiefs have seconded our measures to suppress crime. It is surely no less our duty, than it is our interest, to admit, and so to strengthen, the good dispositions of the Caffres, and not to aggravate their vices. But by being forgetful, with the 'Times,' of the very fact of such an invasion as that of 1834, and 1835, to say nothing of the previous invasion of 1819, and of the unquestionable *main* cause of both, is to put the question of land, and especially our own territorial encroachments, out of the case altogether in our speculations, whilst with the Caffres, those encroachments on our part, and their pressing want of land, are predominant ideas. It is this that gives great importance to carelessness about *little* historical facts.

A few details upon the land case will place our steady encroachment upon the Caffres in a clear light; and this is not the time for blinking even an unpleasant truth in this quarrel. These details do not in any way concern the old pretensions of the Caffres to a title to lands within the colonial boundary.

Between that boundary, as we received it from the Dutch, at the Great Fish River, and another river further east, the Kaiskamma, lies a large tract commonly called the *Neutral*, or ceded, territory. So early as the time of General Craig, about 1796, as is recorded with becoming indignation by Sir John Barrow, the border colonists attempted to prevail upon the government to sanction their taking possession of the most desirable part of this territory towards the interior. This portion belonged to the Gaika tribe; whose right to it was undisputed. At no distant period it had been the scene of some very barbarous outrages on the part of the colonists upon the Mandanka Caffres, afterwards incorporated with the people of Gaika. The government would not hear of the design; and during many years it

was coveted to no purpose. At length, Gaika, whom we still supported against the tribes driven from the colony into Caffreland, was prevailed upon to form this tract into a *neutral* territory, or an intervening space to prevent collisions between the colonists and his people. After a short lapse of time it became convenient to a governor, more compliant than General Craig, to grant some of this neutral land as farms to colonists. For this purpose it soon acquired the character of *ceded* territory, in a series of transactions most disgraceful to the powerful civilized state, while they materially impeded the progress of a small active race of barbarians. Those transactions were, commandos after the old fashion, and springing from *comparatively* petty border plunderings by Caffres; over-reaching negotiation; and oppressive treaties, often broken by us as readily as they were often unfairly made. Out of these transactions, there grew up gradually in the minds even of our friend Gaika's tribe, a strong suspicion, which he is known to have shared, that we had designs upon his country. This suspicion was not a little strengthened by our forcibly expelling a powerful section of this *friendly* tribe, Macomo and his people, from their part of the neutral ground, under circumstances which could not but excite the highest degree of exasperation among them. They had a flourishing missionary station in the tribe; and might fairly be said to be the advanced post of a people capable of any degree of civilization upon the appliance of proper means for promoting it. The offences of some individuals among them, were perfectly insignificant, when compared with the burning of their villages, the ruin of their harvests, and the expulsion of their people of all ages. This violent act was followed up by similar expulsions of the same tribes from hill to hill, and stream to stream, until oppression could be borne no longer; and a frightful outbreak of all the Caffre tribes, except one, into the colony, took place in December, 1834—the *invasion* forgotten by the 'Times.'

It is no reply to this strong imputation upon the integrity of the British government, and upon the Colonial authorities, that the steady acquisition of land from the Caffres here insisted upon so broadly, is inconsistent with the known policy pursued for a long time against the extension of our colonies. Our Colonial administration on this head, has been full of inconsistencies. Such a restrictive policy has been professed—and in some spots sincerely followed. Nevertheless, in all quarters, our boundaries have been extended in part; and the real error has lain in their irregular extension without respect to the claims of humanity, or to the national interests. It has been a strong example how far the system has been a 'Chapter of Accidents.'

One of the frontier tribes, the people of Congo, Pato, and Kama, did not join the confederacy against us in 1834-5. Their lands had been more respected than those of the other tribes. The Hottentots, too, to whom we had lately granted a free settlement upon a portion of the *neutral* territory, fought on our side with the greatest courage; and in the course of the war we released several thousands of Africans, called Fingoes, strangers from the interior, whom the Caffres held as their slaves. We repelled the invaders, after great loss of property and life. Then invading Caffreland in our turn, we defeated the confederates and seized their country, which the governor of the Cape formed into a British province. The Home Government ordered its restoration to the Caffres, and re-established their independence, upon the two grounds of the conquest being unjust after a war to which they were driven by oppression, and of the inexpediency of occupying a country, the military establishment of which would cost more than it was worth.

This step has been the occasion of bitter controversy. It is alluded to in the foregoing extract from 'The Times,' in which it is said, that 'the Caffres have been released from a *superintendence which they were compelled to respect*, and subjected only to treaties which they could not be presumed to understand.' That 'superintendence' was the conquest of the country of the Caffres, after their invasion of the colony in 1834-5; and the establishment of a system of administration in the new British province in that country, eulogised in the extract from 'The Morning Chronicle' as equally beneficial to the colonists and to the natives. The eulogy assumes, of course, that there would have been no difficulty in keeping the Caffres in good order under the conquest, and without undue expense. The expectation of that result is believed, upon strong grounds, to be very far from well founded. In the first place, the facts that occurred on the frontier, before this coercive system was rescinded by orders from home, proved its extreme danger. Marauding by the Caffres had fearfully increased, and their most active men were in the woods and mountains determined indefinitely to prolong the war. This may be ascertained by thousands of living witnesses; and the Cape newspapers of the time, especially those which have the most warmly vindicated the conquest, attest it. This first effect of the conquest upon the conquered, is consistent with all experience. The bravest men among them escape to inaccessible fastnesses, where, although freedom is preserved, they are too apt to lose whatever civilization they possess. Thus, besides giving a new example of our ability to oppress the barbarian, we should have had a fresh occasion for 'enjoying the un-

enviable privilege of still further degenerating the savage.'* Happily, wise and humane counsels then prevailed at the Colonial Office. The act of the governor of the Cape against the independence of the Caffres was rescinded; but without visiting him with more than the mortification of disapproval. The parliamentary documents of the time prove, against the assertion in the 'Morning Chronicle,' that his removal from this post took place long afterwards, solely in consequence of his contumacious despatches. The secretary of state, Lord Glenelg, is entitled to the honour of this noble act, which was strenuously resisted in the Cabinet. But although Lord Glenelg decided wisely and justly *not* to keep Caffreland, the circumstances under which that wise and just decision was formed, were unfavourable to its being accompanied by the proper measures to turn the remarkable events of that period to the best account either in South Africa or in any other colony. A considerable number of books had lately been published, advocating a more humane policy towards the aborigines of the colonies. These books had attracted *some* attention, but they had failed to interest the public at large in the subject. They had only prepared the way for a proceeding in the House of Commons, which was soon to have that effect; and had exerted some influence on the minds of one or two of the half-a-dozen secretaries of state, who had ruled the colonies in the preceding half-a-dozen years.

But these earnest books, especially the poems, the African sketches, and the miscellaneous writings of the late Thomas Pringle, had by the graces of their style *begun* deeply to interest general readers in that predominant topic, the claims of the free aborigines of South Africa, the Hottentot, the Bushman, and the Caffre. Mr. Pringle had lived among them; and painted their griefs with all the vividness of truth. He was a colonist himself, and a friend of liberal colonial institutions; so that he carried many colonists along with him, although he strenuously resisted colonial prejudices. He was a man of genius, and intimately connected with the literary world here; and so brought philanthropy with the greatest effect home to the hearts of many who were capable of disseminating their *new* humane sentiments far and wide in the numerous and various channels of the press with which they were connected. Hence in the newspapers, in the annuals, and in the magazines, the same spirit *began* to prevail, which, in the last century, the early discussion of the ills of slavery stamped deeply upon our

* These words are borrowed from the eloquent remonstrance of Captain Stokes, against the scandalous project for founding a new penal colony in North Australia.—*Discoveries in Australia.* By Captain Lort Stokes.

literature. Mr. Pringle was also secretary to the Anti-slavery Society; and this enabled him, year after year, to bring with great zeal and tact the claims of his *free Aborigines* before those who were well practised in the cause of philanthropy. As the connecting link of that cause with the literature of the country, Mr. Pringle's high merits have not been enough rewarded. To his efforts must be added those of Dr. Philip, whose volumes on South Africa produced a greater effect in a narrower circle. Himself long the energetic head of the London Society's missions in South Africa, his testimony against the enormities practised upon the native tribes, was received with its due weight by the principal missionary bodies of all denominations.

These circumstances falling in with the close of the anti-slavery struggle, by the abolition act of 1833, led the way to a movement in the House of Commons, on behalf of all the Aborigines of our colonies. In 1834, the late Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton made his first motion for papers on the subject. In 1835, he obtained a committee which, although general, was chiefly occupied with affairs of the Caffres; and continued to sit until 1837. How much the inquiry was needed, was shown at its opening. The secretary of state for the Colonies, who joined heartily with it in eulogising the object in view, utterly despaired of the effort producing good results. He held it to be the will of providence that the *civilized* man should destroy the uncivilized with brandy and rum. Again, colony after colony was then being founded without any provision for imparting civilization to these victims of our superiority. The Swan River had just been so founded, and South Australia was about to follow in the same track. It was not foreseen, that in a very few years, indeed, 'friendly intercourse might be brought about between the Aborigines and the Colonists, and the former be advanced in civilization,' even in those unpromising regions, provided governors would take 'a deep interest in their welfare, and adopt humane and judicious measures for their improvement,' as is reported, on good authority, to have occurred at Western Australia.*

These grave proceedings in the House of Commons utterly failed, for reasons imperiously demanding the most attentive, and impartial consideration. A great mass of evidence, oral and documentary, was printed on the occasion; and, in 1835, the first report of the committee of the House of Commons condemned the old system, and insisted, in plain terms, that it would be EASY to frame a better one. The witnesses, who had come from all quarters of the globe, had produced a great effect,

* Address of the Legislative Council to Governor Hutt, on his departure for England in September, 1845.

and every sort of abuse was in danger of exposure. It was perceived, however, that more facts were wanting, before any practical conclusion could be safely formed. This conviction led to the proposal of a plan of larger inquiry by the government throughout all the colonies, which was the very wisest measure that could then have been devised. As it is by no means too late to revive this plan, which was printed in draft for the Committee, and of course exists, to show the several bearings upon the affairs of the Caffre frontier, will be a convenient illustration of its importance.

The inquiry was to have been made by commissioners, whose influence must, in several respects, have proved highly beneficial. The collection of facts would have been the least important of their labours. Even the wise measures to have been afterwards devised by the government, with the aid of their facts and opinions, would have been of secondary value, when compared with the advantage of such a mission *in preparing the minds of Colonists for a change*, to which many were already well disposed, and the success of which would be affected more by unfounded prejudices, than by bad principles.

With a little diligence, these commissioners might have been appointed in 1837. They would have been distributed, and set to work in all the colonies in 1838. Their early reports would have been soon received after personal communications with many men of experience, of all opinions, upon the spot; and the conclusions already prepared by the labours of parliament could then have been either confirmed or corrected. In places like the Caffre frontier, where action was become urgent, they could have aided at once in the execution of the measures already planned—modifying them according to circumstances, and facilitating their ready adoption by this solemn mode of carrying them out. In New Zealand, their presence would have prevented the calamities since produced by gross want of precaution. In the Australias, such missions—and such missions alone, from home, and composed of men of high intelligence, — would contribute materially to save the simplest people on earth from the hardest fate that the indifference of civilized men ever exposed such savages to. Here they would find examples of many means of elevating these poor people, which a blind and selfish government has neglected, and still continues to neglect.

In this way, the *system*, which all call for, and dispute about, would soon have been successfully framed, and adapted, with proper distinctions, to every colony in turn. All of them possess a certain number of men zealous to advance the fair interests of the natives. These individuals would be supported, and en-

couraged by the Commissioners of Inquiry, whilst the mass of the Colonists, who are usually neutral, would acquiesce in any practical plan for the general good; and the ill-disposed be kept in sufficient check. The important recommendation which is here developed, was printed by the Aborigines committee. Why it was not adopted, does not appear on the proceedings; but there were substituted for it the resolutions of the Report as they now stand in the parliamentary papers, which have been universally disapproved. The Aborigines Protection Society published a strong remonstrance against important portions of the Report: so little founded is the common imputation, that the philanthropists at that time dictated the proceedings of the Aborigines committee, and controlled the Colonial office. The report actually made is an apology for that office; and saved it from the disclosures to which the local inquiries, proposed by the rejected recommendations, must have led. It was a victory of the system of the Colonial office over the reform proposed in the first Report of the Committee of 1835, what had unquestionably responded to the genuine wishes of the philanthropists; and their grand error lay in not going much further in resisting the conclusions of the second Report.

The measures afterwards pursued on the Caffre question, partook too much of the spirit which prompted the evasion of the proposed reform. One of the objections to the old system was its unsteadiness, which made colonists and Caffres equally uncertain what to expect. This evil has not ceased. Sir Andries Stockenstrom, who made the treaties and the new system, and therefore was the best qualified to execute them, was speedily removed from the post of Lieutenant-Governor in a manner to bring both into doubt and discredit. Yet so little was he liable to reproach, that when he came to England to remonstrate against the injury, he was indemnified with a high pension, and a baronetcy, perhaps the first ever bestowed on a colonist. So efficient, too, is he now, although placed in retirement with such a pension, that in the present difficulties of the frontier he is called to a high command, to the general satisfaction. In addition to the vacillation shown in the treatment of the founder of the new system, the treaties have been materially changed twice during their brief existence of seven years. The Caffres, indeed, acquiesced in the changes made; and the governor of the Cape expressly declares that they 'fully understood' those changes; although the 'Times' rashly asserts that they could not be presumed to comprehend the originals.

Again, the agency in Caffreland has been inconveniently altered; and lately the inconceivable mistake has been made of preparing to abolish the office of lieutenant-governor of the

frontier. Such proceedings on our part must have produced the worst effect on our neighbours; but the proclamation with which the governor of the Cape set out in the present unhappy affair, betrays its real causes. It is an undeniable fact that the Caffres have been at peace with the colony since the war of 1834-5, at the close of which new treaties were made with all the tribes separately, in which one of those tribes received our warmest acknowledgments for its fidelity to its old engagements with us. Those treaties were made in 1837; and *some* of the separate chiefs have unquestionably performed their parts under them. This is distinctly stated by the frontier newspapers in the midst of the excitement of the last six months: and, at the circuit at Graham Town, in April, 1845, a petty Caffre *chief*, and two others, given up to us under the treaties, were condemned for cattle stealing. It is further certain, that in 1845, our troops were drawn off from the frontier to a great distance in order to suppress serious disturbances, when the peace of the colony was at the mercy of the Caffres, yet they respected it religiously; although marauding increased, on the withdrawal of OUR guards. Nevertheless, the Cape government has now made upon the whole Caffre people a war of the most formidable description, which is raging under circumstances demanding the most rigid scrutiny.

If the treaties with the Caffres, which originated in the recommendations of a committee of the House of Commons, and the returns of frontier depredations by these people, which were the subject of anxious inquiry by their committee during three sessions in 1835, 6, 7, had been printed, as was to be expected, among the parliamentary papers, together with proper documents to explain what has been doing on the Caffre frontier since 1836, it would be easy to form a correct opinion upon the grave alternatives raised by events which have occurred at the Cape.

These alternatives are;—whether the system of peace and conciliation aimed at by the House of Commons in 1837 was wisely conceived?—or whether, on the contrary, a system of coercion be indispensable to crush a 'war party' in Caffreland, both 'for the protection of the colonists, and for the ultimate advantage of the Caffres themselves,' as the Governor of the Cape declared, in a proclamation of the 31st of last March.

These questions involve another, respecting the manner in which the system of peace and conciliation actually established by the treaties of 1837, has been administered by the authorities of the Cape during the last nine years; but in the absence of all parliamentary documents respecting their administration, the proclamation of the Governor of the Cape, repub-

lished in London,* may be safely reasoned upon, with the assistance of other intelligence. Its material passages, independently of acts of aggression by the Caffres, which it details, are as follows:—

'I shall not dwell upon the imperfect manner in which the obligations of the treaties of 1837 were, *from the first*, fulfilled by the chiefs considered as representing the nation,—upon the extent to which depredation and plunder were practised against the colony, or upon the disposition to screen the thieves, and evade making compensation, so often manifested by certain of the chiefs. It will not be necessary for me, in this document, to go further back than the month of September, 1844, when I met the chiefs upon the question. Reluctant to have recourse to extreme measures, I proposed certain modifications of the frontier system, which were adopted by the chiefs and embodied in new treaties, *to secure increased protection against Caffre* marauders for the persons and property of the colonists. The new engagements were carefully explained and fully understood.

'For a considerable time, the measures taken did not, in their working, disappoint the expectations I had formed. *During about eight months, depredations upon the colony in a great measure, if not altogether, ceased.* The erection of Post Victoria, the rewards promised and paid for the apprehension of criminals, and the means at the disposal of government to punish crime, combined their influence to relieve the frontier inhabitants from the harassing and vexatious system of plunder to which they had been so long exposed.

'It was not unnatural that, in the minds of such a people as the Caffres, this restraint should tend to strengthen that party amongst them *commonly called the 'war party,'* consisting chiefly, but not exclusively, of the young men who have reached manhood since the last war. . . . . When the duty of protecting the native tribes beyond the northern boundary required last year (1845) the temporary withdrawal of troops from the eastern frontier, depredations recommenced; which, never quite discontinued, have *recently assumed a peculiar and more audacious* character, and which, coupled with other unequivocal indications of hostile feeling, clearly evince that the party in Caffreland which prefers war with the colony to peace without plunder, has gained an unfortunate ascendancy.

'So far as a feeling of hostility amongst the Caffres might be provoked, or palliated by even one solitary act of violence, outrage, or injustice committed *by any Colonist* in Caffreland, the Caffres are without excuse. No Caffre can charge the commission of any such act during, at all events, the last seven years. It is with pride and pleasure I make this statement, which I believe to be accurate, even to the letter.'

It is then stated, that imprudent speeches of colonists at

* Colonial Gazette, June 6, 1846.

public meetings, exaggerating the strength of the Caffres, have encouraged the war party. And thus three causes,—1st, the growing up of young men; 2nd, the wishes of the plunderers; and 3rd, the rashness of colonists, have enabled the war party 'to win over some chiefs, of whom better expectations had been formed; have induced others in secret to attach themselves to its interests, and have set aside or overawed some other chiefs, who were honestly inclined to abide by their engagements with the colony.'

The conduct of Sandilla, the successor of Gaika, an old ally, in a serious dispute in January and February last, is then explained at length. He had agreed to the establishment of a military post by us, 'beyond the limits of the Ceded territory,' —that is to say, IN CAFFRELAND. The war-party, according to the governor, afterwards got an influence over Sandilla; and against his own deliberate act, led him to gainsay it. He, at the same time, committed breaches of the treaties, and behaved with great violence to the frontier authorities, and to some traders. This dispute however was settled, after exciting a strong expectation of war.

'Subsequently,' says the governor, 'a more peaceful message was transmitted by Sandilla, and other chiefs, and there was some reason to think that amicable relations had been re-established.'

The settlement of this dispute took place before the 9th of February last, on which day the lieutenant-governor of the frontier announced to the inhabitants, that '*there was not the slightest cause for alarm, he having received that morning, from all the chiefs of Caffreland, the most satisfactory assurance of their desire and determination to maintain peace and tranquillity among their people.*' *

* On this occasion the Cape papers published the following remarks and document:—

'A message, of which the subjoined is a copy, has been forwarded by the resident agent, to the lieut.-governor, and apparently justifies the conclusions come to:—

'*Message of the chief Sandilla, Xo Xo, and their respective chief men, assembled at the Tyumie residency, 7th of February*, 1846,

'TO HIS HONOUR THE LIEUT.-GOVERNOR.—

'My heart is not at rest, because I could not speak to you at the meeting, in consequence of the multitude which followed me. I am sorry my people and your people have been disturbed by my rashness, but it is the first time, and I can only plead my youth in defence of my conduct. You must, therefore, not faint in warning and advising me, for you saw I beat them back, when my people pressed on us. *They had been told you would make a prisoner of me.* If I am again hasty in my words, the agent must not be in a hurry to report before he assembles my great men, and consult with them before he sends my words to you. You are the shield of my land, and war is not in my heart.

From the 9th of February to the 17th of March, nothing was done by the Caffres; but the alarm among the Colonists was not diminished. Many farmers left the frontier, and public meetings were held throughout February to urge the government 'to restrain the Caffres from future aggressions.'

The opinion upon which the governor of the Cape mainly rests his declaration of war, is thus expressed in a frontier Journal of the 20th of February:

'We have seen several letters from missionaries, that speak in unequivocal terms of the danger to be apprehended by the colony from the machinations and warlike propensities of what has, very properly, but significantly, been termed 'Young Caffreland.' The young men who have risen up since the last general irruption burn with desire to test their prowess with the colony.'

Active preparations were at the same time made by the Colonial government against the worst; and on the 17th of March an event occurred, upon which the governor of the Cape, on the 31st of March, at Cape Town, places his determination to begin the war, upon the assumption of a design on the *part of the Caffres to attack us.*

The responsibility for the dreadful events which have happened since, now depends mainly upon the correctness of the governor's views respecting that design.

'The last great outrage,' says he, 'has been of such a nature as to prove their hostility to the colony is deeply rooted and widely spread; to show beyond all further doubt or question, the point to which the chiefs and people have been for some time tending, and to make it the imperative but painful duty of the Colonial government to punish the delinquent parties in such a manner as to crush the hopes of all those in Caffreland who look forward to enrich themselves by war and plunder.

'A Caffre who had committed a crime—not in Caffreland, but in the colony,—was apprehended at Fort Beaufort, and in the common course of law, sent to Graham's Town for trial. A number of armed Caffres burst into the colony; attacked the persons in charge of the prisoner, rescued him by force, and then cruelly murdered and mutilated a colonist, to whom the culprit had been fastened for security.

I told my people I only came to talk with you. I swear war is not in my heart; but confusion, I hear, prevails in my country and in your country, and we sleep in the bush for fear. The colonists must go home, and not allow the drought to injure their property any more. I fell, my father, and in my message I forgot I was a chief. Sandilla, Xo Xo, Vena, Chala, Macome, Vandala, Checelas, (and thirty Amapakata Demalus)—C. L. Stretch, J. P. Diplomatic agent.

'I have appointed special pakatis to each store and shop, to convince the traders they may live in peace in my country.

'Sandilla ✠ (his mark.)'

'This was an outrage of unprecedented but significant atrocity, and one which the chiefs of the perpetrators were bound to use every effort in their power to punish with severity. Those chiefs were—the petty chief, Tola, his immediate superior, Botman—and the paramount chief, Sandilla. To each a formal message was sent, demanding that they should take measures to secure the murderers of the colonist, and restore the prisoner rescued.

'This demand was not complied with by any of those chiefs; but denied or disputed, on the most frivolous pretexts. They say that the treaties did not require Caffres to be sent to Graham's Town for *such* thefts as that which the Caffre in question had committed, and that the Colonial magistrate did wrong in sending him. But the chiefs well know the distinction between Caffre thieves apprehended while in the colony, and those captured beyond the boundary; and know as well, that with the former the treaties have not, and never had, any concern whatever.

'Again, the chiefs say, that one of the attacking party was shot by a constable: the killing of the innocent colonist is balanced, and must not be carried further; though the chiefs well know that their countryman was killed while in the act of committing a great crime, in rescuing a prisoner out of the hands of justice, whilst the colonist was put to death without any just cause. By their conduct in this instance, connected as it obviously is with the change of circumstances already mentioned, Sandilla, Botman, and Tola, have proved themselves to be confederate with each other,—with the lawless men who broke into the Colony on the occasion referred to—with (as is upon good grounds believed) other chiefs, whose hostility has not yet made itself so openly manifest,—and with the war-party prevalent throughout Caffreland.'

Upon these grounds the governor states his conclusion as follows:

'To punish these chiefs, and their confederates, and to crush, as far as possible, the Caffre war-party in general, is the first necessity now imposed on the government. When this painful task shall have been performed, it will become my further duty to consider *by what means* additional protection may be given to the colonists and to the peaceable and well disposed among the Caffre tribes themselves.

'The mutual responsibility of the chiefs for their followers, and of the followers for *the chiefs*, as well as the necessity of dealing with the Caffres in some respects as one nation, cannot be abandoned *without depriving that people of the character of an organized community capable of entering into stipulations by treaty; and at the same time exposing the colony to evils, against which it is the duty of the government to guard.*

'I am not insensible to the difficulties connected with the present state, and *future settlement*, of the affairs of the eastern frontier; but I cherish an humble hope that I may be enabled, with the Divine assistance, to become instrumental in founding, upon the results of

hostilities not sought by us, a frontier system calculated to give additional security to the persons and properties of her Majesty's subjects inhabiting the eastern districts.'—*Cape Town, 31st March*, 1846.

It is impossible to conjecture the precise character of the new system contemplated by the governor of the Cape, in this proclamation, for the future settlement of our relations with the Caffres; but the frontier authorities had already acted with astounding decision, and with unexampled rapidity. There can be no doubt of the act of killing the poor guard of the rescued Caffre being an atrocious outrage. Accordingly, without the loss of an hour, the surrender of the parties to this act was demanded from Sandilla, with the menace of an armed invasion of Caffreland. Satisfaction was refused; and our menace retorted by the chief, with a threat to invade the colony on his part.

Previous to the 21st of March, the lieutenant-governor acquainted the people of Graham's Town, that it was his fixed determination—

'To chastise the Caffres most severely—that the period for explanation was past—and that the time had arrived for striking such a blow as might effectually secure the colony against a recurrence of the acts of violence, which for *so long a period*, says the statement cited, the Caffres had been continually committing within our boundary.'—*Graham's Town Journal, March 21st*, 1846.

This was only four days after the last outrage, on which the governor relies in his proclamation.

On the 31st of March the lieutenant-governor issued a proclamation at Graham's Town—

'Making known for the first time the name of the chiefs who had refused to give satisfaction to the government for the last outrage, and who had thus forced it into a war with them against its will. These chiefs are Sandilla, Macomo, Botman, and Tola, and all belong to the Gaika tribes.'—*Cape Frontier Times, April 7*.

The local newspaper quoted for these facts makes very important additions:—

'It seems that the operations of the troops will be directed against these chiefs and their people; whilst the other chiefs, if they stand aloof from the contest, will not be molested. This will be the proper course. There is a case against these four chiefs, which will satisfy *the Home Government and the world*, that the war about to be commenced is a righteous one, and could not be avoided. But the case is not so clear against the other chiefs. We are not aware that any of the Slambie or Congo chiefs, with the exception of Pato, have given just cause of offence to the government. *We believe that there*

is not a single cattle claim against these chiefs unsatisfied, and *that very few robberies have been traced into their territory since the last war.*

'Eno, also, the oldest chief of Caffreland, a Gaika chief, had even on his death-bed enjoined his people not to join in hostilities against the colony.'

The same journal adds that—

'Sandilla had offered to give up the rescued prisoner, and pay for the murder; and Macomo has offered to take the oath of neutrality. Both have protested that they have no wish or intention to go to war.'

The colonial government persevered. The governor arrived on the frontier; and twelve hundred of our soldiers were marched into Caffreland on the 11th of April.

The Caffres retaliated upon the colony so furiously, as at the outset to compel most of the troops to shut themselves up in their posts, until reinforcements from all parts of the colony, to the number of twelve thousand, should arrive on the frontier. The loss of life was considerable on this occasion; the loss of property and the expense enormous. One important new post was abandoned, and the governor retired to Graham's Town.

Upon these facts, dates, and documents, with one addition, the justice of the whole case may be safely decided. Whatever details are still to arrive, cannot alter the character of what has been done. The addition referred to is a remarkably candid statement made by the lieutenant-governor of the frontier, upon a point of the greatest importance—namely, the extent to which a *war-spirit* prevails on our side, upon which topic the governor's proclamation expatiates so largely in reference to the *young* Caffres.

At a meeting with some of the principal inhabitants of Graham's Town, upon the occasion of alarm in January and February last, the lieutenant-governor, in reply to a question, said—

'*That he had never thought there existed* among the *frontier people, a desire of war with the Caffres;* THAT NO DOUBT THERE WERE IN THE COLONY, AS ELSEWHERE, RESTLESS AND UNRULY SPIRITS WHO DESIRED WAR; *but such a feeling he believed was quite opposed to the sentiments of the frontier inhabitants. In case of an outbreak, the colonists are entirely innocent* of having done any thing to cause it, and I shall be ready,' said he, 'to take the responsibility of defending them upon myself.'—*Cape Frontier Times, 10th February,* 1846.

This admission of the existence of a *war party* in the Cape Colony—(a party bent upon war with the Caffres, and an admission made in the presence of a body of the frontier inhabitants, to whose generally pacific character the lieutenant-governor was anxious to do justice,)—is of great importance at a time when the determination of the Cape government to fight the

Caffres, in order 'to crush *their* war-party in general,' has already led to great disasters.

Deeply as these disasters are to be lamented in themselves, they are far more deserving of attention, as new proofs of the little knowledge possessed by the Cape authorities concerning the power of the Caffres to do mischief to the frontier, and as intimations of a new course of policy, which cannot fail to destroy for many years the prospect of Caffre civilization.

In these points of view a full and fair examination of the acts of the Cape government is indispensable; and that examination will show the great evil of parliament having abandoned all supervision over that government since 1837.

The lieutenant-governor of the frontier, and the governor of the Cape, concur in exonerating *the inhabitants of the frontier* of all injustice against the Caffres during the last seven years. Not 'a solitary act' of that character has been done, says the proclamation of the governor. There exists among the frontier people no desire of war with the Caffres, says the lieutenant-governor. If violent language may justly be called an act, there would be no difficulty in producing from the frontier newspapers multitudes of passages, which would establish very different conclusions respecting the writers and the readers on the frontier, even after making all proper allowance for temporary excitement. *But it is not the* INHABITANTS *of the colony with whom this question is to be settled.* They do not govern the colony, or determine its relation with the Caffres. Before the last invasion of 1834-5, they were amongst the most earnest to call for the reform of the old system. They suffered the most from the evils of that old system, and for its consequences the loss of life and property in that invasion. The new system has been administered by the officers of the Crown, not by the colonists: and the true question is, not what acts of violence the colonists may have committed, but whether the governor in Cape Town, and the lieutenant-governor on the frontier have done their duty wisely, since the treaties of 1837. Those treaties established a new system, under most remarkable circumstances, of which the principal was that the local government, *not the colonists*, had wronged the Caffres; and the point to be now decided is, whether the local government has again wronged them, or not. In former days, and especially against the Hottentots and Bushmen, much turned upon the conduct of individuals towards them. Of late years, and especially in the case of the Caffres, the quarrel has been a national, not an individual one; and there are several passages in the foregoing proclamation which raise a very painful impression that the governor of the Cape has taken an unfair and rash view of the cha-

racter of the Caffres, and of the national quarrel, as it now stands.

The testimony extracted above from a recent frontier journal, and given in the very heat of the present war, at its declaration, is positive, that powerful tribes of Caffres have committed 'very few robberies since the last war,' and that their chiefs have duly discharged the claims of the colonists in the few cases which have occurred. Again, Old Eno, one of the *Gaika* chiefs, or belonging to the tribe now so deeply involved as the *first* objects of our vengeance, has just died, and carried to his grave the grateful homage of the Cape frontier journals, as the firm friend to the colony; in confirmation of which testimony it deserves to be recorded that our principal officers near his village attended his burial, to the great satisfaction of his tribe. This is the case of one whose name will be familiar to those who have attended to the frontier feuds of the last forty years. A much stronger answer may be given to the governor's sweeping and unjust accusation against the Caffres as having '*from the first*' grossly broken their faith, as pledged to observe the treaties of 1837. In support of this charge he says that 'it will not be necessary in his proclamation to go further back than September 1844, when he met the chiefs on the frontier.' But the subsequent events adduced in the proclamations completely refute the portions disadvantageous to the Caffres. The governor required their consent to certain changes in the treaties of 1837. They acquiesced. Under these changes 'depredations upon the colony, in a great measure, if not altogether, ceased for above eight months.'

The means of affecting so desirable a state of things, are shown by the governor's own account to be at our own command:—

'The erection of Post Victoria (with the deliberate approval of the Caffre chiefs), the rewards promised and paid for the apprehension of criminals, and the means at the disposal of government to punish crime,' says the proclamation, 'combined their influence to relieve the frontier inhabitants from the harassing and vexatious system of plunder to which they had long been exposed.'

Strange to say, the very next year we *withdrew these safeguards*. Having pursued beyond the northern frontier, in reference to the emigrant farmers, an anti-colonizing policy, as grossly impolitic, as before the invasion of 1834-5, we had followed up an encroaching policy in Caffreland, our troops were despatched in 1845 from the eastern frontier to fight the emigrants. 'Thereupon,' says the governor, 'depredations recommenced, and they have never since ceased.'

Why one frontier is to be sacrificed in this way to another, by the removal of the ordinary *police*, it is easier to ask than to answer. It is sheer maladministration.

There is great difficulty in admitting the governor's inference, that the *war-party* in Caffreland has got uppermost, and indulges the marauding party in order to add to its own strength. As the withdrawal of the troops in 1845 produced a sufficient effect upon the Caffres, to increase enormously their disposition to cattle stealing, and there stopped, it is to be concluded, from the absence of a hostile outbreak in the colony, that a war party does not exist in Caffreland to the amount necessary to support the governor's hypothesis. The correct explanation of the state of men's feelings there, is, that as the lieutenant-governor remarked in reference to the colony, 'restless and unruly spirits, who desire war,' may be found among the Caffres; but their abstaining from an invasion of the colony in 1845, when the troops were absent, proves to demonstration either that they are not the ambitious, covetous people pretended, or that they are too ignorant to be aware when they could attack us at most advantage, which would be absurd, or that they are guided by the chivalrous feeling of not fighting with an unprepared foe, which it would be more ridiculous still to attribute to them.

So far from being eager to wage war on the colony, experience has proved that they are brought to this point with extreme difficulty. It was not until 1819 that all the eloquence of Makanna, and an indescribable amount of injury suffered from the colonial government, that the S'lambi tribes could be brought to attack Graham's Town. Again, whatever isolated cases of plunder, and even of murder may have occurred, another invasion, that of 1834-5*, required the accumulation of eighteen years' more oppression on our part, to rouse them to acts of which many of them know well the danger.

On the present occasion they did not invade the colony, when we proclaimed war against the *whole nation*, although denouncing only three chiefs by name, but *only after we had marched an army into their country*, and exhibited strong signs of our intentions to seize some of it.

How little the governor of the Cape, who speaks thus injuriously of the Caffres, knows them, is evident from the singular fact of his having in his proclamation rebuked the colonists for

* By one of the errors so common when gentlemen who write with ease undertake to write on topics they have only got up for a purpose, the year 1828 is selected by the 'Colonial Gazette,' of August, for another *invasion*. In that year *the Caffres and colonial troops together* fell upon a strange tribe, 290 miles from the frontier, who did not even know what our cannon were!

exaggerating the strength of the enemy, when he himself plans an expedition for the signal punishment of the same enemy, and so awfully underrates his power, that the British troops are obliged to save themselves, as they can, in the face of the savages, whose country they so rashly invaded.

But if the governor of the Cape has proved himself to be ignorant of the people's power to injure us, he is far more dangerously mistaken in supposing, that such a course of hostility as he is now pursuing, will produce lasting peace with them. Our artillery, and superior discipline, may crush the *border* Caffre tribes, but when the governor of the Cape obtains that success, at whatever cost, he will have turned their bravest spirits into mountain robbers, and they will have warm sympathizers among thousands who may submit to be our sullen slaves. To all appearance, it is a repetition of the error of 1835, aggravated by the experience of it, and under circumstances far more threatening, now that thousands of Caffres have fire-arms;—it is absolutely in principle a restoration of the old system in its most odious feature, the violent occupation of land belonging to the Caffres. Obscurely as the governor's proclamation is worded, the jealousy of the Caffres seems to have put the right construction upon it as a new attack of that kind; but they wisely offered terms rather than expose themselves to it. We had long ceased to encroach upon the Caffreland bit by bit, after the old fashion down to 1834. But we had not learned either to respect their good qualities, or to take a persevering and prudent course for the correction of their bad ones.

Our refusal to treat amicably on this occasion, after the successful negotiation of February last, betrays a state of irritation that must pervert the judgment, and lead to misfortune. In this case, the negotiations were conducted at breathless speed; and as if they were looked upon only as unavoidable, *of course belonging to a foregone conclusion.* The Caffre atrocity, an act not to be palliated, was committed on the 17th of March, and on the 21st, the announcement that negotiations had failed, is printed at Graham's Town. The war is then also publicly resolved upon on the *frontier* a week before the news reaches the governor at Cape Town. His proclamation is published there on the 31st of March, but so hastily, that a great chief, Macomo, included in the lieutenant-governor's earlier denunciations, is omitted by the governor, although hostilities were immediately directed against him along with the rest.

In this most serious question of war or peace, the proceedings on our part are not satisfactory, even according to the proclamation, and its details differ materially from the newspaper accounts. But the personal intercourse between the Caffre chiefs

and the Colonial authorities, as reported in the frontier journals, is still more unsatisfactory. For instance: last autumn, upon the occasion of the murder of a missionary, near the country of the Congo Caffres, the tribe which had long been unshaken in its friendly engagements with us, and remarkable for its freedom from plundering, the lieutenant-governor took active steps towards punishing the murderers. For this purpose he assembled several chiefs, when turning to Kama, Umkye, and Pato, he said, addressing himself to Pato, who belonged to that friendly tribe, and pointing to the others, 'These two chiefs I have confidence in; in you, Pato, I have none. Let, then, the murderers be produced, or expect the consequences.'

Pato was about to reply, but the lieutenant-governor prevented him by saying; '*No, I want no talking*, go instantly and find the murderers.'

Pato replied, '*Only one word, let me speak—I will try and find them.*'

Umkye, then addressing Pato, said, 'Be diligent in this matter; begin with this very sun to seek for the culprits, or you are a ruined man.'—*(Graham's Town Journal, 4th December.)*

Such is the character of our first frontier magistrate's diplomatic call upon a Caffre chief. What sort of social reception these chiefs receive at an advanced post may be inferred from the following account of a visit from the heads of the well-tried Congo tribe. 'One day,' says the writer, 'while we were sitting at dinner, with the door opening upon the verandah, Cobus Congo walked in. On that day, as it was HIS FIRST VISIT, *we did not turn him out*, but we resolved on not following the foolish custom of permitting the Caffres to take liberties with us, which are not suffered among themselves. Old Pato, with his panther eyes, came up to the door, begging as usual; and when they had obtained the tobacco, we gave them to get rid of them, off they walked, thinking us great fools for our pains.'—*(Graham's Town Journal, April*, 184[illegible]. *No.* 69[illegible].)

It is little surprising that the men who are so treated, should be found in the ranks of our enemies in 1846; and but stronger reproaches can be made upon the manner in which the new system of civilization has been administered during the last few years, than the simple statement of the fact, that our tried friends have at length become our enemies, and that those who from being enemies were made our friends by a resolute act of indemnity being done by us in their behalf, have been driven again into an invasion by our irrational and violent treatment of them.

The PHILANTHROPISTS are much to be blamed for their share in the impolicy which has brought the native affairs of the Cape

colony to this issue; and they have great errors of their own to repair in regard to the whole interior of South Africa; but, above all, in regard to the latter frontier.

From 1834 to 1837, the philanthropists, represented by Sir T. F. Buxton, powerfully denounced the evils of the old system of the frontier; and they were joined in this by numerous parties who did not enrol themselves in their body. They succeeded in their efforts to overturn that old system. They had both Houses of Parliament entirely with them; and the ministers, without partaking their convictions, were disposed to receive from their hands, any rational, well urged plan of reform. The government was even so ductile, that, at their wish, it adopted the melancholy mistake of the Niger expedition, and was prepared to adopt, besides, all the ulterior schemes for Eastern Africa, belonging to the principle of the Niger expedition. Happily, the fevers of the West Coast of Africa stopped the application of that principle at its outset, or it is difficult to say to what extreme lengths, and with what fatal results, that error would not have been carried, with the prodigious influence then enjoyed by the philanthropists.

The sources of that influence were of a lasting character, and it will revive, if the measures now devised to meet the evils caused by our errors, be wise and prompt. The abolition of Negro slavery, with all its difficulties, has secured the approval even of those whose interests it attacked; and it cannot be the only grand work of humanity that civilized men can accomplish. To reconcile the spread of our colonies, with the rights of the Aborigines of the countries which we are settling; and to enable those Aborigines to share the improvements with which we are fast filling the earth, ought to be attempted in earnest; and with that intelligence which alone can make great designs prosper.

Hitherto the philanthropists have submitted to be almost as much in the dark in these affairs, as the ministers, parliament, and the public. The first step to be taken is to make a grand effort to bring forward in parliament a full analysis of all that in South Africa and elsewhere materially affects the natives in their relation with us. The reform introduced upon the Caffre frontier in 1837 established peace, which has been unbroken for nine years, and, as has been stated, by a vigorous administration, it put a stop entirely even to depredation. The governor of the Cape is positive, that in 1844, that effect was produced for *eight* months all over Caffreland, and some of the tribes have been reasonably free of offence for the whole period since 1837. It would be wise to have all the facts of the case displayed, so as to be able to see why this temporary and partial success has

been interrupted, and why it has not gone further. The philanthropists, after setting up this system, ought not to have turned their backs upon it. If the commissions of local inquiry proposed in the printed draft for the committee of 1837, had not been abandoned, it is impossible that the failure which is now afflicting us could have occurred.

The philanthropists have treated the missionaries, to whom so much good is owing, with a double injustice. They have endeavoured to set them up as political agents *abroad*, and they have, themselves, abstained *at home* from insisting upon those political and official reforms, without which, the labours of the missionaries, in their proper spheres, must be perpetually disappointed. No where has experience proved these remarks to be sound, more decisively than in South Africa; and no where will it be more becoming for them to review with care the advice they have given, the acts they have approved, and the neglect they have overlooked, and then to insist with zeal upon a really humane policy being pursued there in future, in the place of what the governor of the Cape has so rashly planned at the expense of this *third* invasion of a noble British colony. To govern the Caffre frontier with success, we must require that the Caffres be treated like rational beings, that its administration be conducted upon principles of common humanity; and that ministers, and parliament, and the public, shall be in a condition to judge correctly whether such principles are respected, by care being taken to make the facts known, instead of their remaining for nine years a colonial secret.

Then, and then only, will the London newspapers deal with the subject with common sense, instead of speculating as they do now upon mere fictions. To the 'Times' and 'Morning Chronicle,' it will be sufficient on this point to add the 'Colonial Gazette,' to whose fair extracts from the Cape journals, we are indebted for the illustrations here attempted to be as fairly used in support of views the very reverse of those in that able journal.

The writer of an article of the 8th of August last, on the Caffre war, pretends to extraordinary minuteness of information on the subject of the Caffres; but jumbles things sadly together. He talks boldly of their invasion of Cape Colony in 1828, although no such event occurred in that year, nor for eight years before, nor six years afterwards. He talks in the same bold way of all the invasions of the colony by the Caffres having been the fruits of their marauding spirit, as if they had never been impelled to those invasions by the wrongs they had suffered. He talks of the defensive boundary line of the Cape government, in 1835, after conquering Caffreland, although it

is notorious, that even when flushed by victory, we found our new province precarious from its enormous expense. He imputes to Lord Glenelg, who brought peace into Caffreland, and the colony too, that he 'left the Caffres unwatched, and forbade the colonists to defend themselves,' both things utterly untrue. He asserts that the emigration of the Dutch Boers into the interior was the consequence of the change in the frontier system, whereas it is certain that it was taking place even *before* the Caffre war. He finally attributes the colonizing of Natal to the Dutch, and that of the whole interior to the despotism of Downing-street, whereas it is the English who colonized Natal twelve years before the Dutch came thither; and both that fine country, and the interior, must have been ten times more extensively colonized than they are now, but for Downing-street despotism and folly.

Two columns of a newspaper never before contained so many gross errors in facts, or wilder speculations upon the proper way to extend the British name and fame. Nevertheless, a broad truth is declared at their close.

'Missionaries, of various European tongues,' says the 'Colonial Gazette,' 'are dotting the interior with European influence. The limits of English influence in South Africa are the Portuguese southern frontiers on both sides of the Continent. That vast region is to all intents and purposes a British colony; and it is our duty to see, that it is as efficiently governed as circumstances admit. British supremacy alone can establish, and preserve peace among the hostile natives, the missionaries, and their flock, the British squatters of the Dutch race, the English traders who yearly visit the interior, the daring 'Bastards.' It is a heavy task, but we can no longer refuse it,'—*Colonial Gazette, August* 8, 1846.

Admirably said, and perfectly true. But so British supremacy prevails in all New Holland, and New Zealand now, as it has done in pretty nearly all North America these hundred and fifty years. The foreign civilized powers have never dared deny it. Nevertheless, a principle of our own law—distinctly recognised by the law of nations, and founded upon the law of nature, imposes upon us a clear duty in the exercise of our supremacy in all these countries—to respect the independence of the uncivilized tribes we find there, and obtain their *consent* to our colonization among them, and their amalgamation with us.

Happily their *consent* can be obtained for all that is needful to their and our mutual good; and their civilization, and ultimate amalgamation, with us can be secured by a wise and humane policy on our part, without resorting either to their separation from civilized society, which some of the philanthropists ask for, or to their subjugation by brute force, which the 'Times,'

and the other journals, so rashly advocate. Here, as in so many other cases, safety lies between extreme opinions either way;* and the high personal character of the two chief members of the Cape government, the governor and the lieutenant-governor, only increases the danger of error either way in the Caffre case.

Art. II.—*A Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature.* Edited by John Kitto, D.D., F.S.A., Editor of 'The Pictorial Bible,' Author of the 'History and Physical Geography of Palestine,' etc. etc. Illustrated by numerous Engravings. In Two Volumes 8vo. Pp. xx. 884, 996. Adam and Charles Black, Edinburgh. 1845.

We have now before us a work which will long be referred to, as a monument not merely of the zeal, but of the progress of the age in biblical archæology. With one exception, which we shall notice presently, it has as certainly annihilated the authority and continued use of previous bible dictionaries in this country, as Gesenius's 'Hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch, published in 1810-12, did those of its German predecessors in the same department. It is intensely gratifying to see the ardour with which, at the present period, all useful contributions to our knowledge of the Holy Scriptures are gathered and arranged for general use, and still more so, if possible, to observe the indications which exist of the progressive influence and success of such undertakings. We would not, indeed, despise the books from which we obtained our first information respecting biblical antiquities, because they have had their day. Calmet, and the various abridgments which have appeared of him, taught us much that we were glad to know, and were often useful when immediate information was needed on some points of biblical history or archæology which occurred in our reading. But it must be averred that a very long time had elapsed since Calmet's learned collections were made, and that a great winnowing was

* The true policy for the Caffre frontier; and the only one that will subdue the Caffres, has just been announced in an able article in the 'New Zealand Journal' (15th August, 1846), entitled *Moral Revolution.* It is there shown triumphantly, that *force* is not the power that rules the world; and that there is a great power in *moral* force. Let the principle be applied to the Cape of Good Hope, with a competent knowledge of facts, and a due estimate of men, and in a very few years, indeed, the South African revolution will equal the great social changes of which modern times can offer examples in other quarters of the globe.

necessary to separate the husk from the grain. Such a winnowing is one of the objects of the present work. Another is to supply the results of the most recent investigation into nearly every department of biblical literature. With what success these objects have been accomplished, those only can adequately ascertain who carefully peruse the volumes. Such help as our narrow limits afford for the same purpose shall now be at our readers' service.

Dr. Winer has in the preface to his 'Biblisches Realworterbuch' (first published at Leipzig in 1820, and afterwards much enlarged in 1833-38), while giving his reasons for the form of his own works, sufficiently set forth the character and peculiar uses of illustrative biblical dictionaries in general. 'A manual,' he says, 'of the real, historical, geographical, archæological, and physical knowledge which is necessary to the understanding of the biblical records, may be arranged either in systematic, or in alphabetical order. The first form has been recommended as the preferable one in aid of studies *preparatory* to the study of the Bible; the latter as an *accompaniment* to that study. I chose the latter, because the need of assistance in the actual perusal of the sacred writings appeared to be both more general and more pressing, from the fact that systematic manuals and treatises upon the disciplines auxiliary to exegesis, whether general or particular, are read by few with unvarying attention, while the use of them for the illustration of particular points or passages is very inconvenient.' Indeed there cannot be a question as to the value of lexicons of this description. To whatever extent systematic treatises on the subject may be multiplied, or with whatever ability they may be written, they can never supersede the necessity, even to the advanced student, of works in which the information necessary to illustrate the obscurer points of biblical literature is arranged, for easy reference, in alphabetical order.

The work before us is remarkably varied, and ample in its information. While it avoids all topics connected with doctrinal theology and church history—topics so frequently admitted of late into biblical and theological dictionaries—it is unusually full on subjects purely archæological, on the physical history of the bible, and on the discipline which bears the awkward name of biblical introduction. The editor's preface contains a short but pregnant essay, prepared for it by Dr. Credner, of Giessen, on Biblical and Theological Encyclopædia, in which the topics admissible into a work like the present are succinctly explained, and distinguished from such as, though related, are in reality foreign to its object. Few of those who consult it will complain, we think, that its range is

deficient, or that it disappoints the expectations raised by its comprehensive title.

Forty scholars, British and Foreign, besides the editor, have contributed to these volumes. It is superfluous to say, that their articles are of various degrees of merit; the same is true even in respect to different articles of the same writer. It would be invidious to distinguish here the names of any of the British contributors; but we may, without offence to them, inform our readers that Dr. Credner of Giessen, Dr. Ewald of Tübingen, the late Professor Hävernick of Kõnigsberg, Dr. Hengstenberg, and the Rev. I. Jacobi of Berlin, and Dr. Tholuck of Halle, have enriched the work with their communications. Dr. Kitto justly congratulates himself on this fact. When he says, indeed, 'It is believed that the English language has no other book which eminent foreign scholars have co-operated with our own in producing,' he obviously goes too far. To name no others, the Encyclopædia Britannica, the Archæological Dictionaries edited by Dr. W. Smith, (the first of which evidently suggested the idea and form of the present work,) and the Penny Cyclopædia, all admitted articles by distinguished foreign scholars. Nor, when we remember Adam's 'Religious World,' and other books which we could mention, do we consider Dr. Kitto justified in adding; 'It is certain that it possesses no other work which embodies the combined labours of writers who, indeed, are of different communions here, and are known by different names among men, but who have the same hope in this world, and but one name in heaven.' There is something *de trop* in this exclusive claim: still we must and do cheerfully concede to the learned and truly catholic editor, that he has procured for this cyclopædia a richer combination of native and foreign talent, and a richer manifestation of true catholicity, than are exhibited by any one work we are acquainted with in this or any other language.

Before submitting to our readers any specimens from the 'Cyclopædia' itself, we shall avail ourselves of a few lines from Dr. Kitto's preface, in which he characterizes, with all propriety as we conceive, some important recommendatory features of the work.

'The editor cannot but regard with peculiar satisfaction the ample references to books which occur in almost every article, and which indicate to the reader the means of more extensive inquiry into the various subjects which have been noticed with indispensable brevity in this work. The numerous references to Scripture will greatly assist its chief use and design—the illustration of the sacred volume. It is believed that the articles in the departments of biblical introduction and criticism, embrace a body of information respecting the

books of scripture and sacred criticism, such as no work of the kind in any language has hitherto contained. The natural history of scripture has now, for the first time, been examined, and, as far as possible, settled—not by mere scholars ignorant of natural history, but by naturalists of acknowledged eminence. The scripture geography has, by the help of Dr. Robinson's invaluable 'Biblical Researches in Palestine,' and of other publications less known in this country, assumed in the present work a greatly altered and much more distinct aspect. The archæological articles exhibit a strength of illustration and research which will tend greatly to elucidate the obscurities which the subjects necessarily involve. The history has been discussed under the influence of those broad principles which constitute its philosophy: and in this, as well as in the biography, it has not been forgotten that, while actions are always to be judged by the immutable standard of right and wrong which the word of God has established, the judgments which we pass upon men must be qualified by considerations of age, country, situation, and other incidental circumstances.'—*Preface*, p. xx.

The reader will agree with Dr. Kitto, that a combination of articles of which he could speak in these terms was enough to satisfy him. We have quoted the preceding extract, not merely for the purpose of repeating encomiums which we believe to be extensively warranted, but also, that we might convey in his own language a view of what the editor must have proposed to himself, as a proper fulfilment of his comprehensive design. In selecting some specimens of the 'Cyclopædia' for our readers' further information, we shall follow the order of subjects indicated in that extract.

The topic first instanced is 'Biblical Introduction and Criticism.' Belonging to this branch there is a very large number of interesting and valuable articles. On the Pentateuch and its five component parts there are six articles, by the late Professor Hävernick, comprising in the whole thirty-five columns, which are equal to more than fifty well filled octavo pages. The same writer has also contributed ten columns on the life and writings of Daniel. The quality of these articles will not be questioned by those who are acquainted with the author's excellent volume on Daniel, published in 1832, or his more recent (though unhappily unfinished) Introduction to the Old Testament, or Commentary on Ezekiel. The article on Joshua, comprising both the book and the personal history of the great leader so called, is contributed by the editor, who also furnished a short paper on Malachi. To Dr. Hengstenberg, of Berlin, the Cyclopædia is indebted—for so we may justly say—for an elaborate piece on Job of twenty-one columns, or thirty well filled octavo pages, another on Ecclesiastes of six and

half pages, and a third on Isaiah of thirty-four columns, or about fifty pages. Dr. Davidson, of Manchester, has contributed the article on Chronicles, and another very elaborate one on the Apocalypse. On the New Testament, Dr. Tholuck has supplied seven articles, all worthy of his distinguished name.* One on the Gospels generally, one on *each* of the four Gospels, one on the Epistles generally, and one on the Epistle to the Romans. The articles on Acts and the Pauline epistles, (excepting Romans) which are the fruit of extensive reading and written with great care, are from the pen of Dr. Lindsay Alexander. Dr. Wright, the translator of Seiler's Hermeneutics, has furnished four upon the Catholic epistles. The same gentleman also supplied the papers on the Canticles, Obadiah, and Micah. The remaining papers on the Old Testament were furnished by Dr. John Eadie, Mr. Gotch, Dr. Benjamin Davies, Mr. J. E. Ryland, Dr. Baur, of Giessen, Dr. Ewald, of Tübingen, and another writer whose initials only are given. In addition to these are articles on the Samaritan Pentateuch, and Syriac versions, by Dr. Davidson.

The great extent to which biblical introduction, especially that of the New Testament, has been recently treated in our journal, renders it both unnecessary and undesirable that we should quote from any of the articles which have been mentioned. The detail which we have gone into, brief as it is, will be enough to show how erudite and masterly the work must be in the department under review. There is, however, an article on an allied topic which we cannot so hastily pass over. Some of our readers may have a tolerably accurate recollection of a paper on the 'Nature of Prophecy,' translated from Dr. Hengstenberg's *Christologie des A. T.* which was inserted in the American Biblical Repository for 1832; and none of them who are acquainted with the *Christologie*, in the original, will have forgotten the avowal contained in the preface to the third volume, of a change in the author's views on the nature of prophecy, which, however, he did not explain, but left to be ascertained from the discrepancies between the third volume and its predecessors.† All this gives a peculiar interest to any thing recently

* That on the Epistles is very general, and, not requiring any discussion of equal interest to that on the *Protevangelium*, see Art. GOSPELS, is necessarily brief. We noticed one statement which we believe not all Dr. Tholuck's learning could substantiate. Paul's letters 'conclude,' he says, 'with the epistles to the two bishops and a private letter to Philemon.'

† His words are: 'many an expression in the first volume, is corrected in the following, often silently. The difference, indeed, extends further than to particulars, and beyond all the lower department of linguistic. It appears throughout in the fundamental view of the nature of prophecy, on which subject the author, who has become more and more familiar with the

written on the subject of prophecy by Dr. Hengstenberg, and, accordingly, we were highly pleased to find an article of fifteen columns from his pen devoted to that subject in the present work. We are compelled, however, to say, that we have failed to discover from this article in what respect his earlier views have been corrected, and that the article is in other respects obscure, and unsatisfactory. Dr. Hengstenberg, when he first explicitly developed his theory of the 'Nature of Prophecy,' in 1829, laid very great stress upon the notion that the Old Testament prophets were, at the time of inspiration, invariably in an ecstacy, by which they were deprived of their natural consciousness, and saw in vision only. This supernatural extatic vision he considered, from Numbers xii. 5—8, to be the essential and characteristic condition of prophetic inspiration, and declared that he must dwell the longer on it, 'because the true explanation and defence of numerous Messianic passages rested on a correct theory of prophecy.' As already intimated, he announced in December, 1834, an entire change in his fundamental view on the nature of prophecy, yet the following is the substance of his theory as now communicated to the public.

'1. *The nature of Prophecy, &c.*—The view commonly taken of the prophets is, that they were mere predictors of future events, but this view is one-sided and too narrow, though, on the other hand, we must beware of expanding too much the acceptation of the term prophet. Not to mention those who, like Hendewerk, in the introduction to his *Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah*, identify the notion of a prophet with that of an honest and pious man, the conception of those is likewise too wide who place the essential feature of a prophet in his divine inspiration. That this does not meet the whole subject, appears from Num. xii. 6, *seq.*, where Moses, who enjoyed divine inspiration in the highest grade, is represented as differing from those called prophets in a stricter sense, and as standing in contrast with them. Divine inspiration is only the general basis of the prophetic office, to which two more elements must be added:—

'Inspiration was imparted to the prophets in a *peculiar form*. This appears decisively from the passage in Numbers above cited, which states it as characteristic of the prophet, that he obtained divine inspiration in visions and dreams, consequently in a state extraordinary and distinguished from the general one. This mode was different from that in which inspirations were conveyed to Moses and the apostles. The same thing is shown by the names usually given to the prophets, viz., [illegible] and [illegible] seers, and from this, that all prophecies which have come down to us, have a poetical [illegible]

prophetic writings, has more recently attained to greater clearness. Precisely in reference to this most important alteration, however, will it be easy to the intelligent reader, to supplement the earlier representation from the later ones.' *Christologie*, vol. iii. Preface.

ter, which points to an infinite affinity between prophecy and poetry, a subject further illustrated by Steinbeck, in his work *Der Dichter ein Seher*, Leipzig, 1830; though the materials which he gives are not sufficiently digested. The prophetical style differs from that of books properly called poetical, whose sublimity it all but outvies, only in being less restrained by those external forms which distinguish poetical language from prose, and in introducing more frequently than prose does, plays upon words and thoughts. This peculiarity may be explained by the practical tendency of prophetical addresses, which avoid all that is unintelligible, and studiously introduce what is best calculated for the moment to strike the hearers. The same appears from many other circumstances, *e. g*, the union of music with prophecying; the demeanour of Saul when among the prophets (1 Sam. x. 5); Balaam's description of himself (Num. xxiv. 3) as a man whose eyes were opened, who saw the vision of the Almighty, and heard the words of God; the established phraseology to denote the inspiring impulse, viz., 'the hand of the Lord was strong upon him' (Ezek iii. 14; compare Isa. viii. 11; 2 Kings, iii. 15), etc. All these facts prove that there essentially belonged to prophecy a state of mind worked up—a state of being beside one's self—an ecstatic transport, in which ideas were immediately imparted from Heaven. Acute remarks on the subject will be found in the works of Nolis (vol. ii. p. 472, *seq.*), from which we give the following passage: 'It is a most arbitrary prejudice to suppose that to man is denied the power of going out of himself, of being endued with a consciousness beyond the sphere of sense: he may at any moment place himself beyond the reach of sense (*ein übersinnliches Wesenseyn*), else he would be a mere brute, not a rational freeman of the universe. There are indeed degrees in the aptitude for revelations; one is more qualified for them than another, and certain dispositions are peculiarly capable of receiving such revelations; besides, on account of the pressure of sensible objects on the mind, it is in this state difficult to preserve self-possession. Nevertheless, there are such states of mind in which its powers are strengthened, and, so to speak, armed.' The state of ecstacy, though ranking high above the ordinary sensual existence, is still not the highest, as appears from Numbers xii., and the example of Christ, whom we never find in an ecstatical state. To the prophets, however, it was indispensable, on account of the frailty of themselves and the people. The forcible working upon them by the Spirit of God would not have been required, if their general life had already been altogether holy; for which reason we also find ecstacy to manifest itself the stronger the more the general life was ungodly; as, for instance, in Balaam, when the Spirit of God was upon him (Numbers xxiv. 4, 16), and in Saul, who throws himself on the ground, tearing his clothes from his body. With a prophet whose spiritual attainments were those of an Isaiah, such results are not to be expected As regards the people, their spiritual obtuseness must be considered as very great, to have rendered necessary such vehement excitations as the addresses of the prophets caused —*Art. Prophecy*, vol. ii. pp. 561-2.

Here, so far as we can see, Dr. Hengstenberg retains all that was peculiar in his earlier view on the subject. It is true he does not draw out the consequences of his theory so explicitly as in his original chapter, but the omission implies no change in reference to those consequences. If the prophets received the communications of Jehovah in visions only, and therefore by images or pictures, it would still follow that they saw things as if present, and without any exact discrimination of time, and that this would account for the intermingling of different subjects in the same oracle without any note, or evincing that they were so intermingled. It would explain, as Dr. Hengstenberg had before shown, the want of precision in the use of the tenses which is obvious in prophetic oracles, and the fact noticed so particularly in 1 Pet. i. 11, that the prophets, except in the instances where they were informed by special Divine revelation, were ignorant of the time when their predictions would be fulfilled. It is obvious, therefore, that though Dr. Hengstenberg has not dwelt on these consequences in the article before us, it is not in them that we are to look for any change of view if he adheres to his exclusive theory of ecstatic vision; and this being the case, we must own that we are still in the dark as to the change which has passed over his mind on the subject, and should have been pleased to have received, what we think was always due to his readers, more explicit information.

In our judgment, Dr. Hengstenberg's leading error lay, and still seems to lie, in overlooking the variety which certainly existed in the forms of prophetic inspiration. In his original chapter, he says, after unfolding his theory of ecstatic vision, 'this peculiar character of prophecy has not been *entirely* undetected by most expositors. Still they have for the most part assigned it to those prophetic passages only in which it reveals itself with special evidence, such as Isaiah, chap. vi., Ezekiel, chap. i., the first part of Zechariah, and the second of Daniel, which, therefore, have exclusively been designated Visions. But the distinction between these prophecies and others is an insecure one. The arguments which have been produced apply *equally to all* prophecies; and even in the latter, when the details are rightly conceived, indications of vision disclose themselves in ample quantity.' Now, had Dr. Hengstenberg merely declared that a careful examination of their details would prove that a much larger number of prophecies than had been usually regarded as visions,—perhaps a large majority of them,—had been communicated in the form of pictorial vision, we should have seen no reason to dispute his assertion. It probably is so. But we cannot admit that inspiration by vision is the exclusive or essential characteristic of Old Testament prophecy, or that whenever such a vision was disclosed to any prophet, he

was in a supernatural ecstasy, divested of intelligent consciousness, till he had imparted the burden of it in words to those for whom it was intended. That the latter was not the fact would appear—to name no other instances—from the communication which Micaiah held with Ahab, when he delivered his oracle respecting him, in 1 Kings xxii.; and from the history of Jonah. The former, though it may be inferred from Numbers xii. 5—8, (which, however, we should interpret as declaring a general, rather than an absolutely universal rule), is not only inconsistent with the characteristics of prophetical inspiration under the New Testament, which may be presumed to have been similar, but also with the contents of some of the Old Testament oracles. There is, at least, a great number of Old Testament prophesies, the subject matter of which cannot be represented in a visionary form, and in which, therefore, vision could have no place, unless we suppose that in every instance of prophetic inspiration the prophet saw Jehovah, and heard him, in vision, utter the words which he is required to speak in his name to the people. But this seems too large an inference from the passage in Numbers xii., even if we had not the analogical light of New Testament inspiration, suggesting the contrary. We are told, 2 Peter, i. 21, that holy men of God had spoken as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, which seems to imply a power working in them, similar to that which moved the writers of the New Testament, who ordinarily had no inspiring vision.

But what, our readers will in all probability have asked before this, is the meaning of the passage which Dr. Hengstenberg has quoted from Novalis? Does he mean that any man may at any moment 'go out of himself,' or 'place himself beyond the reach of sense'? We certainly know of one way in which any man may do the latter, which is, by writing or talking nonsense. And we know not which is greater nonsense,—what Novalis there asserts, or the application made of a thing which, he says, any 'man may at any moment do' to the supernaturally inspired condition of the prophets.

Dr. Hengstenberg's article on prophesy, however, notwithstanding these exceptions, and some others which it would be easy to make to it,* contains many valuable remarks. What he has written on the prophets' manner of life, though not new, is good. Equally good is what he has written respecting their

* As, *e. g.*, where he states, that 'before a man could be a prophet, he must be converted,' with which compare Matt. vii. 22; and adds, in confirmation, 'for a single momentary inspiration the mere beginning of spiritual life sufficed, as instanced in Balaam and Saul,' with which compare 2 Pet. ii. 15, 16, and Jude 11.

symbolical actions—the criteria by which true and false prophets were distinguished, and the promulgation of the prophetic declarations. We could have wished that he had now illustrated the causes of obscurity in certain prophecies, as resulting from their visionary origin, in the way and with the success with which he did in the first volume of his *Christologie*, and that he had given that prominence to the moral element of prophecy, which has been so justly given to it, by the late Mr. Davison and Dr. J. P. Smith.*

The articles on Natural History abound in valuable matter, much of which is new, and, coming from distinguished naturalists, entitled to particular attention. There is hardly a book on Scripture Antiquities, or Natural History, which has not treated of the hooded serpent; but the following, extracted from an article by Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton Smith, illustrates a difficult subject in a manner which will be new and satisfactory to many. Colonel Smith, we should add, is a fellow of the Royal and Linnæan Societies, and president of the Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society.

'The genus Naja-Haridi, (?) of Savary, is distinguished by a plaited head, large, very venomous fangs, a neck dilatable under excitement, which raises the ribs of the anterior parts of the body into the form of a disk or hood, when the scales, usually not imbricated, but lying in juxtaposition, are separated, and expose the skin, which at that time displays bright iridescent gleams, contrasting highly with their brown, yellow, and blueish colours. The species attain at least an equal, if not a superior, size to the generality of the genus viper; are more massive in their structure; and some possess the faculty of self-inflation to triple their diameter, gradually forcing the body upwards into an erect position, until, by a convulsive crisis, they are said suddenly to strike backwards at an enemy or a pursuer. With such powers of destroying animal life, and with an aspect at once terrible and resplendent, it may be easily imagined how soon fear and superstition would combine, at periods anterior to historical data to raise these monsters into divinities, and endeavour to deprecate their wrath by the blandishments of worship; and how design and cupidity would teach these very votaries the manner of subduing their ferocity, of extracting their instruments of mischief, and making them subservient to the wonder and amusement of the vulgar, by using certain cadences of sound which affect their hearing, and exciting in them a desire to perform a kind of pleasurable movements

† See Davison's 'Discourses on Prophecy,' Disc. II., pp. 37—74, 2nd edition; and, besides Dr. Smith's 'Sermon on Prophetic Interpretation,' his 'Lecture on the Prophets,' addressed to Sunday-school teachers, and published by the Sunday-school Union as a tract. This is small in bulk, but contains many valuable hints, which the student would not find in most of the larger publications on prophecy with which we are acquainted.

that may be compared to dancing. Hence the *nagas* of the east, the *hag-worms* of the west, and the *haje*, have all been deified, styled agathodæmon or good spirit; and figures of them occur wherever the superstition of pagan antiquity has been accompanied by the arts of civilization.

'The most prominent species of the genus at present is the *naja tripudians, cobra di capello*, hooded or spectacled snake of India, venerated by the natives, even by the serpent-charmers styled the good serpent to this day, and yet so ferocious that it is one of the very few that will attack a man when surprised in its haunt, although it may be gorged with prey. This species is usually marked on the nape with two round spots, transversely connected in the form of a pair of spectacles; but among several varieties, one, perhaps distinct, is without the marks, and has a glossy golden hood, which may make it identical with the *naje haje* of Egypt, the undoubted Ikhnuphi, cneph, or agathodæmon of ancient Egypt, and accurately represented on the walls of its temples, in almost innumerable instances, both in form and colour. This serpent also inflates the skin on the neck, not in the expanded form of a hood, but rather into an intumefaction of the neck. As in the former, there is no marked difference of appearance between the sexes; but the psilli, or charmers, by a particular pressure on the neck, have the power of rendering the inflation of the animal, already noticed as a character of the genus, so intense, that the serpent becomes rigid, and can be held out horizontally as if it were a rod. This practice explains what the soothsayers of Pharaoh could perform when they were opposing Moses, and reveals one of the names by which the Hebrews knew the species; for although the text (Exod. iv. 3) uses, for the rod of Aaron converted into a serpent, the word נחש *nachash*, and subsequently (vii. 15) תנין *thannin*, it is plain that, in the second passage, the word indicates 'monster,' as applied to the nachash just named—the first being an appellative, the second an epithet. That the rods of the magicians of Pharaoh were of the same external character is evident from no different denomination being given them: therefore we may infer that they used a real serpent as a rod—namely, the species now called *haje*—for their imposture; since they no doubt did what the present serpent-charmers perform with the same species, by means of the temporary *asphyxiation*, or suspension of vitality, before noticed, and producing restoration to active life by liberating or throwing down. Thus we have the miraculous character of the prophet's mission shown by his real rod becoming a serpent, and the magician's real serpents merely assuming the form of rods; and when both were opposed in a state of animated existence, by the rod devouring the living animals, conquering the great typical personification of the protecting divinity of Egypt. *Nachash* may therefore, with some confidence, be assumed to have been the Hebrew name, or at least one of the names, of the *naje haje*, *el haje*, and *haje nacher*, of the Arabs. This species may be regarded as extending to India and Ceylon; and probably the naja tripudians is likewise

an inhabitant of Arabia, if not of Egypt, although the assertion of the fact (common in authors) does not exclude a supposition that they take the two species to be only one. We are disposed to refer the 'winged' or 'flying' serpent to the *naja tripudians*, in one of its varieties, because, with its hood dilated into a kind of shining wings on each side of the neck, standing in undulating (מעופף) motion, one half or more erect, rigid and fierce in attack, and deadly poisonous, yet still denominated 'good spirit,' and in Egypt ever figured in combination with the winged globe—it may well have received the name of סרף, *saraph*, and may thus meet all the valid objections, and conciliate seemingly opposite comments (see Numbers xxi. 6, 8; Deut. viii. 15; Isa. xiv. 29, xxx. 6; and Paxton's *Illustrations*,) excepting the authority of Herodotus, Pausanias, and Bochart, which, with all the respect due to their names, is not now sufficient to establish the existence of a kind of serpents whose structure is contrary to the laws of zoological organization.'—vol. i. p. 70.

Under the title BEHEMOTH, Colonel Stewart states his opinion that, while the allusions in Job present some features which are characteristic of the hippopotamus, there are several which no less strikingly indicate the elephant. He regards the term as 'a poetical personification of the great pachydermata, or even herbivora, wherein the idea of hippopotamus is predominant. This view, he thinks, 'accounts for the ascription to it of characters not truly applicable to one species,' which he shows to be the case. He adds:—

'The book of Job appears, from many internal indications, to have been written in Asia,* and is full of knowledge, although that knowledge is not expressed according to the precise technicalities of modern science. It offers pictures in magnificent outline, without condescending to minute and laboured details. Considered in this light, the expression in Ps. l. 10, 'For every beast of the forest is mine, and the cattle (behemoth) upon a thousand hills,' acquires a grandeur and force far surpassing the mere idea of cattle of various kinds. If, therefore, we take this plural noun to be the meaning here briefly indicated, we may likewise consider the leviathan, its counterpart, a similarly generalized form with the idea of the crocodile most prominent; but from the very name indicating a twisting animal, and which from various texts evidently include the great pythons, cetacea, and sharks of the surrounding seas and deserts, it conveys a more sublime allusion than if limited to the crocodile, an animal familiar to every Egyptian, and well known even in Palestine.'—*Art. Behemoth.* vol. i. p. 317.

* The question *where* the book of Job was written is discussed at some length by Dr. Hengstenberg, in his article under that title. He concludes that it was written in Palestine, by an Israelite. Eichhorn was of opinion that it was written by an Israelite, but in Arabia. The author was evidently well acquainted with the natural history both of Arabia and Egypt.—*Rev.*

It is easy to infer from these instances how powerfully some of the articles on natural history are brought to bear on the elucidation of obscure biblical passages. Those which do not involve difficulties of this kind, are, many of them, distinguished by a clear and comprehensive treatment of their several subjects. A considerable number of interesting medical articles also occur, among which we may mention those on 'blindness,' 'blood and water,' 'bloody sweat,' and 'leprosy,' by Dr. W. A. Nicholson. The second of these contains some observations concerning the causes of our Lord's death, which tend to confirm its peculiar character, as a voluntary rendering up of his soul to God under the burden of our curse.

'Blood and water (John xix. 34) are said to have issued from our Lord's side, when the soldier pierced him on the cross. The only natural explanation that can be offered of the fact, is to suppose that some effusion had taken place in the cavity of the chest, and that the spear penetrated below the level of the fluid. Supposing this to have happened, and the wound to have been inflicted shortly after death, then, in addition to the water, blood would also have trickled down, or, at any rate, have made its appearance at the mouth of the wound, even though none of the larger vessels had been wounded. It is not necessary to suppose that the pericardium was pierced; for if effusion had taken place there, it might also have taken place in the cavities of the pleura; and during health, neither the pericardium nor the pleura contains fluid, but are merely lubricated with moisture on their internal or opposing surfaces, so as to allow of free motion to the heart and lungs.

'It may be objected to this view of the question, that, according to the longest computation, our Lord died in six hours; and this is too short a time to occasion effusion. Indeed, reasoning from experience alone, it is very difficult to understand the *physical* cause of our Lord's death. The crucifixion is quite inadequate to account for it; for, even if the impression produced by this torture on a weak nervous system was sufficient to annihilate consciousness and sensibility, the death of the body, or what physiologists have termed *organic* death, could not have taken place in so short a time, as long as the brain, lungs, and circulation, the so-called *atria mortis*, had sustained no material injury. In other words, the functions of respiration, circulation, secretion, and nutrition, must have continued for a much longer time. In fact, we learn from Eusebius, (Hist. Eccles. viii. 8), that many of the Egyptian martyrs perished from hunger on the cross, although they were crucified with their heads downwards. According to Richter, some survive on the cross for three, four, and even *nine* days, (Winer's *Bibl. Realwört.* s. v. *Jesus*). Our Lord's death could not have been occasioned by tetanus, or else it would have been mentioned; and even this disease, though the sufferer be racked with the most frightful convulsions without intermission, most rarely puts an end to life in less than twelve hours.

books of scripture and sacred criticism, such as no work of the kind in any language has hitherto contained. The natural history of scripture has now, for the first time, been examined, and, as far as possible, settled—not by mere scholars ignorant of natural history, but by naturalists of acknowledged eminence. The scripture geography has, by the help of Dr. Robinson's invaluable 'Biblical Researches in Palestine,' and of other publications less known in this country, assumed in the present work a greatly altered and much more distinct aspect. The archæological articles exhibit a strength of illustration and research which will tend greatly to elucidate the obscurities which the subjects necessarily involve. The history has been discussed under the influence of those broad principles which constitute its philosophy; and in this, as well as in the biography, it has not been forgotten that, while actions are always to be judged by the immutable standard of right and wrong which the word of God has established, the judgments which we pass upon men must be qualified by considerations of age, country, situation, and other incidental circumstances.'—*Preface*, p. xx.

The reader will agree with Dr. Kitto, that a combination of articles of which he could speak in these terms was enough to satisfy him. We have quoted the preceding extract, not merely for the purpose of repeating encomiums which we believe to be extensively warranted, but also, that we might convey in his own language a view of what the editor must have proposed to himself, as a proper fulfilment of his comprehensive design. In selecting some specimens of the 'Cyclopædia' for our readers' further information, we shall follow the order of subjects indicated in that extract.

The topic first instanced is 'Biblical Introduction and Criticism.' Belonging to this branch there is a very large number of interesting and valuable articles. On the Pentateuch and its five component parts there are six articles, by the late Professor Hävernick, comprising in the whole thirty-five columns, which are equal to more than fifty well filled octavo pages. The same writer has also contributed ten columns on the life and writings of Daniel. The quality of these articles will not be questioned by those who are acquainted with the author's excellent volume on Daniel, published in 1832, or his more recent (though unhappily unfinished) Introduction to the Old Testament, or Commentary on Ezekiel. The article on Joshua, comprising both the book and the personal history of the great leader so called, is contributed by the editor, who also furnished a short paper on Malachi. To Dr. Hengstenberg, of Berlin, the Cyclopædia is indebted—for so we may justly say—for an elaborate piece on Job of twenty-one columns, or thirty well filled octavo pages, another on Ecclesiastes of six and

a-half pages, and a third on Isaiah of thirty-four columns, or about fifty pages. Dr. Davidson, of Manchester, has contributed the article on Chronicles, and another very elaborate one on the Apocalypse. On the New Testament, Dr. Tholuck has supplied seven articles, all worthy of his distinguished name.* One on the Gospels generally, one on *each* of the four Gospels, one on the Epistles generally, and one on the Epistle to the Romans. The articles on Acts and the Pauline epistles, (excepting Romans) which are the fruit of extensive reading and written with great care, are from the pen of Dr. Lindsay Alexander. Dr. Wright, the translator of Seiler's Hermeneutics, has furnished four upon the Catholic epistles. The same gentleman also supplied the papers on the Canticles, Obadiah, and Micah. The remaining papers on the Old Testament were furnished by Dr. John Eadie, Mr. Gotch, Dr. Benjamin Davies, Mr. J. E. Ryland, Dr. Baur, of Giessen, Dr. Ewald, of Tübingen, and another writer whose initials only are given. In addition to these are articles on the Samaritan Pentateuch, and Syriac versions, by Dr. Davidson.

The great extent to which biblical introduction, especially that of the New Testament, has been recently treated in our journal, renders it both unnecessary and undesirable that we should quote from any of the articles which have been mentioned. The detail which we have gone into, brief as it is, will be enough to show how erudite and masterly the work must be in the department under review. There is, however, an article on an allied topic which we cannot so hastily pass over. Some of our readers may have a tolerably accurate recollection of a paper on the 'Nature of Prophecy,' translated from Dr. Hengstenberg's *Christologie des A. T.* which was inserted in the American Biblical Repository for 1832; and none of them who are acquainted with the *Christologie*, in the original, will have forgotten the avowal contained in the preface to the third volume, of a change in the author's views on the nature of prophecy, which, however, he did not explain, but left to be ascertained from the discrepancies between the third volume and its predecessors.† All this gives a peculiar interest to any thing recently

* That on the Epistles is very general, and, not requiring any discussion of equal interest to that on the *Protevangelium*, see Art. GOSPELS, is necessarily brief. We noticed one statement which we believe not all Dr. Tholuck's learning could substantiate. Paul's letters 'conclude,' he says, 'with the epistles to the two bishops and a private letter to Philemon.'

† His words are: 'many an expression in the first volume, is corrected in the following, often silently. The difference, indeed, extends further than to particulars, and beyond all the lower department of linguistic. It appears throughout in the fundamental view of the nature of prophecy, on which subject the author, who has become more and more familiar with the

books of scripture and sacred criticism, such as no work of the kind in any language has hitherto contained. The natural history of scripture has now, for the first time, been examined, and, as far as possible, settled—not by mere scholars ignorant of natural history, but by naturalists of acknowledged eminence. The scripture geography has, by the help of Dr. Robinson's invaluable 'Biblical Researches in Palestine,' and of other publications less known in this country, assumed in the present work a greatly altered and much more distinct aspect. The archæological articles exhibit a strength of illustration and research which will tend greatly to elucidate the obscurities which the subjects necessarily involve. The history has been discussed under the influence of those broad principles which constitute its philosophy; and in this, as well as in the biography, it has not been forgotten that, while actions are always to be judged by the immutable standard of right and wrong which the word of God has established, the judgments which we pass upon men must be qualified by considerations of age, country, situation, and other incidental circumstances.'—*Preface*, p. xx.

The reader will agree with Dr. Kitto, that a combination of articles of which he could speak in these terms was enough to satisfy him. We have quoted the preceding extract, not merely for the purpose of repeating encomiums which we believe to be extensively warranted, but also, that we might convey in his own language a view of what the editor must have proposed to himself, as a proper fulfilment of his comprehensive design. In selecting some specimens of the 'Cyclopædia' for our readers' further information, we shall follow the order of subjects indicated in that extract.

The topic first instanced is 'Biblical Introduction and Criticism.' Belonging to this branch there is a very large number of interesting and valuable articles. On the Pentateuch and its five component parts there are six articles, by the late Professor Hävernick, comprising in the whole thirty-five columns, which are equal to more than fifty well filled octavo pages. The same writer has also contributed ten columns on the life and writings of Daniel. The quality of these articles will not be questioned by those who are acquainted with the author's excellent volume on Daniel, published in 1832, or his more recent (though unhappily unfinished) Introduction to the Old Testament, or Commentary on Ezekiel. The article on Joshua, comprising both the book and the personal history of the great leader so called, is contributed by the editor, who also furnished a short paper on Malachi. To Dr. Hengstenberg, of Berlin, the Cyclopædia is indebted—for so we may justly say—for an elaborate piece on Job of twenty-one columns, or thirty well filled octavo pages, another on Ecclesiastes of six and

half pages, and a third on Isaiah of thirty-four columns, or about fifty pages. Dr. Davidson, of Manchester, has contributed the article on Chronicles, and another very elaborate one on the Apocalypse. On the New Testament, Dr. Tholuck has supplied seven articles, all worthy of his distinguished name.* One on the Gospels generally, one on *each* of the four Gospels, one on the Epistles generally, and one on the Epistle to the Romans. The articles on Acts and the Pauline epistles, (excepting Romans) which are the fruit of extensive reading and written with great care, are from the pen of Dr. Lindsay Alexander. Dr. Wright, the translator of Seiler's Hermeneutics, has furnished four upon the Catholic epistles. The same gentleman also supplied the papers on the Canticles, Obadiah, and Micah. The remaining papers on the Old Testament were furnished by Dr. John Eadie, Mr. Gotch, Dr. Benjamin Davies, Mr. J. E. Ryland, Dr. Baur, of Giessen, Dr. Ewald, of Tübingen, and another writer whose initials only are given. In addition to these are articles on the Samaritan Pentateuch, and Syriac versions, by Dr. Davidson.

The great extent to which biblical introduction, especially that of the New Testament, has been recently treated in our journal, renders it both unnecessary and undesirable that we should quote from any of the articles which have been mentioned. The detail which we have gone into, brief as it is, will be enough to show how erudite and masterly the work must be in the department under review. There is, however, an article on an allied topic which we cannot so hastily pass over. Some of our readers may have a tolerably accurate recollection of a paper on the 'Nature of Prophecy,' translated from Dr. Hengstenberg's *Christologie des A. T.* which was inserted in the American Biblical Repository for 1832; and none of them who are acquainted with the *Christologie*, in the original, will have forgotten the avowal contained in the preface to the third volume, of a change in the author's views on the nature of prophecy, which, however, he did not explain, but left to be ascertained from the discrepancies between the third volume and its predecessors.† All this gives a peculiar interest to any thing recently

* That on the Epistles is very general, and, not requiring any discussion of equal interest to that on the *Protevangelium*, see Art. GOSPELS, is necessarily brief. We noticed one statement which we believe not all Dr. Tholuck's learning could substantiate. Paul's letters 'conclude,' he says, 'with the epistles to the two bishops and a private letter to Philemon.'

† His words are: 'many an expression in the first volume, is corrected in the following, often silently. The difference, indeed, extends further than to particulars, and beyond all the lower department of linguistic. It appears throughout in the fundamental view of the nature of prophecy, on which subject the author, who has become more and more familiar with the

written on the subject of prophecy by Dr. Hengstenberg, and, accordingly, we were highly pleased to find an article of fifteen columns from his pen devoted to that subject in the present work. We are compelled, however, to say, that we have failed to discover from this article in what respect his earlier views have been corrected, and that the article is in other respects obscure, and unsatisfactory. Dr. Hengstenberg, when he first explicitly developed his theory of the 'Nature of Prophecy,' in 1829, laid very great stress upon the notion that the Old Testament prophets were, at the time of inspiration, invariably in an ecstacy, by which they were deprived of their natural consciousness, and saw in vision only. This supernatural extatic vision he considered, from Numbers xii. 5—8, to be the essential and characteristic condition of prophetic inspiration, and declared that he must dwell the longer on it, 'because the true explanation and defence of numerous Messianic passages rested on a correct theory of prophecy.' As already intimated, he announced in December, 1834, an entire change in his fundamental view on the nature of prophecy, yet the following is the substance of his theory as now communicated to the public.

'1 *The nature of Prophecy, &c.*—The view commonly taken of the prophets is, that they were mere predictors of future events, but this view is one-sided and too narrow, though, on the other hand, we must beware of expanding too much the acceptation of the term prophet. Not to mention those who, like Hendewerk, in the introduction to his *Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah*, identify the notion of a prophet with that of an honest and pious man, the conception of those is likewise too wide who place the essential feature of a prophet in his divine inspiration That this does not meet the whole subject, appears from Num. xii. 6, *seq.*, where Moses, who enjoyed divine inspiration in the highest grade, is represented as differing from those called prophets in a stricter sense, and as standing in contrast with them. Divine inspiration is only the general basis of the prophetic office, to which two more elements must be added:—

'Inspiration was imparted to the prophets in a *peculiar form*. This appears decisively from the passage in Numbers above cited, which states it as characteristic of the prophet, that he obtained divine inspiration in visions and dreams, consequently in a state extraordinary and distinguished from the general one. This mode was different from that in which inspirations were conveyed to Moses and the apostles. The same thing is shown by the names usually given to the prophets, viz., ראה and חזה seers, and from this, that all prophecies which have come down to us, have a poetical charac-

prophetic writings, has more recently attained to greater clearness. Precisely in reference to this most important alteration, however, will it be easy to the intelligent reader, to supplement the earlier representation from the later ones.' *Christologie*, vol. iii. Preface.

, which points to an infinite affinity between prophecy and poetry, ubject further illustrated by Steinbeck, in his work *Der Dichter Seher*, Leipzig, 1830; though the materials which he gives are t sufficiently digested. The prophetical style differs from that of oks properly called poetical, whose sublimity it all but outvies, y in being less restrained by those external forms which distin- sh poetical language from prose, and in introducing more fre- ently than prose does, plays upon words and thoughts. This culiarity may be explained by the practical tendency of prophetical dresses, which avoid all that is unintelligible, and studiously intro- ce what is best calculated for the moment to strike the hearers. e same appears from many other circumstances, *e. g*, the union of sic with prophecying; the demeanour of Saul when among the phets (1 Sam. x. 5); Balaam's description of himself (Num. iv. 3) as a man whose eyes were opened, who saw the vision of Almighty, and heard the words of God; the established phrase- gy to denote the inspiring impulse, viz., 'the hand of the Lord s strong upon him' (Ezek. iii. 14; compare Isa. viii. 11; 2 Kings, 15), etc. All these facts prove that there essentially belonged to phecy a state of mind worked up—a state of being beside one's f—an ecstatic transport, in which ideas were immediately imparted m Heaven. Acute remarks on the subject will be found in the rks of No alis (vol. ii. p. 472, *seq.*), from which we give the follow- passage: 'It is a most arbitrary prejudice to suppose that to n is denied the power of going out of himself, of being endued h a consciousness beyond the sphere of sense: he may at any ment place himself beyond the reach of sense (*ein übersinnliches senseyn*), else he would be a mere brute, not a rational freeman of universe. There are indeed degrees in the aptitude for reve- ions; one is more qualified for them than another, and certain positions are peculiarly capable of receiving such revelations; sides, on account of the pressure of sensible objects on the mind, s in this state difficult to preserve self-possession. Nevertheless, re are such states of mind in which its powers are strengthened, l, so to speak, armed.' The state of ecstacy, though ranking high ove the ordinary sensual existence, is still not the highest, as pears from Numbers xii., and the example of Christ, whom we ver find in an ecstatical state. To the prophets, however, it was ispensable, on account of the frailty of themselves and the people. e forcible working upon them by the Spirit of God would not have en required, if their general life had already been altogether holy; which reason we also find ecstacy to manifest itself the stronger the re the general life was ungodly; as, for instance, in Balaam, when Spirit of God was upon him (Numbers xxiv. 4, 16), and in Saul, o throws himself on the ground, tearing his clothes from his body. th a prophet whose spiritual attainments were those of an Isaiah, h results are not to be expected. As regards the people, their ritual obtuseness must be considered as very great, to have dered necessary such vehement excitations as the addresses of the phets caused.—*Art. Prophecy*, vol. ii. pp. 561-2.

Here, so far as we can see, Dr. Hengstenberg retains all that was peculiar in his earlier view on the subject. It is true he does not draw out the consequences of his theory so explicitly as in his original chapter, but the omission implies no change in reference to those consequences. If the prophets received the communications of Jehovah in visions only, and therefore by images or pictures, it would still follow that they saw things as if present, and without any exact discrimination of time, and that this would account for the intermingling of different subjects in the same oracle without any note, or evincing that they were so intermingled. It would explain, as Dr. Hengstenberg had before shown, the want of precision in the use of the tenses which is obvious in prophetic oracles, and the fact noticed so particularly in 1 Pet. i. 11, that the prophets, except in the instances where they were informed by special Divine revelation, were ignorant of the time when their predictions would be fulfilled. It is obvious, therefore, that though Dr. Hengstenberg has not dwelt on these consequences in the article before us, it is not in them that we are to look for any change of view if he adheres to his exclusive theory of ecstatic vision; and this being the case, we must own that we are still in the dark as to the change which has passed over his mind on the subject, and should have been pleased to have received, what we think was always due to his readers, more explicit information.

In our judgment, Dr. Hengstenberg's leading error lay, and still seems to lie, in overlooking the variety which certainly existed in the forms of prophetic inspiration. In his original chapter, he says, after unfolding his theory of ecstatic vision, 'this peculiar character of prophecy has not been *entirely* undetected by most expositors. Still they have for the most part assigned it to those prophetic passages only in which it reveals itself with special evidence, such as Isaiah, chap. vi., Ezekiel, chap. i., the first part of Zechariah, and the second of Daniel, which, therefore, have exclusively been designated Visions. But the distinction between these prophecies and others is an insecure one. The arguments which have been produced apply *equally to all* prophecies; and even in the latter, when the details are rightly conceived, indications of vision disclose themselves in ample quantity.' Now, had Dr. Hengstenberg merely declared that a careful examination of their details would prove that a much larger number of prophecies than had been usually regarded as visions,—perhaps a large majority of them,—had been communicated in the form of pictorial vision, we should have seen no reason to dispute his assertion. It probably is so. But we cannot admit that inspiration by vision is the exclusive or essential characteristic of Old Testament prophecy, or that whenever such a vision was disclosed to any prophet, he

was in a supernatural ecstasy, divested of intelligent consciousness, till he had imparted the burden of it in words to those for whom it was intended. That the latter was not the fact would appear—to name no other instances—from the communication which Micaiah held with Ahab, when he delivered his oracle respecting him, in 1 Kings xxii.; and from the history of Jonah. The former, though it may be inferred from Numbers xii. 5—8, (which, however, we should interpret as declaring a general, rather than an absolutely universal rule), is not only inconsistent with the characteristics of prophetical inspiration under the New Testament, which may be presumed to have been similar, but also with the contents of some of the Old Testament oracles. There is, at least, a great number of Old Testament prophesies, the subject matter of which cannot be represented in a visionary form, and in which, therefore, vision could have no place, unless we suppose that in every instance of prophetic inspiration the prophet saw Jehovah, and heard him, in vision, utter the words which he is required to speak in his name to the people. But this seems too large an inference from the passage in Numbers xii., even if we had not the analogical light of New Testament inspiration, suggesting the contrary. We are told, 2 Peter, i. 21, that holy men of God had spoken as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, which seems to imply a power working in them, similar to that which moved the writers of the New Testament, who ordinarily had no inspiring vision.

But what, our readers will in all probability have asked before this, is the meaning of the passage which Dr. Hengstenberg has quoted from Novalis? Does he mean that any man may at any moment 'go out of himself,' or 'place himself beyond the reach of sense'? We certainly know of one way in which any man may do the latter, which is, by writing or talking nonsense. And we know not which is greater nonsense,—what Novalis there asserts, or the application made of a thing which, he says, any 'man may at any moment do' to the supernaturally inspired condition of the prophets.

Dr. Hengstenberg's article on prophesy, however, notwithstanding these exceptions, and some others which it would be easy to make to it,* contains many valuable remarks. What he has written on the prophets' manner of life, though not new, is good. Equally good is what he has written respecting their

* As, *e. g.*, where he states, that 'before a man could be a prophet, he must be converted,' with which compare Matt. vii. 22; and adds, in confirmation, 'for a single momentary inspiration the mere beginning of spiritual life sufficed, as instanced in Balaam and Saul,' with which compare 2 Pet. ii. 15, 16, and Jude 11.

symbolical actions—the criteria by which true and false prophets were distinguished, and the promulgation of the prophetic declarations. We could have wished that he had now illustrated the causes of obscurity in certain prophecies, as resulting from their visionary origin, in the way and with the success with which he did in the first volume of his *Christologie*, and that he had given that prominence to the moral element of prophecy, which has been so justly given to it, by the late Mr. Davison and Dr. J. P. Smith.*

The articles on Natural History abound in valuable matter, much of which is new, and, coming from distinguished naturalists, entitled to particular attention. There is hardly a book on Scripture Antiquities, or Natural History, which has not treated of the hooded serpent; but the following, extracted from an article by Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton Smith, illustrates a difficult subject in a manner which will be new and satisfactory to many. Colonel Smith, we should add, is a fellow of the Royal and Linnæan Societies, and president of the Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society.

'The genus Naja-Haridi, (?) of Savary, is distinguished by a plaited head, large, very venomous fangs, a neck dilatable under excitement, which raises the ribs of the anterior parts of the body into the form of a disk or hood, when the scales, usually not imbricated, but lying in juxtaposition, are separated, and expose the skin, which at that time displays bright iridescent gleams, contrasting highly with their brown, yellow, and blueish colours. The species attain at least an equal, if not a superior, size to the generality of the genus viper; are more massive in their structure; and some possess the faculty of self-inflation to triple their diameter, gradually forcing the body upwards into an erect position, until, by a convulsive crisis, they are said suddenly to strike backwards at an enemy or a pursuer. With such powers of destroying animal life, and with an aspect at once terrible and resplendent, it may be easily imagined how soon fear and superstition would combine, at periods anterior to historical data to raise these monsters into divinities, and endeavour to deprecate their wrath by the blandishments of worship; and how design and cupidity would teach these very votaries the manner of subduing their ferocity, of extracting their instruments of mischief, and making them subservient to the wonder and amusement of the vulgar, by using certain cadences of sound which affect their hearing, and exciting in them a desire to perform a kind of pleasurable movements

† See Davison's 'Discourses on Prophecy,' Disc. II., pp. 37—74, 2nd edition; and, besides Dr. Smith's 'Sermon on Prophetic Interpretation,' his 'Lecture on the Prophets,' addressed to Sunday-school teachers, and published by the Sunday-school Union as a tract. This is small in bulk, but contains many valuable hints, which the student would not find in most of the larger publications on prophecy with which we are acquainted.

that may be compared to dancing. Hence the *nagas* of the east, the *hag-worms* of the west, and the *haje*, have all been deified, styled agathodæmon or good spirit; and figures of them occur wherever the superstition of pagan antiquity has been accompanied by the arts of civilization.

'The most prominent species of the genus at present is the *naja tripudians, cobra di capello*, hooded or spectacled snake of India, venerated by the natives, even by the serpent-charmers styled the good serpent to this day, and yet so ferocious that it is one of the very few that will attack a man when surprised in its haunt, although it may be gorged with prey. This species is usually marked on the nape with two round spots, transversely connected in the form of a pair of spectacles; but among several varieties, one, perhaps distinct, is without the marks, and has a glossy golden hood, which may make it identical with the *naje haje* of Egypt, the undoubted Ikhnuphi, cneph, or agathodæmon of ancient Egypt, and accurately represented on the walls of its temples, in almost innumerable instances, both in form and colour. This serpent also inflates the skin on the neck, not in the expanded form of a hood, but rather into an intumefaction of the neck. As in the former, there is no marked difference of appearance between the sexes; but the psilli, or charmers, by a particular pressure on the neck, have the power of rendering the inflation of the animal, already noticed as a character of the genus, so intense, that the serpent becomes rigid, and can be held out horizontally as if it were a rod. This practice explains what the soothsayers of Pharaoh could perform when they were opposing Moses, and reveals one of the names by which the Hebrews knew the species; for although the text (Exod. iv. 3) uses, for the rod of Aaron converted into a serpent, the word נחש *nachash*, and subsequently (vii. 15) תנין *thannin*, it is plain that, in the second passage, the word indicates 'monster,' as applied to the nachash just named—the first being an appellative, the second an epithet. That the rods of the magicians of Pharaoh were of the same external character is evident from no different denomination being given them: therefore we may infer that they used a real serpent as a rod—namely, the species now called *haje*—for their imposture; since they no doubt did what the present serpent-charmers perform with the same species, by means of the temporary *asphyxiation*, or suspension of vitality, before noticed, and producing restoration to active life by liberating or throwing down. Thus we have the miraculous character of the prophet's mission shown by his real rod becoming a serpent, and the magician's real serpents merely assuming the form of rods; and when both were opposed in a state of animated existence, by the rod devouring the living animals, conquering the great typical personification of the protecting divinity of Egypt. *Nachash* may therefore, with some confidence, be assumed to have been the Hebrew name, or at least one of the names, of the *naje haje*, *el haje*, and *haje nacher*, of the Arabs. This species may be regarded as extending to India and Ceylon; and probably the naja tripudians is likewise

an inhabitant of Arabia, if not of Egypt, although the assertion of the fact (common in authors) does not exclude a supposition that they take the two species to be only one. We are disposed to refer the 'winged' or 'flying' serpent to the *naja tripudians*, in one of its varieties, because, with its hood dilated into a kind of shining wings on each side of the neck, standing in undulating (נחש) motion, one half or more erect, rigid and fierce in attack, and deadly poisonous, yet still denominated 'good spirit,' and in Egypt ever figured in combination with the winged globe—it may well have received the name of שרף, *saraph*, and may thus meet all the valid objections, and conciliate seemingly opposite comments (see Numbers xxi. 6, 8; Deut. viii. 15; Isa. xiv. 29, xxx. 6; and Paxton's *Illustrations*,) excepting the authority of Herodotus, Pausanias, and Bochart, which, with all the respect due to their names, is not now sufficient to establish the existence of a kind of serpents whose structure is contrary to the laws of zoological organization'—vol. i. p. 70.

Under the title BEHEMOTH, Colonel Stewart states his opinion that, while the allusions in Job present some features which are characteristic of the hippopotamus, there are several which no less strikingly indicate the elephant. He regards the term as 'a poetical personification of the great pachydermata, or even herbivora, wherein the idea of hippopotamus is predominant. This view, he thinks, 'accounts for the ascription to it of characters not truly applicable to one species,' which he shows to be the case. He adds:—

'The book of Job appears, from many internal indications, to have been written in Asia,* and is full of knowledge, although that knowledge is not expressed according to the precise technicalities of modern science. It offers pictures in magnificent outline, without condescending to minute and laboured details. Considered in this light, the expression in Ps. l. 10, 'For every beast of the forest is mine, and the cattle (behemoth) upon a thousand hills,' acquires a grandeur and force far surpassing the mere idea of cattle of various kinds. If, therefore, we take this plural noun to be the meaning here briefly indicated, we may likewise consider the leviathan, its counterpart, a similarly generalized form with the idea of the crocodile most prominent; but from the very name indicating a twisting animal, and which from various texts evidently include the great pythons, cetacea, and sharks of the surrounding seas and deserts, it conveys a more sublime allusion than if limited to the crocodile, an animal familiar to every Egyptian, and well known even in Palestine.'—*Art. Behemoth.* vol. i. p. 317.

* The question *where* the book of Job was written is discussed at some length by Dr. Hengstenberg, in his article under that title. He concludes that it was written in Palestine, by an Israelite. Eichhorn was of opinion that it was written by an Israelite, but in Arabia. The author was evidently well acquainted with the natural history both of Arabia and Egypt.—*Rev.*

It is easy to infer from these instances how powerfully some of the articles on natural history are brought to bear on the elucidation of obscure biblical passages. Those which do not involve difficulties of this kind, are, many of them, distinguished by a clear and comprehensive treatment of their several subjects. A considerable number of interesting medical articles also occur, among which we may mention those on 'blindness,' 'blood and water,' 'bloody sweat,' and 'leprosy,' by Dr. W. A. Nicholson. The second of these contains some observations concerning the causes of our Lord's death, which tend to confirm its peculiar character, as a voluntary rendering up of his soul to God under the burden of our curse.

'Blood and water (John xix. 34) are said to have issued from our Lord's side, when the soldier pierced him on the cross. The only natural explanation that can be offered of the fact, is to suppose that some effusion had taken place in the cavity of the chest, and that the spear penetrated below the level of the fluid. Supposing this to have happened, and the wound to have been inflicted shortly after death, then, in addition to the water, blood would also have trickled down, or, at any rate, have made its appearance at the mouth of the wound, even though none of the larger vessels had been wounded. It is not necessary to suppose that the pericardium was pierced; for if effusion had taken place there, it might also have taken place in the cavities of the pleura; and during health, neither the pericardium nor the pleura contains fluid, but are merely lubricated with moisture on their internal or opposing surfaces, so as to allow of free motion to the heart and lungs.

'It may be objected to this view of the question, that, according to the longest computation, our Lord died in six hours; and this is too short a time to occasion effusion. Indeed, reasoning from experience alone, it is very difficult to understand the *physical* cause of our Lord's death. The crucifixion is quite inadequate to account for it; for, even if the impression produced by this torture on a weak nervous system was sufficient to annihilate consciousness and sensibility, the death of the body, or what physiologists have termed *organic* death, could not have taken place in so short a time, as long as the brain, lungs, and circulation, the so-called *atria mortis*, had sustained no material injury. In other words, the functions of respiration, circulation, secretion, and nutrition, must have continued for a much longer time. In fact, we learn from Eusebius, (Hist. Eccles. viii. 8), that many of the Egyptian martyrs perished from hunger on the cross, although they were crucified with their heads downwards. According to Richter, some survive on the cross for three, four, and even *nine* days, (Winer's *Bibl. Realwört.* s. v. *Jesus*). Our Lord's death could not have been occasioned by tetanus, or else it would have been mentioned; and even this disease, though the sufferer be racked with the most frightful convulsions without intermission, most rarely puts an end to life in less than twelve hours.

Nor can we attribute it to the wound inflicted by the soldier; for although, when it is said he 'expired, and the soldiers saw that he was dead,' our Lord might have merely fainted, yet it is impossible to suppose that the soldier would not have perceived his error the moment he inflicted the wound, provided it was mortal; for then would have commenced the death-struggle, which, in cases of death by asphyxia and hæmorrhage, is very severe, and would have struck the most careless observer.'—vol. i. p. 339

How powerfully does the preceding extract confirm the affecting representation given by Dr. Russell, of Dundee, in the first of his well-known and interesting 'Letters,' concerning the real cause of the Saviour's death! 'He at last,' says Dr. Russell, 'expired under the curse, not so much in consequence of the exhaustion of nature by bodily pain and the loss of blood, (for in the article of death he cried with a loud voice, and Pilate marvelled when he heard of it,) as in consequence of the extreme pressure of mental torture, Matt. xxvii. 50; Mark xv. 44. This was too racking, too exquisite for nature to support—it literally broke his heart. That sorrow which is the very soul of the curse, terminated his life; and thus discovered the nature of his sufferings, together with their great and glorious design.' (Letters, 5th edition, p. 8.) . . He suffered under the power of the Lawgiver and the Judge of all; and that in such circumstances, that in the prime of life *he died of a wounded spirit.* . . Resigning himself into the hands of his God, he exclaimed, 'Father! into thy hands I commend my spirit,' and bowing his head, he gave up the ghost, (ib. p. 17). The sequel of the last extract from the Cyclopædia very well exposes the suggestion with which Strauss endeavours to destroy the credit of this part of the evangelist's narrative; but we must not be induced by any matter, however tempting, to prolong our necessarily passing notice of this department of the work. We can only add, that a very large share of the wood-cut illustrations, which are exceedingly neat and appropriate, adorn this department.

A large proportion of the geographical articles are from the pen of the learned editor, whose previous labours in this field of biblical research are a fair guarantee for the good quality not only of his own papers, but for those which he has accepted from others. Dr. Beard, the writer of the article on Sinai, agrees with the opinion expressed in Robinson's 'Biblical Researches,' that Mount Horeb, and not Djebel Monsa, was the mountain where the law was delivered to Moses, dissenting from the view before expressed by Dr. Kitto in his notes to the 'Pictorial Bible,' and repeated in his 'Physical Geography of Palestine,' that Mount Serbal was then so distinguished. The geography of this most interesting region is additionally illustrated

articles on Selah [Petra] by Dr. Boyle, and on the 'Wander-gs of the Israelites,' by Dr. Beard. The passage of the Red a is discussed by Dr. Beard, (s. v. Exodus). The plain of ideah, on the south-side of Mount Attaka, which last Sicard ntifies with Baal-zephon, is, in Dr. Beard's judgment, the ot where the passage was effected. He justifies his position th great skill, and shows, we think, successfully, in opposition Dr. Robinson's, that the passage could not have been made the very head of the gulf, close to Suez. We should have oted with pleasure from this article, but it would require too ng an extract to do justice to Dr. Beard's argument. The ar-le, we should add, is written with much learning, and con-ins some original matter.

The article on Jerusalem, by Dr. Kitto, is very elaborate and cellent, comprising thirty-five columns and a half. It is partly storical and partly descriptive. That on Babel, six columns; bylon, ten columns; and Egypt, twenty-five;—all by Dr. ard—are admirable articles, and evince a very exact acquaint-ce with all the most recent sources of information. These ar-les are profusely and well illustrated by cuts. 'Assyria,' by r. Morren, and 'Phœnicia,' by Dr. Baur, of Giessen, are rned and well written papers.

Passing, as we must do, to the Archæological articles, we ould feel that we had a difficult work before us, were we obliged exhibit any quantity, even of the more prominent improve-ents of the present work in this department. It is the depart-ent, which is, if we except Biblical History, by far the most equently explained of all; consequently all our readers may be pected to be tolerably familiar with it. It is in fact illustrated, d well illustrated too,—witness the Tract Society's publication the 'Manners and Customs of the Jews,'—in treatises acces-le even to sunday-scholars. It might be sufficient, therefore, remark, that the same superiority of information distinguishes is branch of the work, which we have had occasion to recog-ze in others. But among the multifarious contents of this partment, there will be some that are excluded from all but ientific treatises in dictionaries, and we must be permitted to y a word or two on one or two of these.

The article on the Hebrew language, by Dr. John Nicholson, e translator of Ewald's grammar, though comprised in six lumns and a half, is far superior to any which we have met th in any dictionary. We prefer it on some accounts to any those historical accounts of the language which are prefixed to e most scientific grammars. It gives just that sort of infor-ation respecting the relation of the language to its cognates, its anges of form, cessation as a living vernacular language, the

distinction between ordinary and poetic diction, and the origination of the vowel points, which such a cyclopædia as we have before us should give, indicating the sources of fuller information, and prompting to the use of them. Another article, by the same writer, on the Arabic language, though shorter, is equally good.

Under the titles 'Alphabet,' written by Dr. John Nicholson, and 'Alphabetical Sounds,' written by Mr. Francis W. Newman, now professor of the Roman language and literature at University College, London, the student may also find some very valuable information on a subject deeply interesting to the learned. The researches of Seyffart, Kopp, Gesenius, Hoffman, are laid under contribution in the former [we were a little surprised that Hupfeld's briefer, but very acute investigations, were forgotten] and the most useful general results stated. It is enough to say that Mr. Newman's alphabetical comparisons, or rather comparisons of alphabetical sounds, are worthy of his distinguished and accurate scholarship.

The articles under this branch include, of course, all names of offices, and as those of the New Testament, as well as the Old, are elucidated, we found in its proper place one on the office of 'Bishop.' This also is by Professor Newman. Our readers know, as well as we do, that this long discussed subject is not one which controversy has abandoned yet, and since it is one of the most vexed questions of our own times, and one in which all ecclesiastical parties take a deep interest, and especially as the article in question is an unusually able one, we shall venture to extract from it. We shall not, however, extract from that portion of it with which we most nearly agree,—this would be to reproduce matter with which all anti-prelatical readers are familiar, but a smaller part of it, on which we shall take the liberty to offer a few remarks:—

'The apostles themselves, it is held by some, were the real *bishops* of that day; and it is quite evident that they performed many episcopal functions. It may well be true, that the only reason why no bishops (in the modern sense) were then wanting, was because the apostles were living; but it cannot be inferred that in any strict sense prelates are *co-ordinate in rank with the apostles*, and can claim to exercise their powers. The later 'bishop' did not come forward as a successor to the apostles, but was developed out of the presbyter; much less can it be proved, or alleged with plausibility, that the apostles took any measures for securing substitutes for themselves (in the high character of apostles) after their decease. It has been with many a favorite notion, that Timothy and Titus exhibit the episcopal type even during the life of Paul; but this is an obvious misconception. They were attached to the person of the apostle, and not to any one church. In the last epistle written by him (2 Tim. iv. 9)

he calls Timothy suddenly to Rome, in words that prove that the latter was *not*, at least as yet, bishop, either of Ephesus or of any other church. That Timothy was an *evangelist* is distinctly stated, (2 Tim. iv. 5), and that he had received spiritual gifts (i. 6, &c.) there is then no difficulty in accounting for the authority vested in him (1 Tim. v. 1; xix. &c.), without imagining him to have been a bishop, which is, in fact, disproved even by the same epistle (i. 3). That Titus, moreover, had no local attachment to Crete is plain from Titus iii. 13, to say nothing of the earlier epistle, 2 Cor. *passim*. Nor is it true that the episcopal power developed itself out of wandering evangelists any more than out of the apostles.

'On the other hand, it would seem that the bishop began to elevate himself above the presbyter, while the apostle John was yet alive, and in churches to which he is believed to have peculiarly devoted himself. The meaning of the title *angel*, in the opening chapters of the Apocalypse, has been mystically explained by some; but its true meaning is clear from the nomenclature of the Jewish synagogues. In them, we are told, the minister who ordinarily led the prayers of the congregation, besides acting as their chief functionary in matters of business, was entitled שליח ציבור a name which may be translated literally *nuncius ecclesiæ*, and is here expressed by the Greek ἄγγελος. The substantive מלאכה also (which by analogy would be rendered ἀγγελία, as מלאך is ἄγγελος) has the ordinary sense of *opus ministerium*, making it almost certain that the 'angels of the churches' are nothing but a harsh Hebraism for 'ministers of the churches.' We therefore here see a single officer, in these rather large Christian communities, elevated into a peculiar prominence, which has been justly regarded as episcopal. Nor does it signify that the authorship of the Apocalypse is disputed, since its extreme antiquity is beyond a doubt; we find, therefore, the germ of episcopacy here planted, as it were, under the eyes of an apostle.' —*(Neander Pflanzung und Leitung*, ii. 468.)

We must here close our quotation, though some admirable matter immediately follows. There are two statements in this extract on which we would say a word. 'It may well be true,' says Mr. Newman, 'that the only reason why no bishops (in the modern sense) were then wanting, was because the apostles were living.' This is a concession to the argument in favour of diocesan episcopacy, though a very slight one, certainly, and one the value of which is annihilated by what immediately follows. The concession itself being simply gratuitous, is not worth disputing; or it might perhaps be shown—indeed the claim set up in favour of the diocesan episcopacy of Timothy and Titus implies as much, that such bishops, if wanted at all, were wanted in the apostles' times. Having noticed the subsequent part of the paragraph, we would add that it coincides in part with the argument by which Mr. Binney has so admirably refuted the claims of diocesan episcopacy in his recent sermon occa-

sioned by the refusal of a grave to Mr. Guyer. The bearing of Paul's farewell address to the elders of Ephesus, and the true relation of Timothy and Titus to the churches of Ephesus and Crete are there exhibited with a force unanswerably destructive of the diocesan hypothesis. The passage we particularly refer to may be seen in the 'Biblical Review' for August, pp. 142, 3, but the entire discourse, like everything of its author's, well deserves perusal.

We do not agree with Mr. Newman, though he has in his favour, we believe, the general voice of the learned, when he says, in the second paragraph of the preceding extract, 'we therefore here see a single officer, in these rather large Christian communities, elevated into a peculiar prominence, which has justly been regarded as episcopal.' It is clear that the designation 'Angel of the church' is figurative. The whole of the imagery of the Apocalypse is cast in the ancient forms of the Old Testament symbolism. The visions of John correspond in character with those of Daniel and Zechariah. Hence the introductory references to the officers of the seven churches are expressed under Old Testament designations. This being the case, it would have been a violation of the propriety of the Old Testament form to have spoken of the 'angels' of one congregation, because under the Old Testament each synagogue had but one. The ministry which in the New Testament churches performed the same general duties as devolved on the angel of the synagogue under the Old, is therefore, we consider, even though consisting of more than one person, symbolically represented as the 'angel' of the church, not the 'angels,' because each synagogue had possessed but one angel. Mr. Newman's statement is also discountenanced by chronological considerations. The Book of Revelation (see Dr. Davidson's elaborate article on the subject, vol. ii. pp. 621, 622) was probably written before the destruction of Jerusalem, *i. e.*, in the year 67 or 68. Now Paul had only a few years earlier, most probably in the spring of 58 or 59, addressed an assembly of Ephesian elders at Miletus. It is hardly probable that the constitution of the church had changed so greatly in that time. Besides, supposing, what though not improbable, cannot be fairly assumed, that John's epistle, which was undoubtedly addressed to a leading Christian in the Ephesian Asia, if not in Ephesus itself, was written before the Apocalypse, this would only show that Diotrephes, one of the elders, (Demetrius, whose conduct is contrasted with his being another) *sought* something like prelatical authority; but that John both disapproved and threatened to punish his conduct. These hints, therefore, afford no countenance to Mr. Newman's view, though sanctioned by the general consent of theologians.

The last department of the Cyclopædia which we have to notice is that of biblical history and biography. For the general excellence of this department, also, we have a guarantee in Dr. Kitto's previous labours. Considering, however, the numerous difficulties which scripture history embraces, and the various pens which the editor was obliged to engage to assist him, it was morally impossible that all the articles should be equally convincing and satisfactory. It is but justice to the editor of such a work, that we should give his own account of his position and responsibilities, as he realized them himself:—

'The only drawback likely to arise from co-operation so various and extensive, lay in the probability that considerably different views might be manifested in the several articles; and that, too, on subjects on which every reader is likely to have formed some opinion of his own, and will be disposed to regard as erroneous or suspicious, every opinion which may not entirely coincide with that which he has been accustomed to entertain. In this lay the sole danger and the greatest difficulty of such an undertaking. Here was to be a book which no one man, and not even a very few men could produce; and which the public would yet probably expect to exhibit as much unity, not only of plan and execution, but of opinion and sentiment, as if it were the produce of a single mind. The editor, however, felt that he could not undertake to find forty independent thinkers among whom there could be no visible diversities of sentiment. But he thought that much might be done in producing so near an approach to uniformity on matters of real importance as would satisfy every reasonable reader. . . . Entire uniformity, if attainable at all, could only have been attained at the cost of providing a very different and greatly inferior work.'—*Preface*, p. viii.

Having then stated that it did not consist with his ideas to dictate to the contributors the views they were to take of the subjects entrusted to them, and that, except in his own instance, the initials of each contributor were appended to the articles he had furnished, the editor adds:

'Yet though some explanation is due to those who may possibly find in this work, in a few articles, opinions in which they cannot agree, and views from which their own differ, it is right that the persons engaged in producing it should claim for it a judgment founded, not on particular articles, but upon its general character, which was intended to be, and is, in accordance with the known standards of orthodox opinion in this country, as may be ascertained by reference to those leading articles, which may be regarded as stamping the character of any work in which they are found,' etc.—*Preface*, pp. viii, ix.

This claim is just. We can also testify to the sound character

both for scholarship and moral feeling, which many of the leading contributions exhibit, and consider that the diversity which exists here and there is no disparagement, but rather an advantage to the work. It allows, what every scholar or student must desire, a better opportunity of sifting opinions and statements, than a more partial or arbitrary method would have afforded. But this very circumstance also renders it necessary that the readers of the work should come to the study of it with a disposition to compare and examine; that they should search for proof, wherever proofs can be obtained, and hold whatever result their investigations issue in, with just so much of conviction, and no more, as the evidence warrants. In this way it may be fairly presumed, that if there be anything jejune, or doubtful, or erroneous in one part, it will be corrected by another, and the true normal habits of the bible-student be usefully encouraged and strengthened.

We can partially illustrate these remarks by instances immediately before us. The article 'DAVID' produced no small anxiety in our mind when we first perused it, as the work came out in numbers. This anxiety was not occasioned by the exhibition which the article gives of the apparent discrepancies which exist in the First book of Samuel respecting the early life of David: these discrepancies must be taken into account, if we would investigate the sources from which an accurate view of David's history is to be derived. Neither would we altogether say, that the article is written in a spirit unfriendly to the authority, and opposed to the representations of Scripture; the close of it resists that view. But we did perceive that the difficulties were stated keenly and *con-amore;* that though some of the solutions which have been suggested were passingly hinted at, there was neither any examination of them, nor any reference to the authors by whom they are exhibited and defended; that some portions of David's conduct were regarded not from the scriptural point of view, but from that of a low rationalism; and that even the silence of scripture as to David's motives, is occasionally construed into a ground of an insinuation unfriendly to his character. We laid down the article, in fact, under the impression that it was simply calculated to engender doubt. We therefore did fear, that if other leading historical articles were written in the same manner, the effect would be very injurious to students whose range of reading might be limited. But our apprehensions were subsequently removed. In the articles on Saul and on the Books of Samuel, those counterbalancing considerations are stated, which will enable the reader to see the whole case before him, and references are added to other works, in which the principal subjects

are comprehensively discussed. The last mentioned articles did not indeed remove our dissatisfaction at the mode in which the immolation of Saul's sons was treated under the article 'David;' but, considering the great variety of contributors engaged, and that so many of them are foreign writers, there is comparatively little of a description which we should disapprove. Let the work be fairly used as a whole, and it will be productive of extensive benefit to the cause of sacred learning in our country.

As historical contributions of great interest we may specify 'Adam,' and 'Noah,' by Dr. Pye Smith; 'Moses,' by Professor Hävernick; 'Abraham,' by Dr. Kitto; 'Isaac, Jacob, and 'Joseph,' by Dr. Beard; 'Nebuchadnezzar,' by Dr. Wright; 'Jeremiah,' by Mr. Gotch; 'Jesus,' by Dr. John Brown; 'Paul and Peter,' by Dr. Alexander. Some of these are worthy of a distinct notice did our limits allow of it. In this department, as well as in all the preceding, all that we can do is to suggest, by a few remarks and specimens, the *general* quality of the work under review; and our readers must by no means take for granted that articles which we have overlooked, or been compelled to pass over, are therefore of inferior merit or importance. Having, indeed, for the sake of convenience, adopted the arrangement of subjects mentioned in our first extract, we find that we have neglected altogether a numerous class of miscellaneous articles, which yet are of the highest interest. Among these we must mention 'Angels,' and 'Heaven,' by the editor; 'Canaan,' by Dr. Alexander; 'Creation,' by Professor Baden Powell; 'Gnosticism,' 'Greek Philosophy,' and 'Logos,' by Mr. Potter, of Oriel College, Oxford; Inspiration and Miracles, by Dr. Leonard Woods; 'Interpretation and Hermeneutics,' by Dr. Credner; Introduction (biblical), by the same; 'Justification,' and 'Mediator,' by Dr. Doran; 'Manuscripts,' (biblical) and 'Talmud,' by Dr. Davidson; 'Proper Names,' by Dr. Ewald; 'Nations, Dispersion of,' and 'Confusion of Tongues,' by Dr. Pye Smith; 'Revelations,' spurious, by Dr. Wright; 'Schools,' by Dr. Michelson and the editor; and 'Theology,' (biblical) by Dr. Credner. We trust our readers are now satisfied with the promise of valuable information which this work holds out to those who purchase and peruse it, and that such as are interested in biblical inquiries will procure and make a good use of it. It is worthy of the advanced age in which it was produced, and will assist in realizing a still higher standard of biblical science.

In our opening paragraph we made reference to a Biblical Cyclopædia, widely distinguishable from all the imitations and abstracts of Calmet, which are now so happily superseded. We had in view, as our more intelligent readers will have supposed,

the *Biblisches Real-wörterbuch* of Winer. It was our intention to have compared some few articles of that work with corresponding ones in Dr. Kitto's, for the sake of showing that occasionally, though not exactly in the same instances, both have travelled beyond the due range of Scripture subjects, and that both have left some topics unnoticed, on which the biblical student might desire information. We may refer to the article 'Shekinah,' as one we have subjected to this comparative analysis. But our limits are filled up; and we can only suggest that even now, on a review of his whole work, Dr. Kitto might obtain some very valuable additional matter from Winer, and express our hope that the present Cyclopædia is, like the 'Britannica,' destined to live as the standard work of its class, embodying new and important improvements in each successive edition.

We have only to add that this Cyclopædia is printed with surprising accuracy. We noticed in page 985 of vol. ii., 'Blaney' for Blayney, and 'Stouard' for Stonard, and elsewhere one or two trifling errors of the press; but the greatest pains have evidently been taken to ensure correctness. In taking leave of it, or rather,—as we expect to consult it frequently,—let us say, in concluding this lengthened, though rapid and imperfect notice, we would express our hope, 'that with such claims to attention, and embodying as it does the results of great labour and much anxious thought, the work now offered to the public will not only receive indulgent consideration for the minute 'errors, defects, and perhaps discrepancies, from which the editor dares not hope that it is wholly exempt,' but that it will obtain the patronage to which it is fairly entitled, and prove to wealthy publishers that light literature is not the only, or even the best, outlet for literary enterprise.

Art. III.—*Life in California: during a residence of several years in that Territory, comprising a Description of the Country and the Missionary Establishments, with Incidents, Observations, etc. etc. Illustrated with numerous Engravings.* By an American. *To which is annexed a Historical Account of the Origin, Customs, and Traditions, of the Indians of Alta-California. Translated from the original Spanish Manuscript.* New York: Wiley and Putnam.

CALIFORNIA is only slightly known to our countrymen, and until lately it possessed very little to attract their attention. Situated in a distant region, thinly populated, without commerce or literature, a mere dependance of a feeble and despised government, it possessed neither political, social, or religious

interest. It awakened no enquiry, and rendered no tribute to the general stock of human knowledge. Recent events, however, have placed it before the eye of European statesmen, who are, in consequence, asking for information respecting its condition and capabilities. The United States government is evidently bent on its acquisition. Their vast extent of territory does not satisfy them, and they are consequently looking to this neglected region as the means of providing for their restless and adventurous citizens. This has been anticipated for some time, as much more probable than the occupation of the country by Russia, which it was the fashion a few years since to apprehend. The latter were until recently settled on the northern frontier of California, and it was thought probable by many that an effort would be made to extend the domains of the autocrat in this direction. The Russian settlement, however, has been abandoned, and the fears to which it gave rise have, in consequence, disappeared. The present danger—if such it may be termed—is from another quarter. Though the frontiers of North America are much more distant than the Russian, yet the habits of the people render this of little moment. The tide of American emigration is moving rapidly in the direction of California, and unless some change occurs, which no human foresight can predict, it can scarcely fail to revolutionize the institutions and habits of extensive regions. Under such circumstances we welcome accurate information from any quarter, and though the volume before us possesses little that is exciting, or even very interesting in its details, it has, nevertheless, a value which renders it both interesting and useful. It is the production of a man of business, who writes briefly, and in clear style, what he saw and heard, without descanting much on the rationale of things, or attempting an explanation of Californian mysteries. He is, for the most part, satisfied with recording what was on the surface, and as his engagements were mainly commercial, the lovers of adventure will find little to gratify their taste. His first intention was to have prefixed a sketch of the country to his translation of Boscana's 'Historical Account of the Indians of California,' but the increasing interest taken by his countrymen in the subject has induced him 'to lay before the reader a simple statement respecting the country, and its political progress, from the time when Mexico became free from Spanish dominion.' In doing this he has confined himself, as far as possible, to the events which fell under his own observation, and his work is consequently wanting in breadth of information, while it constitutes, nevertheless, an agreeable and instructive companion. The country is nominally, at least, under the government of Mexico, by whom its governor, and

other officers, have been appointed. It is bounded on the west by the Pacific Ocean, along which it extends, and on the east by a range of the Cordilleras and the Indian territory. The part inhabited by European and other foreign settlers, is a tract immediately contiguous to the sea, with an average breadth of about forty miles.

'The whole of Upper California was left entirely to the control of the Franciscan Friars; while the Dominicans were entrusted with the lower province. From 1769 until 1776, no less than nineteen missions were founded—another in 1817, and one more in 1823, which are all that have ever been established. These were the germs of Spanish colonization, which were advanced under the protection of four *Presidios*, or military fortresses; viz., St. Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey, and St. Francisco; from whence troops could be marched at any moment, if requisite. The prosperity of these missions was great until the year 1824, since which they have gradually depreciated, and are now almost entirely destroyed.'—Preface, p. vii.

Our author left Boston in July 1828, in the character of a commercial agent, and resided in the country during several years, and the account he gives confirms the view of preceding writers, as to the failure hitherto of republican institutions in Mexico. He visited most of the missions, and the sketch of any one of them will afford a tolerably accurate view of all. We take that of St. Luis Rey, which is situated in the midst of a beautiful valley.

'It was yet early in the afternoon when we rode up to the establishment, at the entrance of which many Indians had congregated to behold us, and as we dismounted, some stood ready to take off our spurs, whilst others unsaddled the horses. The reverend father was at prayers, and some time elapsed ere he came, giving us a most cordial reception. Chocolate and refreshments were at once ordered for us, and rooms where we might arrange our dress, which had become somewhat soiled by the dust.

'This mission was founded in the year 1798, by its present minister, father Antonio Peyri, who had been for many years a reformer and director among the Indians. At this time, 1829, its population was about three thousand Indians, who were all employed in various occupations. Some were engaged in agriculture, while others attended to the management of over sixty thousand head of cattle. Many were carpenters, masons, coopers, saddlers, shoemakers, weavers, &c., while the females were employed in spinning and preparing wool for their looms, which produced a sufficiency of blankets for their yearly consumption. Thus every one had his particular vocation, and each department its official superintendent, or alcalde; these were subject to the supervision of one or more Spanish *mayordomos*, who were appointed by the missionary father, and consequently under his immediate direction.

e building occupies a large square, of at least eighty or ninety
each side; forming an extensive area, in the centre of which a
in constantly supplies the establishment with pure water.
ont is protected by a long corridor, supported by thirty-two
, ornamented with latticed railings, which, together with the
pearance of the church on the right, presents an attractive
o the traveller; the interior is divided into apartments for the
nary and mayordomos, store-rooms, workshops, hospitals,
for unmarried males and females, while near at hand is a
of buildings tenanted by the families of the superintendents.
is also a guard-house, where were stationed some ten or a
soldiers, and in the rear spacious granaries stored with an
ance of wheat, corn, beans, peas, &c.; also large enclosures
gons, carts, and the implements of agriculture. In the inte-
the square might be seen the various trades at work, present-
cene not dissimilar to some of the working departments of our
risons. Adjoining are two large gardens, which supply the
rith fruit and vegetables, and two or three large '*ranchos*' or
are situated from five to eight leagues distant, where the
s are employed in cultivation and domesticating cattle.
e church is a large stone edifice, whose exterior is not with-
ne considerable ornament and tasteful finish; but the interior
er, and the walls are adorned with a variety of pictures of
and scripture subjects, glaringly coloured, and attractive to
. Around the altar are many images of the saints, and the
ad massive candelabras, lighted during mass, throw an
ng light upon the whole.'—pp. 23—25.

professed object of these establishments is the good of
dians, and to ascertain, though we fear a very limited
, this may be effected. Both in the indulgences granted
the restraints imposed, there is a singular disregard of
of the most obvious principles of our nature, on which
he civilization of a people can be effected. Self support
lf respect are clearly of this order, and yet the whole
cy of the system, as detailed by our author, is adapted
to repress, than to favour their growth. The system
ed essentially erroneous. It is one of force, rather than of
tion, and ends in mere formalism and wretchedness.
, not, therefore, surprised, when told that:—

s is offered daily, and the greater portion of the Indians
; but it is not unusual to see numbers of them driven along
ides, and under the whip's lash forced to the very doors of
ctuary. The men are placed generally upon the left, and
ales occupy the right of the church, so that a passage way
is formed between them from the principal entrance to the
here zealous officials are stationed to enforce silence and
n. At evening again, 'El Rosario' is prayed, and a second
assemble to participate in supplication to the Virgin.

'The condition of these Indians is miserable indeed; and it is not to be wondered at that many attempt to escape from the severity of the religious discipline at the mission. They are pursued, and generally taken; when they are flogged, and an iron clog is fastened to their leg, serving as additional punishment, and a warning to others.'—pp. 25, 26.

Such is the folly with which civilized man has commonly sought to reclaim the savage. He is first reduced to a state of vassalage, if not of personal slavery, and is then punished, if he attempt to recover his former liberty. The result of all this is the semblance, the mere outward form of civilization and religion. Bodily attitudes may easily be imitated, and these are supposed to represent the energy and holiness of religion, however vicious the passions which are cherished, or the practices indulged in. Let the following description of what was seen at St. Gabriel be taken as an illustration :—

'In the morning, at six o'clock, we went to the church, where the priest had already commenced the service of the mass. The imposing ceremony, glittering ornaments, and illuminated walls, were well adapted to captivate the simple mind of the Indian, and I could not but admire the apparent devotion of the multitude, who seemed absorbed, heart and soul, in the scene before them. The solemn music of the mass was well selected, and the Indian voices accorded harmoniously with the flutes and violins that accompanied them. On retiring from the church, the musicians stationed themselves at a private door of the building, whence issued the reverend father, whom they escorted with music to his quarters; there they remained for a half hour, performing waltzes and marches, until some trifling present was distributed among them, when they retired to their homes.

'As is usual on all their 'dias de fiesta,' the remaining part of the sabbath is devoted to amusements, and the Indian generally resorts to gambling, in which he indulges to the most criminal excess, frequently losing all he possesses in the world—his clothes—beads, baubles of all kinds, and even his wife and children! We saw them thus engaged, scattered in groups about the mission, while, at a little distance, quite an exciting horse-race was going on; the Indians betting as wildly on their favourite animals as upon the games of chance, which found so many devotees.'—pp. 31, 32.

The Indian population has for some years past been rapidly declining. That of Alta California was estimated in 1829 at upwards of 30,000, but now scarcely reaches a third of that number, whilst the white population is about 8000. Until recently very little encouragement was given to immigration, and the catholic missions had interests unfriendly to the settlement of foreigners. A wiser policy, however, is now pursued, and several hundred Americans are, in consequence, already located within

the territory. 'Their industrious habits,' says our author, 'have procured for them many very promising settlements, where the lands, under judicious management, produce abundance, and contribute greatly to the beauty of the surrounding country.'

The general tone of morals is such as might have been anticipated, so far, at least, as the men are concerned. The women, we confess, judging from our author's description, are better than we looked for:—

'The men are generally indolent, and addicted to many vices, caring little for the welfare of their children, who, like themselves, grow up unworthy members of society. Yet, with vice so prevalent amongst the men, the female portion of the community, it is worthy of remark, do not seem to have felt its influence, and perhaps there are few places in the world, where, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, can be found more chastity, industrious habits, and correct deportment, than among the women of this place. This observation may be applied to the country generally; which is rather surprising, when we consider the want of distinction observed between those of virtuous and immoral habits: for it is not unusual to see at public assemblages the most perfect familiarity between the two classes. This often misleads strangers, who form, in consequence, incorrect opinions. In time, when the country becomes more settled, a necessary distinction will prevail among the various classes; and society will be found more select, as in places of greater civilization. Their adherence to the faithful observances of the church, as in all Catholic countries, is truly firm; and the most trifling deviation from its commands is looked upon with abhorrence. The extreme veneration shown towards the holy teachers of their religion, and the wonderful influence exercised by them, even in the affairs of their every-day life, may account for any virtue they may exhibit. The friar's knowledge of the world, and his superior education, give him a station far above the unenlightened state of the laity, and place him in a sphere to inculcate good or disseminate evil. Fortunately, however, for the country, the original founders of Christianity in California were truly pious, excellent men, and their successors, generally, have endeavoured to sustain their honourable character.'—pp. 73, 74.

The greatest atrocities are practised almost with impunity, so feeble is the Mexican government, and so imperfect its executive administration. The following speaks volumes, and would effectually prevent our envying the inhabitants of California:—

'Whilst G—— and myself remained as temporary residents on shore, no particular occurrence transpired, excepting an occasional robbery, or murder, at the south; for still the missions in that quarter were unsettled, and hardly a day passed without some new act of violence occurring.

'A white man was stabbed by a black fellow; but this being con-

sidered only an ordinary occurrence, no notice was taken of it. A sergeant of artillery who had cut the throat of his comrade, was put on board the barque Leonor, bound to St. Blas. There being no constituted tribunal here to take cognizance of the deed, the villain was sent to Mexico, where, the probability is, he was promoted, and will be ordered back to commit more murders! This has been too often the case, and the assassin, emboldened in consequence, hesitates not to kill, when he feels it indispensable to his purpose. What is most astonishing is, why the Indian does not take example from his Mexican brethren, and like them, kill and plunder.'—p. 152.

The national amusements of a people betray much of their character. They are a mirror, in which the inner man is reflected, and on which, therefore, a thoughtful observer will gaze with far more interest than the sport itself can minister.

Knowing what has been fashionable in Europe, and the recent authorities which may be quoted in defence of the wholesale destruction of animal life, for the mere purpose of amusement, we must not hastily draw a too unfavourable conclusion from such scenes as the following, which our author witnessed at the mission of Santa Barbara:—

'No other incident worthy of notice occurred during my journey, and I returned to Santa Barbara, after a pleasant trip, in time to witness a bull and bear bait that was to take place at the Mission, the day following.

'Old Bruin was first, however, to be caught, and about a dozen *vaqueros*, with their mayordomo, started off to entrap him. On such occasions, a bright moonlight night was always selected, and their usual mode of securing him was as follows. In some remote spot which the bears most frequented, a bullock was slain and his carcase left exposed. At an early hour the Indians repaired to some neighbouring concealment where they watched the bear's approach, which was announced by the howling of wolves, and the noise of immense numbers of *coyotes*. He usually crept along suspiciously towards the bait, and while eagerly engaged in consuming it, the Indians suddenly pounced upon him from their ambush, and with their lassos thrown around his neck, tumbled him to the ground. Oftentimes at the approach of his pursuers he would rise on his hind legs, prepared for defence, when the lassos were either broken or forced from the rider. The expert *vaquero*, however, generally succeeded, and poor Bruin, foaming with rage, gagged, and secured with a dozen lassos, was drawn to the Mission; either upon a low, two-wheeled cart, or a large bullock's hide.

'Success had attended them on this occasion, and at sunrise a large grey bear was secured to a tree in front of the Mission. It was past noon when I rode up and dismounted to look at the poor condemned brute, who, almost exhausted with heat and rage, seemed hardly competent to the trial that awaited him. Persons were

standing around, thrusting pointed sticks into his sides, till the madness of the infuriated animal knew no bounds. A sailor, rather the worse for 'aguardiente,' reeled up to take part in the fun, and with his recklessness and wit added infinitely to the amusement. At length an unfortunate stagger brought him within reach of Bruin's paw, who seized him by the leg and drove his teeth quite through the calf. With extreme difficulty, they rescued him from his danger, and a skillful practitioner happening to be near, the wound was immediately sewed up.

'The time arrived for the sport to commence, and every one repaired to a large square, formed by the junction of the long corridor with a temporary fence of poles. The bear, still encumbered with his fastenings, was first brought in, and then the bull came plunging into the enclosure, as if a match for a dozen such opponents. A lasso was fastened to the hind leg of the bear, leaving his fore paws at liberty for defence, and connecting with one of the bull's fore legs, so contrived as to give them a scope of about twenty feet for manœuvring. This being accomplished, the other fastenings were removed, and the two terrified creatures remained sole occupants of the square. The bull roared, pawed the earth, flung his head in the air, and at every movement of his opponent seemed inclined to escape, but the lasso checked his course, and brought them both with a sudden jerk to the ground. Bruin, careless of the scene around him, looked with indifference upon his enemy, seemingly too exhausted to bear the struggle, but the jerk of the lasso aroused him as if to a sense of danger, and he rose up on his hind legs, in the posture of defence. At this moment, the bull rushed upon him, and with his sharp horns seemed to have gored him through; but not so, for a mournful bellow told his situation. The bear had seized upon him by the nose, whilst his paws clung around his horns. A sudden exertion, however, liberated the bull from this embrace, and a second plunge drove his horns half way through his enemy's side, and tossed him high in the air, whence he fell powerless to the ground. One or two more successful attacks decided the fate of Bruin, and he was dragged from the arena, covered with numerous and ghastly wounds. The conflict in this case had been short, owing to the exhausted condition of the bear; but, on some occasions, it was continued even to the exhausting of a second bull; this was rare, however, and more frequently a strong bull was able to cope with two such adversaries.

'On this occasion every body attended, as is customary in all their amusements, and men, women, and children took part in the discussions relative to the fight. Such exhibitions served for a topic of conversation amongst all classes for months afterwards, and the performance elicited as much applause as is usually bestowed on the triumph of some great actor in the theatre of our own country.—pp. 102—105.

Judged of by their public sports, the Californians will bear an honourable comparison with their Spanish progenitors, for whilst their origin may be traced through the medium of their

recreations, the worst features of the games of Spain are not visible amongst them. This is specially the case with their bull fights, as will appear from the following brief description :—

'A bullfight in California is far different from the brutal exhibitions of Spain and Mexico. Here, the bull is not killed, or lacerated; the object of the amusement being merely the exhibition of equestrian performances. All the young bachelors are expected to be present, which generally secures a full attendance of ladies, who stand on stages and platforms erected around the enclosure, ready to bestow their smiles and approbation on those of their choice; hence the waving of handkerchiefs and shawls is incessant.

'When a bull enters, (it being customary to admit only one at a time) he usually rushes in as if ready to attack anything before him, till the shouts of the multitude, and the confused fluttering of scarfs, shawls, and ribbons, disconcert the animal, and he retires to the least occupied part of the square, where he remains pawing up the earth. Presently, a horseman comes forth, with a scarlet cloak, or gaudy 'scrape,' which he waves toward the bull; the animal rushes at the object, and the skill of the rider consists in avoiding a collision. Sometimes a dozen riders are thus in the area at once, and in the confusion, it not unfrequently happens that a horse is gored, or a rider thrown. The more valiant appear on foot; and as they nimbly escape danger, or boldly throw themselves into it, the interest is exceedingly increased. When one bull is worn out with fatigue, another is let in to take his place; and occasionally a rocket or squib is thrown to excite his fury. The boys, on horseback, await to receive the harassed creature as he is let out, to drive him off outside of the town; and in his retreat he is sure to be overturned by them at least half a dozen times.'—pp. 208, 209.

The religious festivals of the country are accommodated to the ignorance and bad taste of the people. It is mortifying to observe how the most solemn facts and deepest mysteries of our religion, may be reduced by human folly to the level of the mean and contemptible. It would seem as if an evil agency were perpetually employing itself, with a potency scarcely to be resisted, in order to extinguish the light of revelation, and to surround the most solemn things with an air of ridicule. Unable to banish revelation, it seeks to change its character, to divest it of its august and awful import, to bring it down from its lofty and pure region, and to render it the plaything, the mere bauble at which manhood laughs. And all this is done under the semblance of respect, and with exquisite adaptation, in its form, to the special circumstances of the class addressed. In our own country it is seen in the pomp and pageantry with which the officers and ministrations of religion are associated, and in California it is witnessed in the yet more grotesque and

disgusting form described in the following passage. In both cases, however, the same spirit is essentially present:—

'They were rehearsing night after night, till at length Christmas arrived, and I had an opportunity of beholding the ceremony of midnight mass and the subsequent performances.

'At an early hour illuminations commenced, fireworks were set off, and all was rejoicing. The church bells rang merrily, and long before the time of mass the pathways leading to the Presidio were enlivened by crowds hurrying to devotion. I accompanied Don José Antonio, who procured for me a stand where I could see distinctly everything that took place. The mass commenced, Pádre Vicente de Olivia officiated, and at the conclusion of the mysterious '*sacrificio*' he produced a small image representing the infant Saviour, which he held in his hands for all who chose to approach and kiss. After this, the tinkling of the guitar was heard without, the body of the church was cleared, and immediately commenced the harmonious sounds of a choir of voices. The characters entered in procession, adorned with appropriate costume, and bearing banners. There were six females representing shepherdesses, three men and a boy. One of the men personated Lucifer, one a hermit, and the other Bartolo, a lazy vagabond, whilst the boy represented the archangel Gabriel. The story of their performance is partially drawn from the Bible, and commences with the angel's appearance to the shepherds, his account of the birth of our Saviour, and exhortation to them to repair to the scene of the manger. Lucifer appears among them, and endeavours to prevent the prosecution of their journey. His influence and temptations are about to succeed, when Gabriel again appears and frustrates their effect. A dialogue is then carried on of considerable length relative to the attributes of the Deity, which ends in the submission of Satan. The whole is interspersed with songs and incidents that seem better adapted to the stage than the church. For several days this theatrical representation is exhibited at the principal houses, and the performers at the conclusion of the play are entertained with refreshments. The boys take an enthusiastic part in the performance, and follow about from house to house, perfectly enraptured with the comicalities of the hermit and Bartolo.'—pp. 67—69.

To our author's work there is appended a valuable addition, in the shape of a translation of Father Boscana's historical account of the Indians, which will be read with deep interest by all who are engaged in such researches. It forms an appropriate sequel to 'Life in California,' and in conjunction with it forms a volume to which the geographer and historian may refer with advantage.

Art. IV. *Theological Essays; reprinted from the Princeton Review.* 8vo. pp. 705. London: Wiley and Putnam.

This is a volume of sterling worth. We have seen no production of its class from the Western world that excels it. The articles of which it is composed are selected from the 'Princeton Review,' and go back some fifteen or sixteen years. The Review commenced in the year 1825, under the auspices of Professor Hodge. It has been mainly sustained by the pens of the leading men in the Presbyterian church, and is in the highest degree creditable both to their learning and acuteness. The subjects are nearly all interesting to the whole Christian church, and will be found to include the principal points in debate between the Evangelical theory on the one hand, and modern infidel philosophy, Popery, Socinianism, Pelagianism, Arminianism, etc., on the other. One highly valuable and long article, which has deeply interested us, is Professor Tholuck's 'History of Theology in the Eighteenth Century.' This essay, which occupies between eighty and ninety pages of close print, is a translation made in 1827 from a manuscript copy of a course of lectures, delivered by the author when connected with the university of Berlin. The translation, though made from notes taken in the lecture-room, has had the advantage of passing under the eye of the learned author. We would gladly transfer to our pages the whole of this deeply-learned, comprehensive, and most able essay. But as that is quite impossible, we shall select a portion of the *seventh section*, entitled—'*On the Influence of the New Philosophy.*'

The author, in the first or introductory part, states the bad effect produced upon the German mind by the excessive pretensions of Wolf's philosophy, which by asserting its ability to make even the doctrines of Christianity as clear and firm as any mathematical demonstration, had driven many profound thinkers into the extreme conclusion, that truth was utterly unattainable. Besides this, Wolf, though professing to hold Christianity, had separated so completely between natural and revealed religion, that many of his disciples contented themselves with embracing the former and rejecting the latter, as wholly beyond the sphere of demonstrative evidence. This gave rise to what was known as 'the popular philosophy,' and Wolf's disciples became divided into the two parties which would be known in this country under the name of Deists and Christians.

But then the great change came on which affected everything bearing the name of thought and philosophy. Kant

arose, excited, Dr. Tholuck thinks, by the scepticism of Hume, to investigate the capability of the human powers to attain to a knowledge of invisible things. The issue of Kant's philosophizing was the conclusion, that man was wholly incompetent to attain to a knowledge of invisible things by any species of demonstration like that which Wolf had worked. He therefore gave up what had been called metaphysics, and attempted to erect an entirely novel system on the *postulates of practical reason*. The hinge upon which the Kantian system turns is called *the categorical imperative* in man; that is, that we should be and do what the moral law (*of our nature*) requires. Dr. Tholuck goes on to show that this system tended directly to bring all the peculiarities of Christianity into contempt. The standard of moral duty was sought in the pure reason, and only so much of Christianity was deemed estimable as approved itself to this standard, and just because it was deemed to have proceeded from that source. He then shows that another crisis of philosophy occurred when Fichte, one of Kant's pupils, overthrew the system of his master: proving, that if we know nothing of the essences of things, and that their predicates are altogether categories of our own minds, then we have no sort of evidence of an external world, and our conclusion ought to be that there is nothing out of ourselves. Thus he destroyed all distinction between matter and mind. No wonder, then, that he led the philosophers to the conclusion, that there exists nothing but spirit. From this point he proceeded to merge all the finite spirits of men in the infinite Spirit of God, or, which is the same thing, to identify God with the spirit of man. Take the proposition either way, and God becomes nothing but man—or man is the only God. Dr. Tholuck observes, that this system of Fichte's was more consequent than that of Kant, but it failed to solve the problem—the removal of the difference of matter and spirit; dualism therefore remains in this system as well as in the other. Dr. Tholuck describes the evils which this philosophy produced, as not only affecting theology most injuriously, but as extending to the physical sciences, which were despised, in comparison with abstract speculations. Man's reason became literally deified; and that sovereignty, freedom, and independence of action which belong only to the Deity, were predicated of human reason. Man was, in fact, made god by the pride and self-sufficiency of this impious philosophy.

'Schelling followed Fichte. He proposed for his object the actual removing of all opposition between matter and spirit; according to his system, an existence is ascribed as much to the material as the immaterial world; the former being only a different mode of expression or manifestation. The spirit which thinks through these mate-

rial objects, frees them from their bonds by freeing the spirit which is in them. In so far, however, as the laws of matter are the expressions of the spirit, the latter only finds itself again when it thinks through the matter, and appropriates it to itself. The only object, therefore, of speculation on the external world is, to come to a full knowledge or consciousness of ourselves. According to these views, God cannot be regarded as a mere ἐν, since this would be lifeless. If God be living, he must have an opposition in himself, the removal of which is his life; hence the unity of God has ever manifested itself in multitude and variety. The spirit manifested itself in matter, that the variety may reach the unity, and matter be freed and raised to spirit. This is the eternal activity of God. The whole business of philosophy is concerned with this point, the coming of God to self-consciousness.

'This philosophy had the effect of spreading through Germany an element different from any that had previously prevailed. It produced a deep feeling and consciousness of a living and infinite principle in the world and in men, in nature and in spirit. It destroyed the lifeless idea of a God, who stood behind the world without having any real unity with it. It aroused men to strive after knowledge in a deeper and more effectual manner, because it did not employ itself with abstract speculation, but with intuitive views; in this respect it greatly exceeded the popular philosophy, or that of Wolf or Kant. Its influence on theology, therefore, was very great; whilst the popular philosophy and that of Kant sought to expunge everything above the reach of reason, that of Schelling again awakened the feelings for the infinite. Schelling's philosophical works were published together in 1809, including the treatise on human liberty.—p. 603.

Frederic Henry Jacobi opposed the speculations of Kant, Fichte, and Schelling. Holding fast his faith in human liberty, personal immortality, a personal God, and the objective nature of evil; he opposed to all the previous systems the inward consciousness we have of divine things, and maintained that it was impossible, by mere speculation, to arrive at a knowledge of these subjects. He accordingly insisted, that there must be an immediate and intuitive knowledge of them, whether the intuitive perception be called reason or consciousness. This intuitive feeling, he maintained, teaches us that there is a God, who stands as *Thou* before our *ego*—something different from man. He further argued, that this intuitive power leads to the knowledge of personal liberty, personal immortality, and the objective nature of evil.

'Whilst Jacobi presented these views, he appeared at the same time in hostility against revealed religion. He said, that historical experience was as much mediate as speculation, and, therefore, history was as unfit as speculation to afford a true knowledge of

divine things. Man can believe in an eternal free God, by merely hearing a relation concerning him; the ground of this therefore must lie in the soul itself. These views are principally expressed in the introduction to his work on divine things, in which he appears as the opponent of Claudius.

'Jacobi overlooked two important points: first, he did not consider that it might be asked him, where faith in his four doctrines is to be found beyond the limits of Christianity? The whole east is destitute of it—the western philosophy knows as little about it; only weak echoings of this truth (*these truths*) are anywhere to be heard. Only a few individuals among the most cultivated of mankind, have had an indistinct knowledge of them in any period of the world. Jacobi himself borrowed them from historical Christianity, though he was ungrateful enough to deny his obligations. He cannot express himself upon this subject (*these subjects*), except in terms borrowed from the bible. It cannot, indeed, be said, that we believe these truths merely because they have been historically communicated to us, but because we are related to God; and this relation, even in our present fallen state, is not entirely destroyed, although the fall has blinded and obscured our knowledge. Tradition alone, therefore, is not the foundation of our faith, but this feeling of our relation to God. We find no where beyond the influence of the gospel, the humble temper of a servant represented as the ideal of morality. We find no such character as that of the humble Redeemer; we never meet the idea that true greatness consists in poverty of spirit. However strongly a man may believe on the ground of his own consciousness, yet he must admit, if God had not revealed himself, we should never have arrived at a knowledge of true happiness, and that a revelation was necessary to render these doctrines definite and secure. But Christianity contains something more than these four truths of Jacobi; it contains the plan of redemption; a knowledge of the purposes of God cannot be obtained by intuition, yet here is faith essential. Even admitting, therefore, the possibility of learning the truths referred to, from a different source, it does not destroy the necessity of a historical revelation.

'After philosophy, in connexion with various other causes, had exercised such an influence on theology, a theological system was formed as the result of all their efforts at illumination. To this system the name of *rationalism* has been given; a name first applied by Reinhard. The system is, in fact, the same which was previously called deism. This system not only sought to obtain stability for itself, but appeared in decided hostility to Christianity. As to its tenability, it may be remarked, that the rationalist must either undertake to support his doctrines on the ground of reason and argument, or found them on feeling. If he takes the first course, he must do it after the method of the philosophy of Wolf; for that alone undertakes to establish in a demonstrative way the doctrines of God, freedom, and immortality. But the weakness of this philosophy has long since been proved. If the rationalist gives this

up, he must place himself on the foundation of feeling, on the principle of Jacobi; and this is the fact with the most of them. When he takes this ground he loses all right to contend against a believer in the bible. For he can no longer demand of him, that doctrines which are beyond the reach of reason, should be reduced to its standard, and justified before its tribunal. The rationalist must acknowledge that he cannot do this for his own doctrines of the personality of God, human liberty, &c. With the same weapons, therefore, with which he contends against the believer, he is attacked by the pantheist, against whom he cannot maintain his ground. The pantheist declares his proofs were subjective deceptions, and his doctrines anthropomorphic views. The believer in the bible can also object to the rationalist, that his deistical doctrines are drawn from Christianity, although deprived of their glory and power. And further, that this system, excluding the ideas of a revelation, divine government and redemption, presents a problem which does not admit of solution. The idea of God which rationalism contains, is borrowed from the bible; but if God really possessed all the attributes here ascribed to him, it would appear necessary that so wise and good a being should have a nearer relation to his creatures, and give them some surer guide or reference to divine things than human reason, which teaches so many various and inconsistent doctrines, and which beyond the limits of Christianity, has never yet presented the idea of God which Christian deism contains. The rationalist acknowledges the objective nature of morality; but for his certainty on this point he is indebted to revelation, and yet arbitrarily rejects the doctrine of the fall, and of redemption through Jesus Christ. In this way he is led into another difficulty. Whence is evil? The rationalist is obliged to refer it to God, that through the struggle between good and evil, the former might be promoted. Whilst the denier of a revelation makes God the author of evil, he gives no explanation of the manner in which evil can be rooted out of the heart of man. His blindness on this point arises from his having no deep and proper knowledge of good and evil. The positive part of rationalism thus consisting of Christian doctrines deprived of their glory and consistency, is equally unsatisfactory for the human heart and human understanding, particularly in reference to the doctrine of evil.

'The rationalist undertakes, however, to prove, not only that Christianity is improbable, but that it is contrary to reason, and entirely inadmissible. In this effort its weakness is most clearly exposed. It proceeds from the principle that God never works without the intervention of secondary causes, and therefore an immediate revelation is impossible. Revelation can only be mediate, and consists of a development of what already lies in the nature of man. Hence arises the distinction between naturalism and supernaturalism; the former regarding every religious communication as mediate, consisting of the development of what is in man; the latter maintaining an immediate communication of divine truth, not derived

from the human mind itself. The rationalist assumes that God, at the beginning, formed the world as a machine, with whose powers, having once set them in motion, he never interferes. This view is, in the first place, false; but, admitting its correctness, the conclusion drawn from it by the rationalist is by no means necessary. For, granting that God does not interfere with the world, it does not follow that he cannot and will not. At most, the improbability, but not the impossibility, of an immediate revelation follows from this view.

'But the view itself is false; God is not a machinist, who, having finished his work, retires behind; the life in the universe cannot be regarded as absolutely distinct from the life of God. God continues and supports the world by a continual creation, for such in fact is preservation. The life of the world is the breath of Jehovah; its active powers, the working of his omnipresence; the laws of nature are not, therefore, fixed once and for ever. Augustine says, 'Lex naturæ est voluntus Dei, et miraculum non fit contra naturam, sed contra quam est nota natura.' The laws of nature are mere abstractions, which men make from the usual operations of God. It can, therefore, by no means be said, that his unusual operations, as in immediate revelations and miracles, are violations of the laws of nature. There is no essential difference between immediate and mediate operations; it is merely the difference between usual and unusual. And if God would reveal himself as a living and personal being, these extraordinary operations of his power are essential, as they contain the proof that nature is not a piece of dead mechanism.

'But the rationalist also endeavours to show the improbability of a revelation upon moral principles. He says it would prove that God had made man imperfect, if later communications and revelations were necessary. But in this objection it is overlooked that man is not now, as he was originally created. In his primitive state, an immediate revelation might not have been necessary, but in his fallen state the case is essentially different. The rationalist further demands, Why was the revelation not made immediately after the fall, before so many generations had passed away? To this we may answer, that God appears to have determined to conduct and educate the whole race as one individual, and in the idea of education lies that of gradual progress.

'Finally, it is objected that the revelation is not universal. In answer to this we may say, that the difficulty presses the deist as much as the Christian, because it affects the doctrine of providence. The deist makes (*natural*) religion and refinement the greatest blessings of men; but why has God left so many ages and nations destitute of these blessings? If the deist must confess his ignorance upon this point, why may not the Christian? Besides this, Christians themselves are to blame, that the revelation has not been more extensively spread; why have they only within a few years awaked to the importance of this work? And why do the rationalists, of all others, take the least interest in it?'—pp. 599, and *seq.*

These passages, selected from the concluding sections of Dr. Tholuck's lectures, will give the reader some faint idea of the superlative excellence and value of the whole. But the volume contains many equally important and valuable articles. We beg especially to call attention to a very elaborate and able review of Transcendentalism, extending to about ninety pages. It thoroughly exposes the pantheistic tendency of the various schemes of philosophy promulgated in Germany by its leading sages. It does so by a full and free examination of their works. The direful consequences which have appeared in the spread of infidelity and atheism, both in Germany and France, are held up as a solemn warning both to America and England. The warning is highly seasonable, and will, we trust, not be without effect in opening the eyes of our young divines to the fearful abyss of atheism, into which the German philosophers have plunged. Even the deeply-learned and eloquent Victor Cousin, whose Introduction to the History of Philosophy has been praised and recommended by parties who ought to have detected and branded its absurdities and impieties, is clearly shown to teach pantheism, which is but an old form of atheism; and the entire system of the fashionable philosophy both of Germany and France, is shown to be nothing more than a new edition of Buddhism adjusted to the modern mind. The article in the volume before us expresses considerable alarm at the spread of these systems among the speculators of America. We hope, however, that the efforts made in Germany and elsewhere, which have not been without effect, will prove useful in America, where more attention is paid to the speculations of the Continent than in England. For ourselves and the Christianity of our own country, we must say we are not greatly alarmed at the new philosophy. Individuals may be fascinated by eloquent but empty pretensions. The English mind is too practical and is too familiar with the history of the growth and decay of philosophical systems, to be seduced extensively into the belief that any of them are destined to perpetuity, or are worth the price they demand of renouncing our faith in Christianity. They may serve their purpose of spreading the name of a self-idolized mortal upon all the winds of fame, but time will produce revolutions and transitions in all these novelties, which will place them among the accumulated rubbish of bygone ages —the day dreams of vain and erring men, who have only walked their hour of busy life in the sparks themselves had kindled, hoping to eclipse the orb of day—the fount of light divine, which will still shine for future ages as it does for this, to guide the otherwise benighted pilgrims to their joyful immortality. We ought not to conclude without stating, that the articles

contained in this volume are the following:—1. The Rule of Faith; 2. The Sonship of Christ; 3. The Decrees of God; 4. The Early History of Pelagianism; 5. Original Sin; 6, 7, 8, The Doctrine of Imputation; 9. Melancthon on the Nature of Sin; 10. Doctrines of the Early Socinians; 11. The Power of Contrary Choice; 12. The Inability of Sinners; 13. The New Divinity Tried; 14. Beman on the Atonement; 15. Sacerdotal Absolution; 16. Regeneration; 17. Sanctification; 18. Transubstantiation; 19. Sunday Mails; 20. Bodily Effects of Religious Excitement; 21. Tholuck's History of Theology, (in the eighteenth century); 22. Transcendentalism; 23. Cause and Effect.

We most cordially welcome and recommend the volume as a valuable accession to the theological library, though we must say, it is not so free from errors of the press as it ought to have been.

Art. V.—*Elements of Physics.* By C. F. Peschel, Principal of the Royal Military College, at Dresden, &c., &c. Translated from the German, with Notes, by E. West. 3 vols. foolscap 8vo. Longman and Co., 2nd and 3rd vols.

On the appearance of the first of these volumes, which treats of the physical properties of bodies having weight, we gave a short account of it, and expressed a hope that the remaining volumes would shortly appear, as the plan of the entire work was well adapted to meet the wants of philosophical enquirers. We are therefore glad to learn from the translator's preface, that the rapid sale of the first volume, and the demand for the others, have induced the publishers to expedite the appearance of those now before us.

The subject of these volumes is 'Imponderable substances or etherial powers in general;' these are classified generally into *light, heat,* and *electricity.*

The nature, properties, and effects of light constitute the science of optics, which occupies 140 pages of the second volume. The two theories of light, viz. *emanation,* or the *corpuscular theory,* which was employed by *Newton,* and followed by *Biot* and *Laplace,* and the *undulatory theory,* the hypothesis of *Descartes,* which has been adopted by Dr. Young, Fresnell, Herschel, and several other eminent philosophers, are both stated, and partially illustrated, but as the principal phenomena are susceptible of explanation on either hypothesis (though some cases can be more readily illustrated by one than by the other), the author, has wisely abstained from showing himself the

partizan of either. That portion of the work which is devoted to the investigation of the propagation, refraction, and reflection of light; the properties of mirrors and lenses; and the construction of optical and astronomical instruments, is clear and concise, while the investigation of formulæ for determining the foci of concave and convex mirrors, and also of the several descriptions of lenses, is simple and conclusive, and easily intelligible to those who have but a moderate knowledge of mathematics. The remaining chapters of this part of the work are devoted to the consideration of the interference, diffraction, and polarization of light, also double refraction, and the chromatic phenomena of polarized light. This part of the subject is of modern discovery and is highly interesting. The author has been happy in selecting from the voluminous writings of modern philosophers the most prominent and interesting parts of the subject, and has explained them so clearly as to make this difficult subject intelligible to ordinary capacities. We recommend this portion of his work to the careful perusal of our readers.

Section 2 of the second volume treats of heat in general, sensible and latent, and of its sources, propagation, radiation, and conduction; its effect on bodies in changing their form, altering their dimensions, and the various scientific applications of these properties to useful purposes. The conversion of liquids into highly elastic vapour, leads to the consideration of the nature, properties, and force of steam, and its efficiency as a motive power, which brings under review the construction and working of a steam engine. This is as well described as the limits of the work would allow. We take leave to suggest to the author or translator, when a second edition is required, that a description of a locomotive engine be added, and the working of it explained.

The construction and graduation of *thermometers*, and the application of those useful instruments, are very clearly described. Several useful tables will be found in this section, all of which have been judiciously reduced by the translator to Fahrenheit's scale, the numbers of the centrigrade division being put in juxtaposition.

The chemical formulæ (mathematically expressed) will also be useful.

The third section of this volume treats of magnetism in general: the singular properties of the loadstone, or the natural magnet, are described, as well as the method of communicating magnetism to bars of steel or iron. Polarity and the laws of attraction and repulsion of dissimilar and similar poles, are fully explained. The most valuable and important property of magnets, however, is their directive tendency; and in connection

with terrestrial magnetism, the dip of the needle as applicable to the purposes of navigation.

If the magnetic axis of the earth coincided with the axis of rotation, the magnetic needle would in all situations point to the North and South Poles. At the equator it would stand horizontal, at the poles vertical, and at intermediate places its dip would be proportionate to the latitude of the place of observation, but as this is not the case, the magnetic needle shows in different situations different quantities of declination, or variation, and the dip is not determinable by the latitude of the place. This circumstance would seem to impair the value of the needle as a directive instrument, but by mathematical processes the amount and direction of the deviation can be exactly computed; the observations can thence be corrected, and the full value of the instrument completely realized. M. Peschel appears to have consulted all the principal authorities on the subjects treated of, and ascribes to each his proper measure of credit. He has, however, omitted to notice the circumstances under which the dip of the needle was first discovered, and as the account is somewhat interesting, we quote it from an old work published in 1576, by Robert Norman, compass maker at Wapping, and called 'Newe Attractive.'

'Hauing made many and diuers compasses, and using alwaies to finish and end them before I touched the needle, I found continually, that after I had touched the yrons with the stone, that presently the north point thereof would bend, or *decline*, downwards under the horizon in some quantitie: insomuch that to the flie of the compasse, which before was made equall, I was still constrained to put some small piece of waxe in the south part thereof, to counterpoise this *declining*, and to make it equal againe, which effect hauing many times passed my hands without any regard there unto, as ignorant of any such propertie in the stone, and not before hauing heard nor read of any such matter. It chaunced at length that there came to my hands an instrument to bee made with a needle of sixe inches long, which needle after I had pollished, cut off at just length, and made it to stand levell upon the pinne, so that nothing rested but onely the touching of it with the stone: when I had touched the same, presently the north part thereof *declined* downe in such sort, that being constrayned to cut away some of that part, to make it equall againe, in the end I cut it too short, and so spoyled the needle wherein I had taken so much paynes.

'Hereby being stroken in some choller, I applyed myself to seek further into this effect, and making certayne learned and expert men (my friends) acquainted in this matter, they advised me to frame some instrument to make some exact tryal how much the needle touched with the stone would *decline*, or what greatest angle it would

make with the plaine of the horizon. Whereupon I made diligent proofs, &c.'

The annual and daily variations in the declination and dip of the magnetic needle have of late years been regarded of great importance, and magnetic observations are now almost as numerous as astronomical ones, and are regarded with an equal degree of interest. The details of the experiments, and of the results obtained by several of the most eminent European philosophers, will be found in this section of the work.

The subject of the last chapter of this section is, 'The artificial production of magnetism, the means of exciting and increasing it, and the different methods by which to enfeeble or destroy it altogether.' This is illustrated by numerous and highly satisfactory experiments.

We proceed to notice the third volume, which treats of *electricity*, *electro-magnetism*, and *magneto-electricity*. The two latter divisions of the subject may be regarded as modern sciences, being founded on discoveries made within the present century.

The phenomena of electricity, like those of light, are the subject of two distinct theories. Some philosophers, as Franklin and Priestley, maintaining that there are two kinds of electricity, which they call vitrious and resinous, while the moderns, as Faraday, and others, assert that there is but one, and that the phenomena result from the excess, or deficiency of it in the body acted on. The states of the body in relation to electricity are designated *plus* or *minus*. Much controversy has arisen on the subject of these theories among modern philosophers, without, however, any satisfactory conclusion being arrived at. As in general the phenomena may be explained on either theory, the fact, in itself, affords only a presumptive proof of the hypothesis adopted. The author candidly and clearly states both theories, but as he appears to be more anxious to develop principles, and establish facts, than to exhibit himself as the advocate of a philosophical creed, he dismisses the subject very cursorily, and proceeds at once to an exposition of electrical phenomena in general. The whole subject, including most of the discoveries made by Volta, Woolaston, Davy, Faraday, etc., together with descriptions of improved apparatus, and of many interesting experiments, is (without sacrifice of perspicuity) condensed into one hundred and eighty-six pages. We had proposed to give an analysis of this portion of the work, but the heads of reference were found so numerous, the subjects so interesting, and the account given so concise, though clear, that to analyze would be to transcribe the greater portion of the work. We must therefore content ourselves with referring to the work itself. Section

V., which is the last portion of the work, is on *electro dynamics*, a subject, as before stated, altogether the result of modern discovery. The first germ of this science was produced by Professor Oersted, of Copenhagen, as appears by the following extracts:

'Ritter and Yelin, in the last century, threw out some conjectures as to the internal connexion between electricity and magnetism, and their probable identity; but it was not until 1820 that Oersted, of Copenhagen, discovered the first effects of an electro-magnetic, and in 1832, Faraday those of a magneto-electric character.

'The first discovery made by Oersted, by which the road to this fertile field of science was first laid open to philosophers, consisted in this; that an *electric current transmitted near to a magnetic needle deflects it from its normal position.* This deflexion, which at first seemed either to occur or fail in a manner altogether peculiar and uncertain, was found, on closer examination, to obey a universal and unvarying law; which is thus expressed in Ampère's brief and universal terms: *That the north pole of a magnet is invariably deflected to the left of the current which passes between the needle and the observer, who is to have his face towards the needle, the electric current being supposed to enter near his feet, and to pass out near his head.*

'No discovery in natural science excited more general and lively interest than Oersted's. The most distinguished philosophers throughout the world recognised its importance, and endeavoured, by repeating and varying its experiments, to trace still further this extraordinary property of electricity. They hoped, by means of Oersted's fundamental experiments, they should be enabled to unravel the mystery in which the connexion between electricity and magnetism had hitherto been shrouded. New facts were sought for experimentally, which might serve as indisputable evidence of the identity of electricity and magnetism, or from which it might be proved that both were merely modifications of the same fundamental force. Although the object thus earnestly desired has not yet been attained, the active spirit of inquiry that has been called forth has led to important and approximating conclusions. Ampère, who considered Oersted's experiments from a point of view common to them all, selected *the mutual relation of electric currents to each other* for the special subject of his investigations. He was led to the important discovery that *the electricities in a state of motion, i.e., as electric currents, act attractively and repulsively on each other according to a certain law,* in a manner resembling the polar attraction of statical electricity, *i.e.* of electricity in a state of tension.'

From the period of Oersted's discovery to the present time, the transactions of learned societies, scientific memoirs, and journals of science, have abounded with the researches and discoveries of the most eminent philosophers of modern times, indeed there are few men of any scientific character but have

devoted much attention to this important subject. Many and important are the practical results of these inquiries, among which may be named, as not the least, the electric telegraph. The author of this little work has shown himself to be a man of considerable acuteness, of great industry, and of consummate skill in searching out and arranging, with much scientific consecutiveness, the vast array of facts he has brought together, derived from such voluminous and wide-spread sources.

The work, though consisting only of three small volumes, may be regarded as a *magazine* of scientific facts alike valuable to the adept and the student. Mr. West has done good service to the English reader by presenting it to him in his native tongue. We thank him for his labour, and shall be glad to find that the public continues to appreciate it aright.

Art. VI.—'*Every Eye shall see Him;*' *or, Prince Albert's Visit to Liverpool, used in Illustration of the Second Coming of Christ. A Sermon, preached in Saint Jude's Church, on the second day of August,* 1846, *the Sunday next after the Prince's visit.* By the Rev. Hugh M'Neile, M.A., Hon. Canon of Chester, and Incumbent of St. Jude's, Liverpool. (Published by desire, for the Liverpool Sailor's Home.) Third Edition. London: John Hatchard and Son.

It is not our custom to notice single sermons. The peculiarity of this one must be our excuse. It is little likely to become a precedent. Nor is it any pleasure to us to speak, as we must speak, of this production. Mr. M'Neile is a man, in many respects, worthy of honour. We differ widely from him on some important subjects, but we believe him honest, able, and desirous to do good. He has, and deserves to have, great influence. But while this makes our present task painful, it, at the same time, urges us to its performance. Bad practices, as bad systems, find the best and strongest support in good men, and the fly in the pot of ointment is the worse for being *there*. Masters of Arts, and Hon. Canons, must not be allowed to commit 'folly in Israel.'

It is easy to understand that this sermon 'is far from what the author could wish.' But we cannot admit the confession of imperfection as an excuse for publishing. Before authors can employ such a plea, they ought to shew that publication is necessary. It is true that in the present instance it was solicited. The idea of taking advantage of popular excitement to obtain some addition of funds to an institution, was too pleasant

to be given up. Many would buy the sermon, not because they cared about the second coming of Christ, but because they had seen the Prince, and to 'catch them with guile,' seemed a union of wisdom and humanity. But Aaron must not obey the people's folly, and if 'there come out this calf,' he may not expect freedom from censure, though they are 'plagued because they made the calf which he made.'

The pulpit ought to be the type and the promoter of sound sense, sound sentiment, and sound taste. We know that the cause of Christianity is not dependent on the alliance of these desirable things. God can do, and has done, without them; but, to adopt a thought of Dr. South, if he do not need men's parts and polish, he needs still less their weakness, coarseness, and 'ill behaviour.' And we have a right to expect, as well as to desire, that the ministrations of the sanctuary shall be in keeping with a healthy intellect, and a real refinement, when conducted by men who profess to have received a thorough education, and are surrounded by associations that are fain to look down upon 'this people that know not the law.' Regarded in any light in which a sermon, and especially a sermon of such a man, can be regarded, Mr. M'Neile's production must occasion bitter distress to every well constituted and well disciplined mind.

It is not our intention to dissect its contents. Chiefly occupied with an exposition of the passage from which the text, 'Thine eye shall see the King in his beauty,' (Isaiah xxxiii. 17) is selected, it contains some views that appear to us unsound; indeed, we more than question the explanation given of the text itself. But taken as a whole, we feel that such preaching is very far indeed below the standard of thought which is required, and would be appreciated, by the people of this country. What such men as Mr. M'Neile have apparently yet to learn, is, that they should preach *up to* the people, and not *down to* them. We are convinced that the estimate formed, not, perhaps, of their attainments, but of their capabilities, is exceedingly defective. It is a mistake, a miserable mistake to suppose that strong and manly sentiment, and powerful reasoning, are out of place in the sanctuary. Anything else will soon effect a divorce between the evangelism of our country and its intellect. The working men, and the educated youth, of these times are in the habit of exercising their understandings every day of the week with matter that must disincline them to put up with the preaching of which this sermon may be taken as a type. And are they to be neglected and lost, and the permanent results which would follow their sanctification by the truth, to be sacrificed, for the sake of pleasing, not profiting, the silly crowds who

idolize the fine voice and figure, and deem religion to be, among other things, a refuge from severe mental toil?

But leaving this, in common with all who have a due reverence for sacred things, and a deep interest in their obtaining the reverence of their fellow-creatures, we must protest against the mode in which Mr. M'Neile seeks to commemorate the occasion referred to in his sermon. It is not the first time that he has done disservice to truth by a want of judgment and of taste that would be unpardonable in one of far meaner pretensions.* There are some men that seem naturally incapable of perceiving what is fitting and appropriate. They cannot discern the line that separates sublimity from nonsense, the prudent from the pernicious. In adapting truth, as they think, to different occasions and capacities, they sacrifice it. They sink the high to a level with the low, instead of raising the low to a level with the high. Truth, in their keeping, traverses the mean scenes and associations of men, not like a nature of noble powers and impulses, elevating and sanctifying all with which it meets, but like a nature of unworthy tendencies, yielding to the corrupting influences by which it is surrounded. When we listen to the teaching of Jesus Christ, familiar and common as are the events and objects by which he illustrates his high and holy doctrine, we never feel that his doctrine is degraded, but always that it assumes a richer grace. How unlike that wise and elevated teaching, elevated in its very condescension, is the following:—

'We have just witnessed a stirring scene; and, to all who will take the trouble of reflecting seriously, a very instructive one. A promise was held out to our great town that our eyes should behold the prince; and what were the consequences? Preparations of every description, eager, animated, costly; scaffoldings and stands erected; balconies strengthened; the ordinary occupations of life suspended; countless multitudes congregated; trades, professions, associations, with their appropriate emblems; civic authorities, bearing the badges of state; generals and admirals, exhibiting the insignia of war; consecrated ambassadors of the gospel of peace' (very suitable conjunction!); 'the bridegroom from his chamber; the bride out of her closet; old men and maidens, young men and children, all on tiptoe, with outstretched necks and eager eyes, to see the prince in his beauty; the prince, the assessor, and, on this occasion, the manifestor of royalty. It was a scene well calculated to illustrate and impress the great revealed truth, that the kingly office upon earth is at once an ordinance and an image of the authority and majesty of God.

* In the miserably mismanaged Liverpool Unitarian controversy, our complaint of which, arising from our jealous care for orthodoxy, was imputed, in some quarters, to less creditable motives, Mr. M'Neile failed in

'When I saw the universal movement; when I heard on every side the bustle of expectation; when I overheard on the right hand and on the left the bursting apostrophe, 'He is coming!' 'He is here!' I felt deeply what it seems to have been the apostle's great object to impress upon the Christian church with reference to the second coming of Christ. Behold, He cometh, go ye out to meet Him. Every eye shall see Him. What manner of persons ought ye to be, looking for and hastening unto the coming of the day of God. I thought also of the sweet and precious promises made to his faithful friends, that they shall see and rejoice in his glory and his beauty; in that day when He shall appear, not to lay the foundation stone, (that has been done long since, and once for all,) but to bring forth the crowning topstone of his temple, with shoutings of 'Grace, grace unto it!'"—pp. 1, 2.

There can be no objection to the seizing upon remarkable, any more than upon common, occurrences for the purpose of exemplifying and enforcing spiritual truth. But nothing requires greater care and skill, not only to attain success, but to avoid the opposite result of positive mischief. Two conditions are indispensable to the wise spiritualizing of things secular; there should be some peculiar appropriateness in the things selected for this purpose to the end proposed, and there should be such a management of the process as ought naturally, and in strict propriety, to leave no impression adverse to the truth

these respects. Speaking of the moral differences that appear among men, he said:—

'This is illustrated by the method of obtaining flowers of different colours on the same stem, which is thus described:—

"'Split a small twig of the elder bush lengthways, and having scooped out the pith, fill each of the compartments with seeds of different sorts, but which blossom about the same time. Surround them with mould, and then tying together the two bits of wood, plant the whole in a pot filled with earth properly prepared. The stems of the different flowers will thus be so incorporated as to exhibit to the eye only one stem, throwing out branches covered with flowers of various hues, analagous to the seed which produced them!

"'Adam was this elder bush. The devil scooped out his pith, the life and power of his original holiness in which he served God; and filled each of the compartments of his nature with evil seeds, of different sorts, which all blossomed at the same time. And thus, as from one compound stem, we may have flowers of divers colours; so from one compound source, the sin of Adam, we have iniquities of every varying degree of malignity, propagated throughout the whole world. When that plant, of Satan's right hand planting, had taken root: that worse than hemlock, that plant from the bottomless pit, impregnated with poison for eternity: it sprung up, it blossomed, it seeded, and the 'prince of the power of the air' carried those noxious seeds, and strewed them to the ends of the earth,' etc. etc. (*Unitarianism Confuted*, pp. 309, 310.) What theology—what philosophy—what accuracy of figure—what delicacy of sentiment—and this in a controversial lecture, and one of a course to be answered by Mr. Martineau, etc!

sought to be conveyed and commended. In both these respects Mr. M'Neile appears to us to have failed. Between Prince Albert's visit to Liverpool, and the second coming of Christ, there was no such resemblance as could save his selected task from the appearance of extreme arbitrariness and awkwardness. We must, with all due respect for royalty, account the prince not worthy to be named as the representative of Jesus Christ; travelling by a railway-train, a miserable setting forth of an advent in the clouds of heaven; the procession and parade of civic and commercial pomp, a mean and meagre image of 'the glorious appearing of the Great God;' and the laying of a foundation-stone no symbol at all of eternal judgment. It is just to Mr. M'Neile to say, that he does not draw a formal parallel between the two events. He finds no similitudes besides those of a great crowd, and 'the Prince in his beauty,' and because he could find no more, his choice of subject was at fault. The little that he says upon them—the title of the sermon being anything but a fair indication of its matter—is not at all adapted to inspire the feelings with which the future revelation of the Judge of quick and dead ought to be looked for. We do not question the piety of the author's purpose, nor the wisdom of the general principle on which he proceeds, our complaint is of the injudiciousness of his course.

The tone of his remarks is often more in harmony with the fulsome adulation of royalty than the solemn proclamation of the coming of Christ. Whatever may be fitting in a courtier, it does not seem to us that 'a man of God,' and especially when engaged in persuading men by the terrors of the Lord, should be able to employ the terms of laudation in which the 'prince in his beauty,' 'the prince, the assessor and manifester of royalty,' the 'noble, amiable, and beloved prince,' whose office is 'at once an ordinance and an image of the authority and majesty of God,' and who, 'touched by the magnificence' of what he witnessed at Liverpool, 'was graciously pleased to say, that the splendid scene should never be erased from his memory,' is referred to in this sermon. If anything can lower the dignity, and weaken the effect, of the Christian ministry, the use of flattering words respecting men in high places must secure that undesirable result.

In the third edition of his sermon, Mr. M'Neile has noticed some of the severe remarks which it has called forth. With his defence we have little or rather no concern. Without justifying his title, it would never enter our minds to accuse or suspect him of 'blasphemy;' and, without approving the use of Prince Albert's visit 'in illustration of the second coming of Christ,' we cannot object to the sanctification of ordinary or

extraordinary events to the purposes of religious instruction. We have no doubt that occasion has been taken from this unfortunate publication to indulge a political and religious dislike of our author. Every man who speaks out his whole mind on all kinds of subjects, as he is in the habit of doing, may expect to meet with misrepresentation and calumny. Mr. M'Neile has had his share of these things. But this only makes it more necessary that he should not 'give occasion' to those who seek occasion to laugh or frown. Christian ministers may not be able to prevent the hatred of ungodly men, but *they* are charged not *to be* despised.

Might we add one word to Mr. M'Neile, we should respectfully advise him to 'walk in more wisdom toward them that are without,' taking greater heed that his 'good' be 'not evil spoken of.' Let him 'keep his mouth with a *bridle*,' because of the 'wicked.' Let him abstain from the fanciful, the extravagant, and the injudicious, as well as the grosser faults of public ministrations. He can do better things than this, and can do them better. What he has done, ought not, in our sober conviction, to be done at all, and, if it ought, a third or fourth rate local preacher would achieve it with superior ingenuity and effect.

Art. VII.—1. *Die Wahlverwandschaften (The Elective Affinities).* By Joh. W. von Goëthe.

2. *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre. (Wilh. Meister's Apprenticeship.)*

3. *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre. (Wilh. Meister's Travelling Years).* Stuttgart and Tübingen.

THE Germans, next to the Britons, are distinguished as having produced the most celebrated authors in that branch of polite literature, which is generally termed the romance or novel. This assertion will be sufficiently confirmed by comparing, both as to quality and quantity, the catalogues that appear yearly at the fair of Leipzig, and other towns of Germany, and which may be met with in every library of note, both at home and abroad. The mass of books thus produced for the amusement and instruction of the people, is really enormous; and on this account, it almost necessarily follows, that there must be in so large an accumulation a mixture of good and bad productions. In order, however, to form a just estimate as to the real merits of this department of literature, as it at present exists in Germany, it will be well to examine

those of an earlier date, to see out of what slender sources the more recent condition of such literature has been evolved.

The German history of fiction, or simply the German novel, may be considered as having arisen out of the multitude of legendary, allegorical, and historical poems, which had been produced up to the close of the fifteenth century. These, with similar other productions, such as ballads, etc., began at this period to be rendered into prose; and it was only within the last two centuries, but more especially within the last sixty or seventy years, that the German novel assumed that moral character and form, which now so favourably distinguishes it from similar creations of other countries, especially those of France and Italy. Up to the former period, the romance in Germany, (with the exception of 'Iwain,' 'Wigolis von Rade,' etc., which are purely German works,) chiefly consisted of stale romances of chivalry, nursery tales and legends, which were translated from the Italian, French, and Latin. Such were the 'Tales' of Troya, Alexander, Amadis, etc.; the favourite books of the day, however, were 'Doctor Faustus,' and 'The Duke of Luxemberg,' which were soon followed by many others, among which deserve to be mentioned, 'Till Eulenspiegel,' or 'Tyel Howleglass,' and 'Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew.' About the year 1598, there appeared one of those productions, which seem to be wholly unlimited in the sphere of their action. This was a work entitled, the 'Lustige und lächerliche Lallenburg, oder die Schildbürger.' Some consider it in the light of a national satire, whereas others look upon it as an extremely humourous and comic novel. Be this as it may, it is certain, that few romances have earned the praise which has been and still is so justly bestowed on this admirable performance. It affords in the most delightful manner an exquisite and highly correct picture of the governmental constitution, and of the petit-maîtreship practised in those days in every town and village, throughout Germany. It was also at this time that there appeared the so-called 'Adventurous Popular Romances,' a species of light and amusing reading, which has remained even until this day a great favourite with almost all the lower classes of Germany. The most remarkable of these romances are, 'Die schöne Melusine,' 'Herzog Ernst von Baiern,' 'Fortunati Wünschhütlein,' 'Das Buch der Liebe,' 'Die schöne Magellone,' 'Der gehörnte Siegfried,' 'Kaiser Octavianus,' 'Die geduldige Helena,' 'Die heilige Genoveva,' 'Ida Gräfin von Toggenburg,' 'Der edle Finkenritter,' 'Hans guck in die Welt,' which is perhaps the best of the whole; 'Die vier Haimonskinder,' 'Die schöne Historie von den sieben weisen Meistern,' and 'Die über die Bosheit triumphirende Unschuld Hirlanda.'

But a sudden change now took place in the taste of the Germans, which was owing partly to the productions of the Castilian poet, George de Montemajor, and partly to those of Sir Philip Sidney. Through the 'Diana' of the former, and the 'Arcadia' of the latter, the Germans became acquainted with the so-called 'Pastorals, or Bucolics,' which gave rise to Neumark's 'Filamon,' a tale as bombastic and stiff, as it is unnatural, and to 'Herculinus and Herculista.' The latter, written as its author says, for 'modest Christian readers,' appeared in the year 1659, and contains innumerable prayers, and rather good sacred hymns, and was the produce of a pious clergyman named Buchholz. The author's aim was evidently to counteract the mania which raged at the time, for demoralizing 'romances chevaleresques.' An exceedingly flowery, or rather bombastic style, —in those days termed 'brilliant,—excepted, the book possesses many features, which even now entitle it to a careful perusal. Of a similar character is Samuel Greifensohn von Hischberg's famous 'Abenteuerliche Simplicissimus,' which the author, a soldier, produced during the thirty years' war. In it he has given a superb and exact picture of the state of Germany during that period. Though one of the most stirring novels, yet, like the former, this 'Simplicissimus' is not wholly free from a high-strained pathos, and an unnatural lusciousness of language or expression.

Not long after this change, there arose two men—Hoffmannswaldau and Lohenstein—who, by their productions laid the foundation of 'Heroic' romance. The first novel of this kind was Lohenstein's 'Arminius und Thusnelda,' which had been preceded by 'Aramena' and 'Octavia,' both of which tales boasted the parentage of Ulrich, Duke of Braunshweig, 'Ibrahim,' written by Von Zesen, etc. All these, however, were outdone by the famous 'Asiatische Banise' of Ziegler. This author, who had been the universal favourite, committed the greatest sins imaginable in the way of exaggeration, and attained the acmè of bombastic style in this romance, which, with all its faults and exaggerations, may be found nevertheless among the lower classes of Germany, with whom it seems to be an especial favourite. The most fertile novelist of that period was Talander, or August Bohn, who is said to have composed between twenty and thirty novels. Yet these were rather love-stories, and were written especially for ladies, than novels, as may be clearly seen by the title of one of them: 'The Cabinet of Love for the Fair Sex.' From this fact it will appear evident, that love-stories, properly speaking, written for the fair sex, are of a much earlier date than the present day. Another novel writer of the same

school, was Happel of Marburg, who produced some of the most insipid and intolerable romantic caricatures possible, with titles so bombastic as to excite derision.

A great improvement in the public taste was produced by the works of Schnabel. This distinguished author, wrote in the early part of the eighteenth century, his celebrated novel 'The island Felsenburg,' a work, which has been very recently edited by L. Tieck, and entirely recast by the great Danish romancist Œhlenschläger. At the time of its appearance it was imitated by a host of German novelists, and subsequently laid the foundation of the so-called 'Robinsonade,' a species of tales, which maintained their rank among the German narratives for nearly half a century, and which thereby gave rise to many very excellent productions of the famous author Campe.

The well-known fabulist Gellert, wrote during this period a novel, entitled the 'Swedish Countess,' which is considered nevertheless a work of very moderate powers. But he, as well as a great many others, was compelled to give way to a mass of British authors, who now, for the first time, were introduced into Germany. Their extraordinary genius was acknowledged by the Germans, and exercised considerable influence over their literature. The greater portion of these writers, if not all, were translated, and their style imitated as closely as possible. The English writers who produced the greatest effect upon the German mind were Shakespeare, Young, Sterne, Smollett, Pope, Swift, Richardson, Fielding, and Goldsmith. Among the Germans who at this period had the greatest influence upon the intellect of the nation, especially that of the fair sex, and above all upon the more educated class of ladies, was John Hermes, Provost at Breslaw. A close imitator of Richardson, his first novel was entitled 'Fanny Wilkes,' which was devoured by all classes of society, and became as great a favourite with the German ladies, as Richardson's 'Clarissa' had been with those of England. The novel itself contains many fine and noble features, and is one of the liveliest and most charming books imaginable, describing in a masterly manner the customs and characters of the age. This was followed by 'Sophia's Tour from Memel to Saxony,' a work of a rather witty turn, containing many admirable views of human life, and traits of the highest practical truths. Some of this author's other novels, such as 'Hermine,' etc. as well as all those in which he especially addresses the daughters of 'noble' extraction, and the ladies generally, were of a similar tendency, whilst others were of a much inferior kind. On the whole, however, Hermes was at that time to Germany, what Richardson had been to England.

Contemporaneously with, and similar in style and powers of invention to Hermes, were Madame La Roche, and Professor Dusch, both of whom wrote for the public with more or less success. But classical novels of the highest order were written at this time by the celebrated scholar Wieland. A pure, flowing, and charming language, combined with much practical experience, cheerfulness, good humour, grace and amiability, are the chief features of his romantic productions. Wieland has been styled the 'German Voltaire,' but this title confers on him in our judgment, no particular honour. Voltaire, may be regarded as possessing more satirical wit and lightness; but Wieland is decidedly his superior in genius and solid learning. In whatever light the Frenchman's creations are regarded, a dozen ideas borrowed from Bayle, constitute all the learning which can be discovered in the course of more than a hundred volumes.

Goëthe and Klinger (of whom hereafter) appeared, and with them the first golden rays of that rising sun, which was to shed its imperishable lustre over the romantic literature of Germany. This was effected by creations of the liveliest, most brilliant and charming fancies. Fire and energy, in works replete with poetic beauties, grandeur, and philosophical truths, combined with a rich vein of humour, and now and then a colouring of a deeper hue, contributed much to wipe away those tears which were the consequence of the unnatural sentimentality then prevailing.

But these great men—at least at first—carried things rather too far, so that their productions, which, in the beginning, were calculated to eradicate prevailing evils, and, to a certain extent, produced that effect, had nearly proved as great a calamity as the existing evils themselves. Germany, overwhelmed by the most unnatural sentimentalism, seemed to have become the prey of the sickliest effeminacy from within, and of a Gallo and Anglomania from without, on which account it was deemed high time that something should be done towards curing a disease which was spreading daily, and which threatened the health of the German mind with utter destruction. Jerusalem, an enthusiast, and intimate friend of Goëthe, and an unfortunate lover to boot, having destroyed himself at a place called Wetzlar, in consequence of an ill-fated attachment, Goëthe, in a state of great mental excitement, which almost involved his own ruin, wrote a work entitled 'Werther's Leiden,' a creation in which, under the name of Werther, he immortalized his hapless friend. For poetic beauties and an enthusiastic spirit, this work has few equals, and at the time we are speaking of, it created quite a *furore*. And well might it have been so. Love, with all its powers and charms, with all its joys and sorrows, expressed in the most passionate and enchanting lan-

guage, was abundantly suited to enrapture and to unsettle the mind of those already beneath its influence, and to make every one of them feel desirous of an end similar to that of the ill-fated Werther. And yet it was this very work which contributed in no slight degree to a revolution in the world of German letters, and 'belletristic' literature.

We may here speak of the other chief romantic productions of this author, though we shall have again to refer to him. The next romance of note which Goëthe wrote is his celebrated 'Wahlverwandschaften,' a work which may be described as ranking among the finest specimens of its class, and as being perhaps unequalled for its profound and clear ideas, for a pure and disinterested attachment, couched in language as elegant and finished, as it is energetic and powerful. But Goëthe's triumph is a novel entitled 'Wilhelm Meister's Lehr-und Wanderjahre,' which is, beyond all doubt, his master-piece. It is the most elaborate, as well as the most finished, and to a certain degree, a signal triumph of prose over poetry. The invention or plot, order and finish, the characters, incidents and scenery, are as perfect as they are brilliant. The whole work is a mass of the deepest thoughts, of the clearest and soundest judgments, and of the most entrancing eloquence. It is—to use the famous Zelter's expressions—no romance, it is the world, the 'little-great' and 'great-little' world, in which we find ourselves, our instincts, and our follies, pourtrayed in an admirable manner by the pencil of a master. This work, next to Faust, is Goëthe's most original, most perfect production, because it is with all its incidents, practical experience, and philosophical truths, a precise and exact copy of the great man himself.

We have seen how matters stood, at the time that Goëthe wrote the 'Sorrows of Werther,' and the necessity that existed for a speedy cure of the prevailing disease. Musaeus and Trimm, two most brilliant satirical writers, appeared on the stage, the former with his 'German Grandison, or Grandison II.,' and the latter with his 'Marcus Puneratius Cyprianus Curt, called the Sentimentalist,' who, by means of these and similar satirical writings, made a sad havoc among the childish sentimentalists around. But innumerable others, also, both moral and satirical, now began to oppose this overwhelming stream by means of highly meritorious works, which acted most beneficially upon the heroes and heroines of the moon. For, heartily ridiculed, and otherwise laughed at, the number of the Siegwarts and Mariannas (the hero and heroine of 'Siegfried von Felsenberg,' a novel, written by Müller, and similar to Goëthe's 'Werther'), the Herforts and Claras, the Werthers and Charlottes, the Carls and Emilies, visibly decreased daily, or made

these love-sick people fall into another extreme, by giving up the phantom of an ideal affection for one of a more substantial character. Whether or not, they have profited by this exchange, it is no affair of ours to determine.

Among the sentimental and would-be historical novels, that were particularly calculated to unsettle the mind of the young of both sexes, were those of the then much admired Professor Meissner, for example, his 'Bianca Capello,' 'Alcibiades,' 'Epaminondas,' 'Spartacus,' 'Cæsar,' 'Masaniello,' and some others, which not unfrequently were looked upon as the *ne plus ultra* of historical romances. That they contain some fair points, cannot be disputed; but on the whole they are very trivial; and it is perhaps for this reason, as Menzel says, that they became popular. There were furthermore the novels, 'Clara von Hoheneichen,' 'Petermännchen,' 'Die zwölf schlafenden Jungfrauen,' 'Benno von Elsenburg,' etc., by Spiess; all of which are scarcely more than a tirade on patience, human sufferings, and human foibles, and yet in those days they were considered as productions of surpassing beauty. But even these, notwithstanding their exaggerations and bombast, contain many original, stirring, and highly poetical ideas, and were not seldom remarkable for great powers of invention. Some of them written after the model of Goëthe, especially after his chivalrous drama, 'Götz von Berlichingen,' were distinguished for a certain wildness and natural sublimity which not unfrequently vary in their mood and character, whereby in many instances they proved in themselves antidotes to their own sentimentalism, and often opposed the narrow prejudices, and stiff, though tame, customs prevailing in those days.

To this period also belongs the venerable canon Tiedge, who among others, wrote the 'Amy and Robert,' 'Urania,' and 'The Wanderings through the Market of Life.' Much resembling the generality of the novel writers of his day, he frequently affects an effeminate melancholy. But though in this respect faulty, he is, on the whole, rather honest than otherwise. Many trains of noble and moral feelings, given vent to in easy and elegant phrascology, are, in spite of the faults just enumerated, to be met with in his writings; and inasmuch as he is serious and sincere in his aim, he sometimes gives birth to profound ideas, among which God, religion, the immortality of the soul, and the freedom of man's will, are plentifully interspersed.

Although alive, and considered as two of the finest of the more recent German romantic writers, we deem it necessary to mention here two female novelists, who have proved an honour to their sex, and to the class of writers of which they constitute

worthy members. We allude to Ida Luisa Countess Hahn-Hahn, and to Fanny Tarnow. The former of these, independent of all the writers of the day, has struck out a path for herself which is entirely her own. In her 'Reisebilder,' 'Jenseit der Berge,' 'Cäcil,' 'Reiseversuch im Norden,' 'Ulrich,' 'Gräfin Faustina,' and others, though not unfrequently composed in a style of deep melancholy, and in a certain strain of inexpressible sadness, the countess never closes up her heart: she never denies what sex she belongs to; and in a language at once the purest and the most chaste, gives herself up wholly to her noble sentiments, and openly avows to the world her tender susceptibilities. As a German writer justly observes, far from dipping her feelings seven times in the waters of a stupid and offensive prudery, she permits them to range in all their glow and power.

Possessed in like manner of an affectionate heart, and writing what she feels, Fanny Tarnow has become one of the greatest favourites of the day, and is considered by the Germans as a first-rate novelist. Her best works are 'Natalie,' 'Kleopatra,' and 'Thekla,'—productions, the chief features and attractive points of which consist in natural feeling and feminine tenderness, void of every atom of sentimental prudery or masculine coarseness.

Kotzebue, though more celebrated as a dramatic than as a novel writer, produced two novels—'Leiden der ortenbergischen Familie,' and 'Die Geschichte meines Vaters, oder wie es zuging, dass ich geboren wurde.' But these, as well as his other novels, are so much inferior to his dramatic writings, that they may justly be considered as the mere offspring of a passing humour. Yet they are not without merit, betraying a fine imagination, and great powers of invention, besides a light, graceful flow of spirited language. By far better is Moritz's 'Anton Reiser,' a psychological novel, in which the author describes his own life, as also the lower life in towns as they existed at the time. The whole is a highly interesting production, embodying many noble feelings, and acute philosophical and psychological remarks. A counterpart to this novel is the famous Engel's admirable satirical characteristic painting, 'Lorenz Stark,' which is considered by many as the best description of the higher life in towns then prevailing.

Goëthe, as we have already seen, had produced a highly vigorous drama 'chevalcresque,' embodying the strongest sentiments of political freedom. This was the celebrated 'Götz von Berlichingen,' the sensation created by the appearance of which exceeds description. This work, the good folks of Germany immediately commenced imitating, falling thereby,

however, from one extreme into another. If they had been dull sentimentalists and unexampled enthusiasts, they were now suddenly metamorphosed into knights and squires, giving themselves up *con amore e con piacere* to the rudeness and uncouthness of these worthies, and henceforth only dreamt of brimmers and castles, tournaments and combattings, freebootings, donjons, the 'Vehmgerichts,' and such like things. Among the first German writers, who imitated the 'Götz von Berlichingen,' were Babo, the author of the famous novel 'Otto von Wittelsbach,' and the Count Thüring-Seefeld, who wrote 'Agnes Bernauerin,' and 'Kaspar der Thüringer.' In these works, both authors showed how closely they imitated their model, and how strongly they could inveigh (notwithstanding their having written in a style and on a subject belonging to antiquity,) against existing tyrannical laws and institutions. But the work which created the greatest sensation was C. Vulpius's 'Rinaldo Rinaldini, the Captain of Robbers,' a production which may be justly considered as forming the transition from the old honest coarseness of chivalry and freebooting to frivolity. Never did a novel meet with greater success than this frivolous creation, the hero of which, had evidently been modelled after Schiller's celebrated chief of robbers, Carl Moor. It would lead us too far, were we minutely to examine the merits of this work, or consider the mischief it caused. Suffice it to say, that whatever its merits and demerits may be, one thing is certain, viz., that the idea, that one may be a virtuous man and a consummate voluptuous libertine, a man of mark as well as a vain fop, which was conceived by this author, and, if we mistake not, by Göethe himself, is an abstraction to which some Germans are still inclined, and which is perceptible even in some of our own novels of more recent date.

This mischief increased on the appearance of Schiller's masterly performance 'The Ghost-seer,' which henceforth became the model for imitation by numberless scribblers. The result may easily be conceived. Hence it was, that the clever novels of Veit Weber, or G. Wächter, proved refreshing to those who were oppressed by the miserable scribbling of the period. V. Weber's novels are: 'Sagen der Vorzeit' (Tales of Yore), 'Wilhelm Tell,'and 'The Vehmgerichte in Austria.' To these we must add his 'Briefe eines Frauenzimmers aus dem fünfzehnten Jarhundert.' These productions, composed in the spirit of the middle age, afforded relaxation and an agreeable change to those who were already tired of ghosts, chivalry, thieving, adventures, and such-like exhibitions.

Heinse, librarian and reader to the Elector of Mayence, a kind and good-humoured, but rather sensual-minded, man, a

disciple of the Wieland school, produced at this time the novels 'Hildegard von Hohenthal,' 'Petronius,' 'Kunst Roman,' and 'Ardinghello.' The last, which much resembles Madame de Staël's 'Corinna,' but which in our opinion is superior to it, together with Tieck's and Wackenroder's 'Franz Sternbald's Wanderungen'—one of the finest novels German literature can boast of—and many other excellent productions, had, with few exceptions, a beneficial influence on the romantic literature of Germany.

Owing, no doubt, to the political storms of the times, and especially to the French Revolution, another change took place in the department of the German romance, which gave rise to the 'Familienstücke' and Familiengemälde,' or domestic novels. The chief authors of this class were La Fontaine, Langbein, Schilling, Friedrich Count von Soden, Anton Ball, &c. The first, who had been chaplain to a regiment, was apparently the head of this school, and was almost worshipped by the romantic world. His writings are divided into 'Unterhaltende' and 'Rührende Familiengemälde,'—entertaining and pathetic family pictures; yet, owing to the striking resemblance which they bear to one another, the difference between them is not very perceptible.

Of the immense number of tales and novels written by Schilling, 'Guido von Sohnsdom,' 'Der Roman im Roman,' 'Die Brautschau,' 'Röschens Geheimnisse,' and 'Das Weib wie es ist,' are in the highest repute. Possessed of great knowledge of the world, a good humoured wit, and a charming conversational mode of expression, he endowed all his writings with an interest, which makes them even at this day pleasant and amusing companions. Langbein, like most of his contemporaries, is somewhat too free; in part from the exactness with which he describes the scenes and characters of that period. In some of his writings, especially in his tales, he moves with much ease and elegance, and in his poetical productions, evinces great powers of invention, a rich flow of spirit, and a certain degree of cheerfulness, which place him by the side of his gifted countryman, Bürger. Dullness, and now and then a little frivolity, are among the distinguishing features of Laun's novels, the chef d'œuvre of which is the 'Citizen of Cöln.' His writings were at one time in great request.

One of the noblest, and in our opinion, finest novelists of that period, is the bookseller, and (Berlin) academician, Nicolai, the intimate friend of the great Lessing, and of Moses Mendelsohn, a man to whom German literature is deeply indebted for the services which he rendered to it. Nicolai incessantly laboured to unite the whole nation, ordinarily separated by political

divisions, by means of intellectual and moral ties. This he attempted by the publication of many admirable works, among others by his 'Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften,' 'Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek,' of both which he had been the editor, and his 'Briefe die neueste Literatur betreffend.' He laboured in his capacity as bookseller and publisher, solely for science and the public good, and seldom from any mercenary motive. Neither the daily labours of his vocation, nor his innumerable other engagements, ever induced him to become faithless to his muse. He very frequently spent whole nights over his books, and regardless of the many attractions which Berlin offered to the man of the world, and of the temptations which surrounded him to spend his time in society, he laboured like the best of his compatriots for the welfare of his countrymen, and the advancement of their literature. The German public had almost become a prey to a haughty and intolerant priesthood, whose evil influences had spread like wildfire throughout the land. Add to this the Anglomania, the Gallo and Greco-mania, in fact '*manias*' of all sorts and conditions, especially that of book-making by translation, and the reader will have some idea of the unhappy state into which the country was plunged. The necessity of doing something to counteract these evils, and of aiming a bold stroke at this many-headed hydra, was evident to all. It is beyond our province to say how far Lessing succeeded in freeing the country from these and other evils. A similar task was reserved for Nicolai, and to it he addressed himself right earnestly. Like another Goliath, he appeared with his novel 'Sebaldus Nothanker;' the effect of which was marvellous. His next, 'Der dicke Mann,' or the History of a stout Man, was intended to attack those vain scribblers, who gave themselves more credit for talent and learning, than they in reality possessed. He describes the evil consequences arising from such assumption, and levels many satirical strokes at Kantianism, which at that period was the fashion. But his witty sallies at this system of philosophy in his third novel, 'Sempronius Gundibert,' met with boundless applause. It was a production much needed; a word spoken at the right time, it afforded accordingly no slight degree of pleasure and gratification. Nicolai did full justice to the acuteness and wisdom of the great author of the 'Criticism of Pure Reason;' but what annoyed him was the jargon of the 'Pure Reason.' How could it be otherwise? Cultivating, as he did, the friendship of the greatest German writers of the day, in and out of the Prussian capital, the intimate companion of two such luminaries as Lessing and Mendelsohn, whose brilliant philosophy, good humour, and elegant wit, were truly electrifying, how, we

again ask, could it be otherwise? The Kantians, and among them the great Fichte, were driven to exasperation by the 'Sempronius Gundibert,' which contributed much to free the nation from the fetters in which it had been bound, slavelike, from time almost immemorial.

Nicolai's name will live, not, it is true, in his novels, for these, it is not unlikely, may lose in the course of time much of their interest and beauty, inasmuch as the faults and follies against which they were directed, have long since been blotted out, or laughed away,—but in his many other valuable and excellent works, such as his 'Topography of Berlin and Potsdam,' 'Anecdotes of Frederic the Great,' to collect and arrange which it would have been difficult to find a more suitable individual, since he was at the fountain-head from which only could be derived all the incidents and necessary materials. What an admirable production is his 'Tour through Germany!' The European Chinese, the Austrians, never forgave his boldness in telling them humiliating if not crushing truths. Nicolai, upon the whole, was certainly one of the greatest men Germany has produced, and decidedly one of her best novelists. Klinger, Musäus, and Schummel were very faithful followers of Nicolai. Klinger, the author whom we have already mentioned in conjunction with Goëthe, is a writer of high order. By one of his works, a drama, entitled 'Sturm und Drang,' he laid the foundation of a revolution in the province of the German belles-lettres, a period which Goëthe, in allusion to the drama, has styled 'Die Sturm und Drangperiode.'

The novels of this industrious author, written in a spirit of intense misanthropy, or dislike of the world, are replete with stirring thoughts and incidents, and were (particularly in his days) well suited to counteract the evils that arose from sentimentality, mock enthusiasm, and similar qualities. Klinger's best known novels are: Faust's Leben, Thaten und Höllenfahrt; Geschichte Raphaels de Aquillas (a companion to the former), and 'Der Weltmann und der Dichter.' Musäus, has already been mentioned. Among Schummel's favourite novels deserve to be mentioned his 'Sentimental Journey through Germany,' 'The Little Voltaire, and Spitzbart.' The latter is a masterly comic novel, in which the system of education of the last century, but especially that of the famous Basedow, is held up to derision.

Novels very much admired, and certainly of great merit, are those written by Müller von Itzehoe, of which the following are the most finished, and maintain the highest rank. 'The Ring,' 'The Papers of the Brown Man,' 'Frederick Brack,' 'Selim the Fortunate,' and 'Siegfried von Lindenberg.' The last novel

in some degree outweighs the rest. In it, Müller, with much skill and great adroitness, pourtrays a Pomeranian gentleman, whose simple customs but powerful mind come into contact with the so-called modern education, and enlightment. Müller was one of the happiest imitators of some of the English humorous writers, especially of Smollet. A highly polished language, great powers of invention and observation, as also a rather large portion of good humour, though now and then deficient in masculine strength, constitute the chief features of Müller's novels.

Wetzel, whom some consider the German Marivaux, is distinguished more for verbosity and a pompous style than anything else; all his productions are marked by an evident straining after something unusual, which renders them extremely tedious.

One of the most polished German novelists, is Von Knigge, a nobleman by birth, and a man of great learning, of knowledge of the world, and of superior talents. He wrote a great many very interesting novels; among others, 'Leben des armen Herrn von Miltenberg,' 'Reise nach Braunschweig und Fritzlar,' and 'Reise auf die Universität,' almost each of which contains attacks upon the enthusiast Lavater's journeys to Copenhagen. Furthermore, 'Roman meines Lebens,' a work replete with truths and facts taken from the author's biography, 'Peter Claus,' probably Knigge's most perfect novel, and one which has been translated into most living languages, particularly into the French, under the title of 'Gil Blas allemand;' but he is likewise the author of many satires, almost all of a political tendency.

Knigge's writings are chiefly remarkable for acuteness of mind, a thorough knowledge of the subject he deals with, a graceful expression, and a refined wit. It is to be lamented that this author is not more known in our mirth-loving country.

A very prolific novelist of the last century was K. G. Cramer, who wrote between ninety and a hundred volumes of rather smart tales, the most remarkable of which are—'Thirty Acres,' 'Karl Saalfeld,' and 'Erasmus Schleicher.' These, notwithstanding their want of polish and refined tone, are distinguished for depth of thought, a high degree of originality, and a powerful style.

We have dwelt so long on the earlier German novelists (and that, too, we fear, without having done them full justice), that we are unable at present to prosecute our original design, of bringing the more recent writers of fiction before our readers. We must defer this to a future occasion, and in the meantime will simply remark, that the prolific character of the German mind is strikingly shown in the review we have instituted.

It would have afforded us unfeigned pleasure to note a distinctively religious tone in the works we have specified. Even fiction admits of this, and borrows from it a grace and purity which marvellously augment its power. But intellect has too frequently been dissociated from revelation, and the class of publications now reviewed, contributes little to remove the unhappy dissociation.

Art. VIII.—*The Lives of Twelve Eminent Judges of the Last and of the Present Century.* By William C. Townsend, Esq., M.A. Recorder of Macclesfield. In two Volumes, 8vo. London: Longman and Co.

We have perused these volumes with very considerable pleasure, and discharge a grateful duty in introducing them to the favourable notice of our readers. In many respects they are just what was needed, sufficiently professional to secure their accuracy, yet popular in their cast, and skilfully adapted to the comprehension and wants of the community. One of the consequences—and by no means a bad one—of the wider diffusion of knowledge in our day, is the desire felt for fuller and more accurate information respecting the great men who have preceded us, than our fathers possessed. The spread of intelligence has quickened inquiry, given rise to a thousand questions, and created a craving which nothing can satisfy but sound and well attested information. This is a healthy state of the popular intellect. It is just what we desire. It is the legitimate form of manhood, erect and of open countenance, with an inquiring eye, and an expression of honest fellowship with all that is human. It is marvellous to observe with how little information our predecessors were satisfied. A few inquiring and active spirits looked out beyond their immediate circles, and sought to trace back the course of events, so as to refer to their several epochs and prime agents, the beneficial changes which have been wrought. But the mass of mankind were content to deal with existing interests, and those, too, in their most restricted bearings. The necessities of the hour, the knowledge which bore immediately on their present and passing wants, were all which awakened their solicitude, and they left the future to take heed to itself without seeking to enlighten it by the wisdom which may be drawn from the past. The lowest and most grovelling form of utilitarianism was everywhere predominant, and any appeal to the men and the transactions of a former age was treated as a species of pedantic

foppery. Each generation therefore started, to a great extent, anew. Human knowledge was perpetually commencing. There was no voluntary progress; no effort made to aid its advance; no cautious scrutiny of what had gone before, in order to escape the dangers, or to secure, in the largest degree, the good with which the future might be peopled. The warnings or the encouragements of a prior age were alike, for the most part, disregarded; and the human being passed from infancy to manhood, and through manhood to the grave, with the smallest possible advantage from the experience of his predecessors. A benefit perfectly involuntary, was derived from the laws of a merciful Providence, but this was limited in its extent, and applicable only to a small portion of human interests, compared with what might have been realised. Each man was left to grope his way as best he could, amidst the difficulties of his course, without the guidance and the energy which would have been ministered by an enlightened knowledge of the past. The great body of our countrymen were thus left in almost total ignorance of what had preceded them. The names of Chaucer and Spenser, of Shakspere and Milton, of Bacon and Newton, of Dryden and Pope, were familiar to their ears. Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, the reformation from popery, the rise of the puritan controversy, the tyranny of the Stuarts, the noble patriotism of the Long Parliament, in its earliest and palmy days, the heroic fortitude and proud achievements of Cromwell, the restoration of the second Charles, the martyrdom of Russell and Sydney, and the revolution of 1688, were known in name only, and for the most part were grossly misconceived. Their histories were unread, their character was misapprehended. Falsehood was received as truth, and party spleen was worshipped as zeal for God. Even yet there is much to be effected; but it is a good and hopeful sign that our young men who are to constitute the active and the influential class of a few years hence, are familiarizing themselves with the past, not as the means of mental slavery, but with a view to extract from its records lessons of wisdom and incentives to virtue. That evil will mix with the good, we may readily believe. It has always been so, and there is no reason to suppose that the laws of our nature are changed. Tares must grow with the wheat; but we have the utmost confidence that the latter will greatly preponderate, and therefore anticipate from the revolution now silently passing over the spirits of men, a vast accession to the knowledge and happiness of our race.

The appearance of the work before us is one of the fruits of this new spirit. It is a sign of the times, and interests us as such, apart from the manner of its execution. It is addressed

to a class of readers formerly uninterested in such inquiries, and in whom, a few years since, it would have been deemed highly presumptuous to aspire after such knowledge. The want, however, has been created, and Mr. Townsend wisely comes forward to supply it. The first desire of an awakened public has been to acquaint itself with the more prominent facts of our history, and the second to trace out the career of the great men who have stamped their character on our institutions. To the latter desire these volumes are addresssed, and they will not fail to interest, as they are well adapted to inform every intelligent reader. They evince extensive reading, considerable aptitude in the selection of illustrative anecdotes, a high appreciation of the judicial bench, a hearty recognition of legal erudition and of forensic skill apart from political partisanship, and on the whole, a sound and healthful view of the varied subjects discussed. Mr. Townsend has not been sparing in the use made of his predecessors. He has gathered from every quarter with an avidity which sometimes trenches on propriety, and deprives his work of all pretensions to originality. He is, for the most part, a collector merely; but his diligence and skill have enabled him to produce an interesting and instructive work, and are therefore entitled to commendation. We are far from agreeing with all the opinions he expresses, and have sometimes felt the want of a higher and more ennobling treatment of his topics. But on the whole, we thank him heartily for his labours, and proceed to give our readers a more detailed account of them. 'The character and fortunes,' he justly remarks in his preface, 'of those great men who have added reverence to the judgment-seat during the last half century can scarcely fail to furnish topics of varied interest, and amusement. Commencing with the mighty master of common law, Sir Francis Buller, their history includes those eloquent holders of the Great Seal, Lords Loughborough and Erskine; the three admirable chiefs of the Queen's Bench, Lords Kenyon, Ellenborough, and Tenderden; those memorable Masters of the Rolls, Lord Alvanley and Sir William Grant; those scientific lawyers, the one in real property, the other in common law, Lord Redesdale and Sir Vicary Gibbs; and ends with the fortunate brothers—not more fortunate than deserving—Lords Stowell and Eldon.'

In the preparation of his work he has endeavoured to reconcile the most scrupulous delicacy towards the survivors of the eminent men described, 'with a faithful and accurate likeness.' The effect of this is occasionally evident in the subdued tone of censure adopted, but on the whole there is little cause for complaint, though the darker features of his portraits are kept

somewhat out of sight. A more rigid and exact judgment would probably, in some cases, have pronounced a severer sentence, but the error, if error it be, is on virtue's side, and may easily be corrected by an intelligent reader, from the facts supplied. We shall not, of course, attempt to notice all the 'Lives' contained in these volumes. Some of them have recently been given to the public with much greater fulness than consisted with Mr. Townsend's plan, and the interest of others is almost, though not entirely, restricted to members of the legal profession. We pass over, therefore, the earlier biographies, simply extracting the following anecdote of Lord Kenyon, which strikingly illustrates the absurd cruelty of our criminal code, and the marvellous perversion exercised by a false system over a strong intellect. Though the man revolted at the barbarity of the law, the judge zealously opposed its amelioration :—

'An interesting anecdote of Lord Kenyon's sensibility was related in the House of Commons by Mr. Morris in the debates of 1811. Of the occurrence that gentleman had been an eye-witness. 'On the home-circuit,' he said, 'some years since, a young woman was tried for having stolen to the amount of forty shillings in a dwelling house. It was her first offence, and was attended with many circumstances of extenuation. The prosecutor appeared, as he stated, from a sense of duty; the witnesses very reluctantly gave their evidence, and the jury still more reluctantly their verdict of guilty. The judge passed sentence of death; she instantly fell lifeless at the bar. Lord Kenyon, whose sensibility was not impaired by the sad duties of his office, cried out in great agitation from the bench: 'I don't mean to hang you: will nobody tell her I don't mean to hang her?' 'I then felt,' he justly added, 'as I now feel, that this was passing sentence, not on the prisoner, but on the law.' This deserved reproach never startled the learned judge, who was a devout believer in the perfection of the penal laws, and, without rising superior to the prejudices of the age in which he lived, gained a reputation for mercy above his colleagues, by yielding more frequently than they did to the impulses of compassion. His humanity, active in cases of life and death, so far as his conscience would allow, was less alert in behalf of those criminals to whom secondary punishments had been awarded, and never slumbered so soundly, as when a fashionable libertine was to be amerced in damages, a seditious libeller to be sent to gaol, or a knavish attorney to be struck off the rolls.'—vol. i. p. 86.

Lord Ellenborough ranks amongst the highest ornaments of the judicial bench. He was the fourth son of Dr. Edmund Law, Bishop of Carlisle, and was born at Great Salkeld, in Cumberland, on the 16th of November, 1750. At twelve years of age he was placed on the foundation of the Charter

House, where he continued nearly six years, and is described by a contemporary as 'at once moody and good tempered, a bluff, burly boy, ever ready to inflict a blow, or perform an exercise for his schoolfellows.' In 1768 he removed to Peterhouse, Cambridge, where he gained distinguished honours, and formed the acquaintance of several who were afterwards eminent in their various departments. Being elected a fellow of his college, he quitted Cambridge in 1773, and entered himself of Lincoln's Inn. His energetic, enduring, and proud spirit, is strikingly depicted at this time, in a short letter addressed to his college friend, Archdeacon Coxe. He was at this time engaged in a pleader's chambers.

'After holding a pen most of the day in the service of my profession, I will use it a few minutes longer in that of friendship. I thank you, my dearest friend, for this and every proof of confidence and affection. Let us cheerfully push our way in our different lines,—the path of neither of us is strewed with roses, but they will terminate in happiness and honour. I cannot, however, now and then help sighing, when I think how inglorious an apprenticeship we both of us serve to ambition, while you teach a child his rudiments, and I drudge at the pen for attorneys. But if knowledge and a respectable situation are to be purchased only on these terms, I for my part can readily say, *hâc mercede placet*. Do not commend my industry too soon; application wears for me at present the charm of novelty; upon a longer acquaintance I may grow tired of it.'—*ib.* p. 306.

Happily for himself he did not grow tired of his occupation, but applied with unwearied diligence to the subtleties of special pleading, and did not venture on being called to the bar till 1780, when he selected the northern circuit, and was greatly aided in his early professional career by family connections. An opportunity was speedily afforded of displaying, with full effect, and on the most prominent theatre, the high qualities with which he was endowed. This was the trial of Warren Hastings, whose case he was engaged to lead; 'a high and arduous task,' as Mr. Townsend justly remarks, 'for a young man of only eight years standing at the bar.' His opponents on the occasion were the most illustrious men of the day. Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Windham, and Grey were arrayed against him; and though he trembled and was somewhat overpowered at the outset, he manfully addressed himself to his duty, and fearlessly discharged it. Miss Burney, who was an eye-witness of the scene, has given an animated account of the demeanour of Mr. Law, from which we extract the following brief passage.

'To hear the attack, the people came in crowds; to hear the defence, they scarcely came in tête-à tête. Mr. Law was terrified exceedingly, and his timidity induced him so frequently to beg quarter from his antagonists, both for any blunders and any deficiencies, that I felt angry with even modest egotism. We (Windham and I) spoke of Mr. Law, and I expressed some dissatisfaction that such attackers should not have had able and more equal opponents.' 'But do not you think Mr. Law spoke well,' cried Windham; 'clear, forcible?' 'Not forcible,' cried I; 'I would not say, not clear.' 'He was frightened,' said Windham; 'he might not do himself justice. I have heard him elsewhere, and been very well satisfied with him; but he looked pale and alarmed, and his voice trembled.' 'In his second oration,' continues Miss Burney, 'Mr. Law was far more animated, and less frightened, and acquitted himself so as almost to merit as much commendation, as, in my opinion, he had merited censure at the opening.'—*ib.* 309.

In the course of the trial he became cool and collected, was subtle in the detection of errors, unsparing in the exposure of his opponents, and profoundly versed in all the legal questions which were mooted. The inclination of the court was well known, and the accused was acquitted by a majority of 23 to 6. Law received nearly £3000 in fees, and, what was of far greater value, he derived from his efforts on this occasion, 'a sensible increase of personal reputation, and a consequent accession of business.' From this period he rapidly rose in Westminster Hall, and began to be cheered by the prospect of high preferment. During the ministry of William Pitt, he was regarded with coldness and suspicion, as the son of a Whig bishop, but on the formation of the Addington cabinet, in 1801, he was made attorney-general, and entered the House of Commons, as member for one of the now disfranchised boroughs. His reply to the premier, when this appointment was tendered, with an offer of two days for consideration, on account of the probably brief duration of the new government, was highly characteristic of his decision and firmness. 'Sir,' said Mr. Law, 'when such an offer is made to me, and communicated in such terms, I should think myself disgraced, if I took two days, two hours, or two minutes to deliberate upon it. I am yours; and let the storm blow from what quarter of the hemisphere it may, you shall always find me at your side.'

It is reported of George III., that on Mr. Law attending the first levee after his appointment, he was asked by the monarch, if he had ever been in Parliament; and having replied in the negative. 'That is right,' said the royal interrogator; 'my attorney-general ought not to have been in Parliament, for then, you know, he will not be obliged to eat his own words.'

As a parliamentary debater he was far from attaining the highest rank, though equally remote from the signal failure which has attended some others whose eloquence at the bar was greatly superior to his.

'He was then fifty-one, an age generally considered too late for those who hope to acquire the fame of parliamentary orators. St. Stephen's Chapel is strewn with the wrecks of eminent lawyers, but Sir Edward Law was not added to the long and melancholy list. The vigour with which he threw himself into all legal and constitutional questions, and the spirit with which he went out in all weathers as a debater, soon elicited the respect and attention of the house. He spoke with an energy that reminded the old members of Thurlow, on subjects connected with his peculiar functions; fearless, full of matter, and copious in diction, a hard hitter, even when he spoke carelessly. During a debate on the Prince's claim, when he remarked that the revenues of the duchy of Lancaster were placed under the control of Henry the Sixth, it was suggested from the opposition bench that the law was shortly after changed. 'Ay,' said the Attorney-General, 'in times of trouble. The honourable gentlemen opposite seem well versed in the troubles of their country.'—*ib.* pp. 324, 325,

In the upper house he was a frequent speaker on 'questions of constitutional and general polity. His oratory, which was generally without premeditation, had vast unadorned power, but its effect was marred by ebullitions of temper. He threw his vigorous spirit into whatever topic he discussed, infusing a strength of mind and muscle, which could not brook restraint or tolerate contradiction.' His success as a parliamentary speaker was greatly impaired by his extreme irritability, which sometimes showed itself in the most repulsive forms imaginable. On these occasions he was apparently unconscious of the trespass he was committing, and would sometimes even congratulate himself on his freedom from asperity. An instance of this occurred, when he accused Lord Grey of uttering 'a base and calumnious imputation,' and sat down, to the infinite amusement of the house, expressing a conviction of having defended himself without bitterness towards his opponent. At a later period Lord Holland inflicted a severe but dignified castigation on the irritable judge, which was too ably conceived, and is too honourable to the memory of that estimable nobleman to allow us to pass it by. We avail ourselves of Mr. Townsend's sketch of this memorable passage.

'That nobleman, in 1811, brought forward a motion for an account of all informations *ex officio* in cases of libel, in a temperate and judicious speech, which elicited one of a totally different spirit from the judge, who, making a law against himself, remarked, that 'he

knew nothing more to be deprecated in that house than violent and vague declamations resting on no grounds. (Hear, hear, from Lord Holland). The noble lord might call all that he had said a mere tirade; but in all that he had said, did he not bottom himself on facts? (Hear, hear, from Lord Holland.) The cries of the noble lord could not convince him that he had not. He was used to tumults and alarms; they never yet could put him down. Were he to die the next instant, he never would yield for one moment to tumult!' The keen and cutting irony with which Lord Holland rebutted this unjust attack was long personally remembered by the house, and will richly reward perusal. The following is a short specimen: 'My lords, I must trespass for a few minutes on your time, for I feel myself called upon, not indeed to answer arguments, but to repel accusations and charges; not to combat objections to my motion, but to vindicate my character from aspersions which have been thrown out, I will not say in a disorderly and unparliamentary manner, but at least in a style and tone which, fortunately for the dignity of your deliberations, is rare and unusual in this house. I have been told, not by inference, but in direct terms, that I am captious, that I am passionate, that I am indirect, and unmanly. I profess not the temper of bearing such charges with equanimity; and if I were to disguise my astonishment, I will say my indignation, at hearing them brought against me, I should, in fact, prove myself guilty of that insincerity with which I am charged. With respect to the vehemence or passion with which I may have expressed myself, I should have hoped that the learned lord would have had the charity to recollect that I never had the advantage of those judicial habits from which he has profited so much; and which, as they require from him, so they have no doubt taught him, that calmness and composure of mind for which he is so remarkable. The practice of such duties, and the exercise of such temper as these duties require, can alone bring the feelings of men to so perfect a state of discipline, and produce, even in the delivery of their strongest opinions, that dignified and dispassionate tone which adds a grace to all the noble and learned lord's public appearances, and has so eminently distinguished his conduct on this night's debate. I fear, my lords, I shall never attain that composure of manner and command of temper, of which the noble and learned lord inculcates the necessity, full as much as he affords the example. Indeed, I must acknowledge that I shall not even aspire to emulate the model he holds out to me, and, while I admire his precepts, must confess that I have no ambition to follow his example. The clamorous invective, which has nothing to recommend it but authority, is as much clamour as the cries and shouts of a mob; and I hope that I shall have the courage and honesty to treat it, come from whom it may, with a due portion of that feeling which the noble and learned lord so properly reserves for all clamour unfounded in reason.'"—*ib.* pp. 331—333.

Though grave and austere to a fault, several anecdotes are

on record which show that the judge could occasionally relax into a milder mood, and indulge in pleasantry foreign from his ordinary temper. When a counsel, too much addicted to self praise, had declared in the course of his address, that such things were enough to drive one from the bar, 'Don't threaten the court,' said his lordship, 'with such a terrible calamity.' On another occasion, when an eminent conveyancer came express from the Court of Chancery to the King's Bench to argue a question of real property, and commenced an erudite speech by gravely observing 'that an estate in fee-simple was the highest estate known to the law of England.' 'Stay, stay,' interrupted the Chief Justice, 'let me write that down;' and having done so, and deliberately read the note he had taken,—'The court, sir,' he added, 'is indebted to you for the information.' The irony would have sufficed to disturb the self-possession of most men, but the learned advocate was impervious to such weapons, and having continued his address till the court rose, then enquired when it would be their lordships' *pleasure* to hear the remainder of his argument. 'Mr. P—,' rejoined the Chief Justice, 'we are bound to hear you, and shall do so on Friday; but *pleasure* has been long out of the question.' On some occasions, however, his lordship met his equal, of which the following furnishes an example.

'Mr. Brougham having defended the proprietors of a paper who were indicted for libel, and made an impassioned address to the jury in their behalf, Lord Ellenborough, in summing up, remarked, that the defendant's counsel had imbibed the noxious spirit of his client, and had inoculated himself with all the poison and virus of the libel. Mr. Brougham, when his client was brought up for judgment, complained with proper spirit of these animadversions. 'My lord, why am I thus identified with the interests of my client? I appear here as an English advocate, with the privileges and the responsibilities of that office, and no man shall call in question my principles in its faithful and honest discharge. It is not, assuredly, to those only who clamour out their faith from high places, that credit will be given for the sincerity of their professions.' The judge made no comment on this manly remonstrance, but was too high-minded himself not to admire its spirit.'—*ib.* 353—4.

On another occasion, in December, 1817, Lord Ellenborough received from an obscure individual, the severest rebukes which were probably ever administered in court to an English judge. We knew William Hone, and may be somewhat influenced in our judgment by the affectionate esteem in which we hold his memory. He was one of the mildest and most urbane of men. The benignity of his countenance was a fair index of his heart. He would not have hurt a worm, but the obvious determination

of his judge to secure a conviction, stirred his gentle nature, and aroused within him the strongest indignation. Having been acquitted on his first trial, at which Mr. Justice Abbott presided, Lord Ellenborough came into court on the following day, 'to compel,' as Mr. Townsend admits, in his *life* of the former, 'a verdict of guilty.' His interruptions of the accused were frequent and unseemly; but William Hone, though worn by fatigue, exhausted both in body and in mind, scarcely able on some occasions to collect himself sufficiently to comprehend the objections taken to his course, with the anxieties of a numerous family pressing upon him, and the whole power of Government employed to crush him, rose with the occasion, and by his manly sense and genuine English fortitude, worsted his formidable antagonists. 'It was hoped,' said the accused on his third trial, which, in defiance of common decency was persisted in, 'by certain very grave members of the cabinet, that William Hone could not stand the third day; that he would sink under his fatigue and want of physical power.' 'He can't stand the third day,' said these humane and Christian ministers; 'we shall have him now; he must be crushed.' Oh, no, no, he must not be crushed; you cannot crush him. I have a spark of liberty in my mind, that will glow, and burn brighter, and blaze more fiercely, as my mortal remains are passing to decay. There is nothing can crush me but my own sense of doing wrong; the moment I feel it, I fall down in self abasement before my accusers; but when I have done no wrong, when I know I am right, I am as an armed man; and in this spirit I wage battle with the Attorney-General, taking a tilt with him here on the floor of this court.' From the unseemly and partizan interruptions of the Judge, Mr. Hone appealed to an impartial jury. 'I feel,' said he, addressing Lord Ellenborough, 'the grievance of which I complain; I am to be tried, not you. When I shall have been consigned to a dungeon, your lordship will sit as coolly on that seat as ever; you will not feel the punishment. I feel the grievance, and I remonstrate against it. . . . . Gentlemen,' he added, addressing the jury, under an inspiration worthy the advocate of English freedom, 'it is you who are trying me to-day. His lordship is no judge of me. You are my judges, and you only are my judges. His lordship sits there to receive your verdict. He does not even sit there to regulate the trial, for the law has already regulated it.'* The accused was acquitted, and common report attributed the Judge's death, which occurred on the 11th of December in the following year, to the mortification experienced on this occasion.

* Hone's Three Trials.

This report is discredited by our author, who mentions the following anecdote in evidence of its falsity.

'There is no truth in the popular notion, that Lord Ellenborough was killed by the result of Hone's trial. As a proof how little his nerves were shaken, the late Bishop Turner, who rode with him from Westminster, has mentioned in private conversation that he laughed at the hooting and tumultuous mob, who surrounded the carriage, remarking that their saliva was more dangerous than their bite. He suddenly pulled the check-string at Charing Cross: 'It just occurs to me that they sell the best red herrings at this shop of any shop in London; buy six.' The dainty was purchased, and the judge, whom the people supposed to be half slain, made a hearty meal.'—*ib.* p. 389.

Mr. Townsend's notice of these trials is amongst the least satisfactory portions of his work. He admits, as we have already seen, the predetermination of the judge, and confesses that 'he acted with too inexorable rigour,' yet fails to mark, in terms at all adequate to the occasion, the wrong that was attempted. Those were days of darkness, when the Government of the nation was in the hands of men whose intellects were as feeble as their malice was intense. We have happily fallen on better times, but must not forget to whose noble resistance we are greatly indebted for the preservation of our liberties.

We now turn to a more pleasing topic, and regret that our space allows us only briefly to notice the unrivalled talents and great services of Lord Erskine. He was born at Edinburgh, in January, 1750, and having been educated at the high school of that city, thence proceeded to the University of St. Andrews. His early destination gave little promise of his subsequent career. In 1764 he went to sea as a midshipman, and four years afterwards exchanged the navy for the army, receiving a commission as ensign on the 1st of September, 1768. His ultimate adoption of the legal profession is thus explained by Mr. Townsend:—

'The cause of his second change has been variously ascribed—to the persuasions of his mother, a lady of excellent discernment—to the admiration called forth by the exercise of his talents in conversation and debate—to the 'res angusta domi,' and the claims of an increasing family,—and, lastly, to the ennui produced by a desultory course of life, which his occasional pamphlets on the abuses of the army could not furnish sufficient occupation to remove. To his happy determination the whole of these causes with combined force probably contributed; the success of his brother Henry at the Scottish bar, of which he was for many years the grace and ornament, affording also a felicitous precedent. 'At the house of Admiral Walsingham,' says Cradock, 'I first met with Erskine and Sheridan, and it was there the scheme was laid that the former should exchange

the army for the law; and in consequence our excellent friend, Mr. Hinchcliffe, was applied to, who kindly received him at Trinity Lodge, and obtained for him a nobleman's degree. He was now twenty-six, and to save further loss of time entered his name on the boards of Trinity, Cambridge, as fellow-commoner, and kept terms simultaneously as student at Lincoln's Inn. His sole object in taking a bachelor's degree being to dispense with two out of the five years' noviciate, according to the then regulations of the inns of court, he did not enter the senate-house for honours, and confined his attempts at university distinction to the gaining a college prize for a declamation on the Revolution of 1688.'—*ib.* 403—404.

His difficulties at first were very great, as his means were restricted, and his family was becoming numerous. He resided, we are told by Mr. Reynolds, 'in small lodgings, near Hampstead, and openly avowed that he lived on cow-beef, because he could not afford any of a superior quality; dressed shabbily, expressed the greatest gratitude to Mr. Harris for occasional free admissions to Covent Garden, and used boastingly to exclaim to my father, 'Thank fortune, ont of my own family I don't know a lord.'

All however that was wanted, was a fair opportunity of displaying his powers. Give him this, and his success was certain. Happily, the occasion was speedily furnished, and the following is his own account of it:—

''I had scarcely a shilling in my pocket when I got my first retainer. It was sent me by a Captain Baillie, of the navy, who held an office at the Board of Greenwich Hospital, and I was to show cause in the Michaelmas term against a rule that had been obtained in the preceding term, calling on him to show cause why a criminal information for a libel reflecting on Lord Sandwich's conduct as governor of that charity should not be filed against him. I had met, during the long vacation, this Captain Baillie at a friend's table, and after dinner I expressed myself with some warmth, probably with some eloquence, on the corruption of Lord Sandwich as First Lord of the Admiralty, and then adverted to the scandalous practices imputed to him with regard to Greenwich Hospital. Baillie nudged the person who sat next to him, and asked who I was. Being told that I had just been called to the bar, and had been formerly in the navy, Baillie exclaimed with an oath, 'Then I'll have him for my counsel!' I trudged down to Westminster Hall when I got the brief, and being the junior of five, who would be heard before me, never dreamt that the court would hear me at all. The argument came on. Dunning, Bearcroft, Wallace, Bower, Hargrave, were all heard at considerable length, and I was to follow. Hargrave was long-winded, and tired the court. It was a bad omen; but, as my good fortune would have it, he was afflicted with the strangury, and was obliged to retire once or twice in the course of his argument.

This protracted the cause so long, that, when he had finished, Lord Mansfield said that the remaining counsel should be heard the next morning. This was exactly what I wished. I had the whole night to arrange in my chambers what I had to say the next morning, and I took the court with their faculties awake and freshened, succeeded quite to my own satisfaction (sometimes the surest proof that you have satisfied others), and, as I marched along the Hall after the rising of the judges, the attorneys flocked around me with their retainers. I have since flourished, but I have always blessed God for the providential strangury of poor Hargrave.'—*ib.* 405—406..

Throughout his professional life he was not more distinguished by the splendour of his advocacy, which was confessedly unequalled, than by a fearless discharge of his duty to his clients. A striking instance of this occurred on the trial of Dr. Shipley, when he persisted, in opposition to Mr. Justice Buller, in asking the jury to explain their verdict. 'Sit down, Mr. Erskine,' said the judge with considerable warmth; 'know your duty, or I shall be obliged to make you know it in some other way.' The advocate rejoined with equal warmth, "I know my duty as well as your lordship knows your duty; I stand here as the advocate of a fellow-citizen, and I will not sit down.' The judge was wise enough to be silent. He probably felt that a greater than himself was present, and the independence of the bar was proudly maintained.

Erskine was engaged in the State prosecutions of Hardy, Horne Tooke, and Thelwal; and his expositions of constitutional law, and splendid defence of public liberty on these occasions, justly rendered him the idol of the nation. In the following extract the demeanour of Horne Tooke, one of the intended victims of a merciless court, is graphically described.

'The moment he was ushered into the dock, he began with the air of an aggrieved individual, as the complaining party:

''My Lord, I beg leave to represent to the Court that we have just come out of a very confined and close hole, and the windows, now opened at our backs, expose us to much cold air; that our health, particularly my own, will be considerably endangered, and most probably we shall lose our voices, before we leave the place: I shall therefore request of the Court to be dismissed as soon as their convenience will permit.'

'When asked how he would be tried, he eyed the Court for some seconds with an air of significant meaning, which few assumed better, and, shaking his head emphatically, answered, 'I would be tried by God and my country! But'—there was no occasion to fill up the break—how much he feared that he should not.

'Being allowed, as an indulgence, to sit by his counsel, the intractable prisoner told the Court, 'I cannot help saying that, if I

were a judge, that word, 'indulgence' should never issue from my lips. My Lord, you have no indulgence to show; you are bound to be just, and to be just is, to do that which is ordered.'

'Chief Justice Eyre, a model of judicial urbanity, still allowed him the seat merely as an indulgence, on the ground of his infirm health. Once admitted to the bar-table, he made free use of their privilege to inflict the bastinado with his tongue. On the question of adjournment, he told the Court, in a tone of triumph, that if the jury went unshaved and unshirted, so must the judges; but he offered to shorten a probable trial of two hundred hours, by admitting every thing he had ever said, written, or done. As a set-off against the abuse of king and lords in pamphlets, he was ready to produce an abuse of himself printed on earthenware. With regard to the treasonable songs, he would have one of them sung in court to see if there was any seditious, *Ca Ira*-like, or resembling the Marsellois Hymn, in the tune. Refreshing himself with a pinch of Strasburgh, he would often bandy law points with the judge, and, if worsted, apologise by saying that he was only a student of forty years' standing. But he not unfrequently rose a winner. Having objected to a particular piece of evidence, he was reminded by the Court that, if there were two or three links in the chain, they must go to one first, and then to another, and see whether they amounted to evidence. Horne Tooke demurred to this:—

''I beg your pardon, my Lord, but is not a chain composed of links, and may I not disjoin each link, and do not I thereby destroy the chain?'

'*Eyre, C. J.*—'I rather think not, till the links are put together, and form the chain.'

'*Horne Tooke.*—'I rather think I may, because it is my business to prevent the forming of that chain!''

'As the trial proceeded, his strong sense of humour seemed to gather point and pungency from the dangerous novelty of his position. It was proved that the society had expressed approbation of certain proceedings in the National Assembly, ergo it was Republican. 'Egad,' said Tooke, 'it is lucky we did not say there were some good things in the Koran, or we should have been charged with Mahometanism!''—vol. ii. pp. 24—26.

On the acquittal of the third prisoner, Erskine's cup was full. 'Injured innocence,' he exclaimed, in his address to the populace, who had drawn him home in triumph, 'still obtains protection from a British jury, and, I am sure, in the honest effusions of your heart you will retire in peace, and bless God.'

'This, we may readily believe, was the proudest and happiest epoch of his life. Greedy of popular applause, faithful to his party and political principles, eager for professional fame, rejoicing in the triumph of the verdict, not superior to the pleasure of mortifying the haughty, disparaging, Pitt, he drained the cup of mental intoxi-

cation at the close of these trials. Day by day he had stood almost alone, from early morn to midnight—

'With darkness and with dangers compassed round—'

unexhausted, contending for a great principle, the guardian of untold numbers—cheered by the presence of admiring senators, and an applauding people—winning, almost against their will, the sympathies of the jury, and combating always fearlessly, often successfully with the court. He had proved to the scoffers of the House of Commons the might of his arm in his own proper field, had caught encouragement from the looks of Fox and his little band; the most supercilious and jealous of which (even Grey and Sheridan), must now own him for at least their equal. He had done more for freedom than any lawyer since Somers, and had gained a series of victories unexampled in their importance to the cause of constitutional law. Even among those most opposed to him in politics might be numbered many who approved his positions, and rejoiced in the verdict The dark and ensanguined mass of clouds which loomed over the horizon at the end of the year 1794 had been dispelled by his breath.'—ib. 34.

We need scarcely add, that the volumes before us are admirably adapted for general reading, while the professional student will find them an excellent introduction to that knowledge of his illustrious predecessors at which he should steadily aim.

Art. IX.—1. *German Reformation of the Nineteenth Century; or, a Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and present Position of those who have recently separated themselves from the Church of Rome; with a short Notice of the State of Protestantism in Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, and the Prussian Baltic Provinces.* By the German correspondent of the 'Continental Echo.' John Snow, London, 1846.

2. *The Continental Echo.* Nos. I.—XXI.

These publications are valuable repositories of authentic information respecting the progress of evangelism on the Continent. We have therefore turned to them for materials to help us to form an opinion on John Czerski and his procedure. Though the best face is put on the business by his friends, the fact is, that during his recent visit to London, the evangelical circles on the whole received him coldly and suspiciously. Anonymous letters appeared in journals making high pretensions to piety, in which zealous and orthodox pens assumed

to themselves the right to declare his creed for him, and assured readers more credulous than charitable, that he was not sound in the faith. Fearful whispers were more plentiful than the breezes in the hot August air of London, to the effect that he was an unsound and immoral man. 'Anglicanus,' without waiting to ask Czerski himself what his views were, and what his conduct had been, must needs announce in a public journal his loss of all hope in him and his followers. 'This hope is, alas! lost to us.' The Rev. J. Mayers, of Norfolk, wrote a letter proclaiming that the whole German movement had 'taken a decidedly rationalistic tendency and direction.' After perusing some of these letters, we felt very sure that of nothing rationalistic in tone, temper, or thought, were their writers ever likely to be accused. In private, reverend personages were found who seemed to make it their business to expose the moral and doctrinal obliquities of John Czerski. The result was, that this interesting man was met with 'the cold shoulder.'

Averse though we be to the conceited shallowness of what is called rationalistic theology, we wish to be decidedly rationalistic in dealing with the characters of others. For newspaper correspondents to take upon themselves to proclaim a man's views for him seems to be a dishonesty more grievous than the theft of a purse, by just as much as spiritual liberty, and the rights of the soul and religious character, are more valuable than the contents of a purse. Czerski had a property in the right to express his own views in his own way, of which he could be deprived only by a most pernicious kind of larceny. With respect to his moral character, this was a still more serious invasion of his rights. The principles on which men receive each other into Christian fellowship in churches in certain denominations,—accordance in their creeds and consistency of conduct with them—are very different from the principles on which men combine in societies and meet together in private circles. All that can be done practically in the regulation of the latter sort of intercourse is to believe that men mean what they say, and treat them according as they are accredited by introductions from known individuals, or enjoy the sanction of public bodies. For such intercourse and co-operation, investigations with respect to the peculiarities of creed and privacies of conduct are unnecessary and impossible. With how a man married his wife such bodies have nothing to do. They go out of the way when they require what he did with the money sent him to build churches. The investigation of these things belongs to the churches with which he is in communion. If four, not to say forty, Christian communities sanction, by choosing him as their pastor, his way of disposing of funds and

of marrying his wife, public associations owe to him the deference due to the man accredited by the sanction and invested with the approbation of such communities.

Of the thousands of Christian gentlemen who meet each other in societies, scarcely one is ever subjected to any treatment not founded on these considerations. But an exception was made in the case of the Rev. John Czerski. It is a curious exception. Surveying the clergy of all denominations in this country, it is impossible to deny that their position is not proof of any remarkable degree of virtue on their part. On worldly grounds, their profession is just the best one open to men of their scholarly tastes. Most of them have not had the means of going to the bar. The ablest of them would find it hard to make a living by literature. In reference to purely selfish considerations most of them could not have bettered themselves. But John Czerski is a man whose position is a proof of remarkable virtue. By devoting himself to the service of the church in which he was brought up, he might have ascended a splendid ladder of ecclesiastical ambition. The conventions of the priests where he lived would have sanctioned his living with many mistresses; a devotion to the interests of Rome would have opened higher and still higher offices for his acceptance, and with his years might have grown his honours, his wealth, renown, and power. Professing religious convictions as the reason of his conduct, John Czerski rejects the splendours which Rome holds forth to ecclesiastical ambition, and becomes the pastor of four congregations for a yearly stipend of twenty-two pounds odd. Mobbed by the populace, stoned by young ladies, shot at by grown men, his abduction attempted, his character slandered, his feelings lacerated, and a yearly income gained by him of five pound ten a quarter,—these are the rewards of John Czerski. This was the man who was coldly received in London by the religious circles, in August 1846. Strange is the suspicion of untried men, of the Christian virtue of a man who has been tried and found to be noble. John Czerski was criticised by excellent and well-beneficed clergymen for 'vacillation.' The parson in his serene rectory, with a steady income and a calm scene, is conscious of no vacillation.

'Ye *clergymen* of England,
Who live at home at ease,
How little do ye know
Of the dangers of the seas.'

The very lustre of their celebrity makes conspicuous all the incidents of the lives of distinguished men. The faults of obscure men are hidden by the obscurity of their lives. Such

were some of the considerations which sprung up in our mind on hearing of the reception of John Czerski in London.

We attended his public appearances in London with much interest. He is a slightly made man, of the middle height, with sallow plebeian features, dressed like a priest, with a round, broad, German head, a broad chin, a long upper lip, a short sharp nose, intelligent black eyes, and brown hair smoothed down the sides of a good forehead, with nervous sensibility and self-reliance displayed in the workings of his features. In age he appears to be between thirty and forty, but worn by study and anxiety. His look flashes conviction of his sincerity into the observer. His voice is sweet and earnest. His style and manner show a degree of culture considerably above the average of the clerical profession.

Of course, the private investigations which were made into the character, creed, and conduct of Czerski issued in his complete vindication. After being suspected unjustly, and treated accordingly, attempts were made to efface the impression on his feelings by breakfasts, meetings, and 'the right hand of fellowship.' But it is impossible to convince any one who saw Czerski on his first and on his last appearance in London, that the interval had not been filled up with much suffering, unwarrantably and needlessly inflicted. Of some of the leaders of the Evangelical Alliance this is true;—they did not protect a noble foreigner from pain, but they are understood to be zealous for getting a picture painted of themselves in solemn conclave!

'Alas; for the rarity
Of Christian charity.'

Czerski was the first to form a church separate from Rome in that part of Germany, which has been the scene of his labours and those of Rongé.

'To Czerski,' says the author of 'the German Reformation of the Nineteenth Century,' the modest, retiring man, to whose individual character every approach to leadership, or publicity, is foreign, belongs the merit, not only of having first entertained the idea of the formation of a Catholic church, independent of, and separate from, Rome; but of being the first, likewise, to carry this idea into practice. And this bold step brought what had long lain dark and inert in the wishes of thousands, at once to distinctive clearness; and the thought of their hearts took form and substance. In March, 1844, Czerski was appointed assistant to probst Busse, in Schneidemühl, whose failing health had induced him to apply for a co-pastor. And here he found many parisbioners, whose thoughts and feelings coincided with his own. For, in beautiful illustration of the manner in which God so often prepares a people for himself in the midst of

their enemies, at the same time that he raiseth up suitable pastors to 'feed them with wisdom and knowledge,' very many individuals in Schneidemühl had been led to read the Bible, and hence to hunger and thirst for a purer milk of doctrine than their old priest could, or did dispense to them, but which they found in the zealous preaching of the young priest thus providentially sent to meet their wants and wishes. Pastor and people went on reading and learning from God's word; and the freedom with which Czerski, on all occasions, avowed his religious sentiments, rendered it impossible that this 'new thing in the land' could long remain hid from the satellites of Rome. Czerski was summoned to give account of his doctrine before an ecclesiastical tribunal. He, no less than his people, felt that they must now decide on submission, or separation. They chose the latter; and, after some intermediate ecclesiastical forms had been observed, excommunication was pronounced upon Czerski and all his adherents, whether present or future. This sentence deprived Czerski of his office, and threw him penniless upon the world. But this was the very fittest soil for the growth and prosperity of the divine seed. All whose hearts had previously felt with him, and many more, whose eyes were by this very proceeding opened to the uncompromising tyranny of Rome, rallied closely round the victim of papal denunciation; and with high-hearted courage, the little band dared to raise the banner of spiritual liberty in the face of Germany, and openly abjured the dark and degrading servitude of the Roman hierarchy. On the 27th of October, 1844, the new Apostolic Catholic church in Schneidemühl, sent in a written declaration of the step they had taken to the Prussian district government in Bromberg, and solicited its protection.'

The account which Czerski has given of his early life and spiritual struggles, will interest our readers.

'I was born of poor, but pious parents, in Werlubien, a small village in the neighbourhood of Neuenburg, where, until my thirteenth year, I attended the parish school, in which, however, I only learned to read Polish, and the first rudiments of arithmetic; but, having a great thirst for instruction, I was sent to the grammar-school in Bromberg, which after nine months' attendance, I exchanged for the gymnasium, or high school of Conitz, where I worked my way up to the highest class. And here, I cannot refrain from returning publicly my heartfelt thanks to the Conitz professors, for the cordial and conscientious manner in which they met my open and straight-forward disposition, aiming, as became able and honest men, to facilitate the free and unartificial development of my mind and character.

'After having maintained my place in the first class of the gymnasium for eighteenth months, I was received into the alumnat (or theological department) of the St. Mary's gymnasium in Posen, leaving it again after a residence of six months (with a testimonial to having completed the prescribed course), in order to enter the

episcopal seminary. There began for me a period of internal conflict and doubt. I studied theology with the utmost eagerness; but being unable to reconcile to my own mind various propounded dogmas, I compared them with the Bible. This raised, in some degree, the bandage from my eyes; I began to suspect that the pure light of the gospel had been dimmed and obscured by human interpretation: still, I did not see clearly; and these doubts led me into frequent argumentative collisions with my fellow collegians upon isolated articles of belief. Several works (among others, Sarpi's Historia Concilii Tridentini) were only conceded to my perusal with the greatest difficulty in the seminary; for the whole education of a priest must, as the hierarchy expresses it, be conducted in reference to the church; and that, as the clergy have the presumption to deem themselves the church, means neither more nor less, than that all must be conducted and judged of, with reference to the views and interests of a selfish hierarchy. In this view, the reading of the Bible is regulated; and, on the same principle, the perusal of many other excellent and enlightened books forbidden: in short, the clergy train the young priestly plant entirely to their own taste, and water it with water from the Tiber, in order to secure that the full-grown tree may bring forth only Roman fruit.

'But the bandage was soon to be wholly removed from my eyes; I was soon to see more clearly, and acknowledge more fully, that 'man should worship and serve God, and him only' (Matt. iv. 10). I was to 'behold the glory of God with unveiled face, and be led from one clear light to another, as by the Lord the Spirit' (2 Cor. iii. 18, Luther's translation), and learn at once to know and cast from me the code of lying papal laws which, twining itself round the consciences of men, precludes the exercise of moral freedom.

'I became vicar of the cathedral of Posen, and spent eighteen months in that capital of priestly rule. There my eyes were opened indeed, for I made in Posen the same discovery which Luther did long ago in Rome.

'I applied myself anew to the study of the Bible. I examined some books which had previously been prohibited to me; and I became convinced of what I had before suspected, that I was not serving God, but a human despotic power. I read John xiv. 6, 'I (that is, Christ) am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh to the Father but by me;' and 1 Tim. xi. 5, 'For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus;' and I asked myself, 'How can these texts be made to agree with the worship of saints, and even of inanimate things, as recently exhibited in the coat of Treves?'

'Again, I read in Matt. vii. 1, 'Judge not, that ye be not judged;' and I pondered, 'What then can entitle us to pass sentence in the confessional on the faults and frailties of men, we ourselves being weak and fallible creatures, who have all sinned and come short of the glory of God?' I found written in 1 Tim. iii. 2, 'A bishop must

be blameless, the husband of one wife;' and in Cor. vii. 2, 'Nevertheless, to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife;' and lastly, I read, 1 Tim. iv. 1—6, and I could not help shuddering when I compared the lives of most priests with those words of Holy Writ, and thought on the weight and importance attached to the mere abstinence from meats, while real crimes were palliated or sanctioned; for oh, how many and bitter are the tears which the senseless vow of celibacy has wrung from those who have become entangled in the snares of unprincipled priests! And how shameless is the consolatory ambiguity by which the uneasy doubts of the young and ardent, as to their capability of steadfastly adhering to the law of chastity, are met! '*Non unam habebis, sed mille pro una habebis*'* ('thou shalt not have one wife but a thousand,' 'if not chaste be cautious'); and whoso will dare to draw back with venturous hand the veil which guards the cell of the monk, or can obtain entrance to the secret chambers of the canting secular clergy, will find Venus enthroned there as chief goddess of their idolatry, and often desecrating even the confessional, which is but too frequently employed as a medium and a lure of pollution, to the purest and most innocent minds. But I searched further, and found written in 1 Cor. vii. 16, 'What knowest thou, oh wife, whether thou shalt save thy husband?' I read also the 12th and 13th verses of the same chapter, and I asked myself, How can mortal man forbid marriage among Christians, though of different confessions?—pp. 131—135.

In the conclusion of his 'Justification,' Czerski exhibits, with much power, the pith and spirit of his principles.

'I am in God's hand; without whose permission not a sparrow can fall to the ground, not a hair of my head can perish. And, although I see a heavy conflict before me, yet, trusting in God and in the power of his truth, I hope to be strong enough to sacrifice earthly advantages in days to come, as I have done in days that are past. Threats and calumnies I despise; and, despite the name of heretic, the excommunication, and the anathema, with which I shall be loaded, I will show myself zealous for the true, unadulterated doctrine of Christ, as it has taken possession of my mind; and henceforth be no more a minister of the pope and his false doctrines, but of Almighty God only, and of his holy word. I rely upon God, on my right, and on my country. Hear my words, oh pope! thou holy father! No mortal man should claim to be called father in the sense you do; for one is our father, even he who is in heaven. Hear it, pope, clergy, and people; 'he that will be great among you, let him be your minister;' and 'he that exalteth himself shall be abased?' Hear it, pope! hear it, ye clergy? we are called to teach the word of God, but not the wretched inventions of man; we ought to live in all sobriety and honesty, and should be temperate,

* The German proverb is, 'Wenn nicht enthaltsam sey wachsam.'

given to hospitality, apt to teach; but we should not live in unchastity and fornication; we should not be given to wine, or be greedy of filthy lucre; not strikers, but patient; neither brawlers nor covetous (1 Tim. iii). Hear it, oh pope! and ye Romish clergy: ye blind leaders of the blind; I declare myself free from the banner of your unchristian hierarcy, that I may henceforth live and teach the pure gospel, such as Christ himself proclaimed it to the world. You will hurl your excommunication thunderbolt at my head; you may even prepare for me your burning faggots, and forge your chains, as of old; but here I take my stand, and must abide whatever may befal me. May God be my helper! Amen.'—pp. 139, 140.

A knowledge of the state of morals among the Romish priesthood of Germany, is necessary to enable British readers to understand what the conduct of Czerski really was, in reference to his marriage. Nearly all our contemporaries, who take a favourable view of Czerski, concur in calling his marriage an indiscretion. Now this it certainly was not, whatever it was, for we do not approve of the fashionable habit of calling sins indiscretions. Czerski's marriage was either a mistake, a sin, or a virtuous action. The facts, which are personally known to the author of 'the Reformation of the Nineteenth Century,' who is resident in the scene of the new movements, support the opinion that the marriage of Czerski was a virtuous action. By the tacit conventions of the priesthood in his neighbourhood, Czerski would have suffered no evil for keeping a succession of mistresses under the names of housekeepers, cousins, and nieces. Venus, he knew, was often the secret deity of the confessional. His priestly vows had not by any magical favour made him any more than any other man insensible to the great and terrible passion of love. He had long loved. No Roman priest would marry him—no Protestant clergyman dare marry him. With the legalities, technicalities, and conventionalities he could not be married. They were against him. He was their victim. The path of vice was open and safe to him. But he would not enter it by the degradation of the woman he loved from a holy to an obscene creature. To true love this is impossible. He was still a Romish priest. He had not yet wrought his courage up to the point of bursting through the circle of terror which kept him within the Roman Church. 'Out of this church there is no salvation,' was the axiom in which he had been born and bred. Czerski had not mustered courage to leave what he had once deemed the precincts of salvation. As yet he was not sure there was salvation any where else. Where is the wonder if, in these circumstances,

Czerski should perceive that though the legalities of marriage were denied him, the essentials were all in his power. It is better to marry, than to love without marrying. He could remove the degradations of secrecy, the infamies of falsehood, the demoralizations of concealment from his connection with his love, and accomplish, if not a marriage according to the German lawyers, a marriage in accordance with the holy ordinances of God. He did all that was possible for him. He called his friends and the relatives of his lady together, and before these witnesses (who are ready to attest the fact) the couple declared their purpose to live together. Ceremonies, prayers, exhortations, kneelings at altars, sacramental absurdities, and profanities, may be added to this affair to any amount, but they cannot add to what Czerski did, aught essential to a really virtuous marriage.

The vow of celibacy which Czerski had taken did, in the abstract, of course, bind him. But the obedience of vows, and the keeping of oaths are concrete affairs. Among his brethren the vow to take none, meant living with several, and therefore it was a step in advance of the morality in practice among his associates, for Czerski by a conscience marriage to become what a bishop ought to be—the husband of one wife.

The German correspondent of the Continental Echo, the author of the work before us, is well known to be a Christian gentlewoman, whose intelligence and worth have gained her the esteem of several most distinguished divines in this country. She resides in Czerski's neighbourhood, and her opinion of his marriage is exactly coincident with that we have ventured to express.

'He entered the priestly office full of high and admiring thoughts of the purity and supernal sanctity of the priesthood; but, when initiated into the mysteries of the monkish cell and the priest's dwelling, he discovered those modern Pharisees to be truly depicted by the divine appellation of 'whited sepulchres,' which conceal all manner of loathsomeness and corruption. He shrank from, and abhorred this. He searched the Scriptures, and found in them no prohibition against marriage; but, on the contrary, an, at least, implied command; since, among the qualifications of a bishop, the apostle mentions being 'the husband of one wife,' and therefore, detesting concubinage, which was free to him, Czerski desired to marry, but found himself debarred from it by ecclesiastical law. He then resolved on contracting what has been termed a clandestine, or conscience marriage, with a young woman to whom he had become attached: and this he accordingly did, in the presence of respectable witnesses, summoned for the purpose, and who are still

attest the fact. For he imagined, that as no Protestant
ın could, and no Romish priest would, perform the cere-
ɜ might thus retain his vicarage, and yet live morally in the
God. This act reached, of course, the ears of his superiors,
ıough they would have winked at a mistress, revolted at the
blance of a wife; and commanded Czerski to put away her
e regarded and treated as his lawful wife. He refused,
his conviction of the Bible-lawfulness of marriage; and
ters drew on, until his open renunciation of Rome, followed
opal excommunication, freed him from all the trammels and
f ecclesiastical judicatories. He then hastened to obtain
sanction of a public ceremony for the marriage he had con-
with all the binding solemnities practicable in his peculiar
'—pp. 141, 142.

ki has been accused of avarice. This is a strange accu-
ɔ be brought against a man who gave up a certain for a
us income. With a wife and family to keep, he supports
ɔwed mother and younger brother, in his house, and has
ssist one of his brothers who has lost a lucrative situation
Romish church for giving him a night's lodging. When
infant churches he has often to pay his own travelling
s, and has had to assign a portion of his scanty salary to
tant preacher who officiates in his absence. His salary
10*s.* per annum. It may be well credited that the ex-
re of a man, in such circumstances, must be limited to
ɜst necessaries.

ve must allow the following facts to speak for them-

he midst of these trials from without and within, Czerski is
to labour and live for the gospel, neither courting nor fearing
y, and willingly copying the apostolic model, in journeyings
ı perils by his own countrymen (aye, and countrywomen
ɜe young ladies were actually *bound over to keep the peace*, in
ence of having pelted him with stones in Posen, at the time
ormation of an apostolic Catholic church there). He is in
ɜs often, in cold and nakedness; besides that which cometh
daily, the care of all those churches which adopt a scriptural
and towards whom, even out of his deep poverty, he mani-
riches of his liberality, so that we have heard of his sending
him) large sum of fifty dollars, the third of his income, to
poor congregation of apostolic Catholics at Grandentz. But
ɔbler and more convincing evidence of Czerski's superiority
ercenary motives, as well as of his deep sincerity in abjuring
will be found in the following indisputable fact. A Polish
rank and fortune, having been led to believe that motives of
l interest had induced Czerski's secession from the Roman

communion, offered him by letter a certain provision for life, not only for himself, but for all his family, if he would re-enter the church, even though he could not its priesthood. Czerski's reply to this very generous, though mistaken offer, is interesting; and we would gladly transfer it to our pages, were they not preoccupied. We must therefore content ourselves with the following reference to the point now under notice :—

"'In your letter to me, you state your willingness, in the event of my returning to the Romish church, to secure to me, my wife, and my whole family, a sufficient income for life; but I repeat, that earthly possessions can have no value in the eyes of a true Christian. I attach little importance to them; were it, indeed, otherwise, I might have had ample opportunities of gathering wealth in the church of Rome. Neither did I enter the marriage state for mere sensual gratification; but rather to show the world my conviction, that marriage is a divinely-appointed ordinance, and free to all who desire to enter its pale; from which, therefore, no earthly power is competent to exclude any individual or class of mankind. Had, on the contrary, sensual gratification been my object, neither means nor opportunities (as probably you are well aware) would have been wanting to me, as a Roman Catholic priest; and hence the prevalent immorality of the Roman clergy. A desire to live morally induced me to take a wife, with whom I now live happily, and hope to do so to the end of life; and I appeal to apostolic authority as my warrant. 1 Tim. iii. 2.'"—pp. 143—145.

Generous as the offer of this lady was, Czersky requites it with a desire equally generous—to bring her to the truth.

Czerski's differences with Rongé were first made apparent at the Leipsic conference. A fear of strangling this infant cause, however, prevented him from manifesting his opposition very conspicuously to the skeleton model set up at Leipsic.

There is a curious feature of calumny exhibited in the charge of rationalism brought in London against Czerski. Calumnies are frequently just the opposite of the truth: The desire of the calumniator is to hurt his victim, and therefore he says in each quarter the thing which will do it. The German rationalists, because he has opposed them, accuse him of superstitious ceremonials in worship, and credulous fanaticism in faith. These are the accusations likely to injure him among the followers of Rongé, the things which excite the contempt of the friends of light. Thus is Czerski hurt in Germany among the most numerous party who have revolted from Rome to philosophy. In London the accusation through which he could be hurt was not evangelism but rationalism. He was therefore accused of infidelity, and the man who had suffered for declaring the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, whose testimony in favour of evangelism had cost him more pain than his protest against Roman-

ism, was kept aloof, suspected and denounced, for not doing the chief and particular thing which he had done. There is a foolish habit of laughing at the influence of the Jesuits in this country, as if it were a bugaboo, and it is known to be by those possessed of the widest and closest knowledge of affairs and of society, one of the most powerful influences of the time. Had the society of Jesuits pre-arranged the reception of Czerski, they could not have managed it better than was done for them by persons called Protestants.

The philosophical spirit is weakening Romanism in Germany and strengthening it in England. Rongé seems to be a priest who has become a transcendentalist. From every account of him we have heard, he seems to be a fine noble dashing fellow, with a bright intellect, a brave spirit, an eloquent tongue; and a handsome man to boot, with long black curling locks. He is the popular hero of a revolt from Rome. His creed or theory, so far as he has one, is a mixture of German philosophy and neology. Whether in its German or its English dress, this system is nothing else but the old doctrine of salvation by works; Czerski happily calls it Phariseeism. It prides itself on being a sort of Christianity without dogmas or mysteries. The followers of it think they have combined the clearness of philosophy with the elevation of Christian morality. This system, as an interpretation of Christianity, is most shallow and exceedingly unreasonable. Transcendentalism, Rationalism, Pharisaism, is a theory constructed by giving the go-by to kernel truths, with respect to man, Christ, and God. Sandblind, with reference to the most conspicuous facts about God, man, and salvation, must the theorists be who dream for a second that salvation can be by the heroism of man and not by the grace of God. To these philosophers Christianity is not a system of salvation from sin! They extinguish the soul, they pluck out the heart of Christianity, and then amuse themselves with the scientific anatomy of the corpse. If a galvanic motion appears, they call it vitality. As a reasonable philosophy this theory is weak and poor. In England it makes no pretension to be an induction from the Bible. In recording our disapprobation of the treatment of Czerski, in London, we are trying to strengthen the hands of a man whose position and function is one of the greatest importance to the interests of spiritual truth.

The philosophical spirit we have said strengthens Romanism in England and weakens it in Germany. '*That*, or nothing,' cried a lady, a recent convert from Protestantism, because she could see no choice left for her between the luxurious credulity of Romanism and the materialistic despair of infidelity. Mr. Ward could see no argument against Roman doctrine which did

not equally uproot Theism itself. Romanism has been persecuted in Ireland, and therefore philosophical statesmanship would endow it as a measure of justice to the persecuted.

But in Germany, Romanism is in the ascendant, sending hundreds of thousands to Treves to adore a holy coat; corrupting thousands of homes by means of the confessional and a celibate clergy; and pouring streams of misery into millions of hearts by vilest bigotries about marriage. Hence the Rongean revolt against it. In England, philosophic politicians, having no practical knowledge of Romanism, help it. In Germany, philosophic students know Romanism to their cost, and therefore detest and denounce it.

Brief Notices.

The Life of Wesley; and Rise and Progress of Methodism. By Robert Southey, Esq., L.L.D. Third Edition, with Notes by the late S. T. Coleridge, Esq. *And Remarks on the Life and Character of John Wesley.* By the late Alexander Knox, Esq. Edited by the Rev. Charles Cuthbert Southey, M.A. Two volumes 8vo. Longman and Co.

It is not necessary that we should reiterate our judgment on Dr. Southey's 'Life of Wesley; it is already on record, and we see no reason to discard or modify it. The book is a very readable book, —full of interest, sometimes painfully so, as illustrating the position from which the writer viewed the objects described. We have always held that the biographer was utterly incompetent to understand, much more to describe, the hero. He did not and could not know the man whom he undertook to delineate, while powerful prejudices affected his judgment, and induced exaggerated or false views of many parts of his procedure. Southey was a literary man of a certain order of religious sentiment, but he was utterly unequal to this subject. He was ignorant of the rules applicable to it, and deemed fanatical and ambitious what was wrought by the powerful operation of religious principle. But enough of this. We must content ourselves with pointing out the peculiarities of the present edition. In the first place, then, it contains a considerable number of notes by the late Mr. Coleridge, many of which are exceedingly interesting, and some, as a matter of course, are expressed in a metaphysical jargon formed apparently for the express purpose of concealing the writer's meaning. These notes are introduced by a sort of dedication to Southey, in which the reader will probably be surprised to learn, that 'The Life of Wesley' is associated with that of Richard Baxter, to one or other of which, Coleridge tells his

friend, 'I was used to resort whenever sickness and langour made me feel the want of an old friend, of whose company I could never be tired.' Candour suggests, and we would fain rest therein, that the element common to both, in which the annotatist found pleasure, was the deep, earnest, spiritual yearning, by which the Nonconformist and the Methodist were alike distinguished. Of the 'Notes' we can only give the following example. 'This sentence' (that the evils brought on the nation by puritanism were remembered against Wesley) 'will, I doubt not, be *savoury* enough to Messrs. ——, &c.; but there are readers who love and admire Robert Southey more than the above-named gentry have head or heart to do, who would have been glad to have been informed by Southey what these *evils* were. Even the Tory Stewartite and miso-fanatic Hume has found himself compelled, by truth of history, to reply. Our present political liberty is the direct consequence of this puritanism and religious toleration, indirectly. The eight or nine years suspension of the hierarchy and of the privileged aristocracy by hereditary senatorship, with the, alas! too brief substitution of a hero for an imbecile, would-be despot, was the effect of the crash of collision of two extremes, viz., the prelatic prerogative party and the puritan parliamentary. Why attribute these evils to the latter exclusively?'

Mr. Knox's 'Remarks,' extending to upwards of one hundred and forty pages, are distinguished by a clear appreciation of Wesley's distinctive excellences, and a cordial tribute to his worth. They will be read with pleasure by every intelligent and candid man, whatever view may be entertained on ecclesiastical points, and must greatly modify the impression made by the biographer. Mr. Knox was a Church-of-England man, and as such disapproved of the irregularity of some of Wesley's proceedings; 'Still, however,' he deliberately says, and with this we must close our already too extended notice, 'I must declare, that the slightest suspicion of pride, ambition, selfishness, in any shape or form, or personal gratification of whatever kind, stimulating Mr. Wesley in any instance, or mixing in any measure with the movements of his life, never once entered into my mind. That such charges were made by his opponents, I could not be ignorant; but my deep impression was, and it certainly remains unimpaired, that since the days of the Apostles there has not been a human being more thoroughly exempt from all *those* frailties of human nature than John Wesley.'

We will only add, that this edition is printed in very handsome style, and that, with the 'Notes' and 'Remarks' now supplied, Southey's 'Life of Wesley' may become as useful as it has always been an interesting piece of biography.

The Monthly Prize Essays. Vol. I. (Nos. 1—3). Madden, Leadenhall-street.

We marked with interest the first announcement of this novel undertaking, and have watched its progress with solicitude. It is founded

upon a new application of the prize principle. The proprietor, or 'director,' as he designates himself, assuming that nearly every existing periodical had formed its corps of regular contributors, among whom it might be difficult for young aspirants to find a place, conceived the idea of starting a magazine which might be so conducted as to afford every one a chance. With a view, therefore, to elicit hidden talent, he originated the 'Monthly Prize Essays,' in each number of which there is a chance of obtaining a prize of £20, £15, or £10, for a prose article of from twelve to twenty-four pages, besides three inferior chances of £5 each. It is wisely provided that the candidates are left to choose their own themes, and the mode of handling them; the director reserving to himself the right to determine whether the contributions deserve to be chosen in respect to all points of matter and execution. It might be supposed from the nature of this plan that the contributors would be chiefly juvenile. The contents of the numbers before us effectually dissipate this delusion. They contain several papers, which, to say nothing of mere writing ability, display a degree of erudition incompatible with the supposition of youth in the authors. 'Historic Doubts,' and 'Innocent the Third and his Era,' can be the results only of ripe scholarship and matured ideas. Perhaps it might with greater plausibility have been imagined that the contents of a periodical, collected in such a manner, would be heterogeneously miscellaneous and incoherent. On reflection, however, there will be found no reason that this should be the case to a greater extent than in any magazine conducted in the ordinary way. Who perceives such a system in Blackwood, Frazer, or Tait? It is obvious that a great deal depends upon the skill and judgment of the director, from the tone of whose able and interesting monthly 'Reports' on all the essays he receives, we augur that he will gradually reduce his apparently fortuitous materials into as congruous and coherent masses as the very best of us. He evidently has a plan, and that plan we easily gather from the tenour of his strictures on various papers which he has rejected, some from want of fitness rather than of ability, he will by degrees work out. Neither must it be concluded, that, in the 'Monthly Prize Essays,' we are put off with *the best of the bad*. We have not lighted upon one paper which does not possess considerable merit, while several evince a high degree of talent. We observe, moreover, in the third number, a growing adaptation of the essays to the prevailing current of public thought and inquiry. And then, we fancy,—there is no precise authority for the notion; but, we fancy, that the director would rather intermit a month than fill a number with unworthy contributions. Of this, however, we should hope there is no danger. He has displayed a commendable degree of public spirit, and we hope his liberality will be estimated, as it deserves to be by literary men, and by the reading public.

Glendearg Cottage. A Tale, concerning Church Principles. By Miss Christmas. With a Preface, by the Rev. Henry Christmas, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.

THIS is a tale of conversions from dissent to the Church of England. Conversions in tales are of course effected in the most approved manner, and on the best principles. Miss Christmas writes in an easy and agreeable style. Her story has but little incident. Its main feature is dialogue, which is a capital vehicle for party purposes, but as generally conducted, and, we are sorry to add, as conducted by herself, a poor medium of truth. Among other things, Miss Christmas would commend the principle of 'never denying justice to an opponent,' by showing how a departure from it in the case of dissenters led to a favourable consideration of church arguments. We highly approve the principle in all sects, and regret that we cannot altogether acquit Miss Christmas of forgetting it.

The Elevation of the People, Moral, Instructional, and Social. By the Rev. Thomas Milner, M.A. pp. 456. London: John Snow. 1846.

THIS is one of a large class of works whose appearance must afford sincere and heartfelt pleasure to the true philanthropist. The interest which is now taken in the physical and moral improvement of the people is a pleasing and encouraging feature of our times. None who understand the subject will fear lest that interest should become excessive, but will rather rejoice in every effort to deepen and extend it. 'The half has not been told.' Dreading, as we do, government interference (and herein we sometimes differ from Mr. Milner), on many subjects affecting the welfare of the working classes, we therefore perceive a stronger claim upon the principles of social charity and justice.

Mr. Milner has made a contribution of no mean worth to the public good. His handsome volume contains a large mass of statistical information and important principles. Let it not, however, be supposed that the work is dry and uninteresting, except to the man who already takes an interest in its facts and doctrines. It is written in a vivacious and lively style, and touches upon a great variety of topics not of necessity suggested by its title. A reference to its chapters will prepare our readers to expect this:—'A Glance at by-gone Times'—'Modern Aims at National Elevation'—'The Last Census'—'Home Aspects'—'The Certain and the Possible'—'Instruction for the Masses'—'Industrial Discipline'—'Methods of Instruction'—'Provision of Instruction'—'A National Experiment'—'The Strife for Life'—'Morality of Dens and Wigwams'—'The Public Health'—'Social Improvements.'

We trust the work will have a wide circulation. It cannot fail to promote the best results in proportion as its deeply affecting facts and valuable suggestions are 'read, marked, learned, and inwardly digested.'

The Lord's Sapper. By the Rev. David King, LL.D. Glasgow. pp. 300. Edinburgh: John Johnston, 1846.

This is a very valuable work for general readers. It is clear, comprehensive, and catholic. Avoiding intentionally a 'scientific distribution of topics,' there are few questions connected with the Lord's supper which are not more or less noticed, and few bearings of it which are not pointed out. The chapters are:—I. The Passover. II. The Supper instituted by Christ while observing the Passover. III. Probable Reasons for instituting the Supper at that particular Time. IV. The Lord's Supper illustrative of the Scheme of Salvation. V. The Lord's Supper a Commemorative Institution. VI. The Lord's Supper a Medium of Fellowship. VII. The Lord's Supper a Seal of the Covenant. VIII. The Lord's Supper in relation to Futurity. While this wise and gracious appointment is the subject of such various and severe controversy, Dr. King has done well in developing its real nature and enforcing its practical relations. It is needless to add, that the matter is sound and judicious, the language elegant and forcible, and the temper earnest and devout.

---

1. *History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century.* By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, D.D. Printed by arrangement with Messrs. Oliver and Boyd. Vol. IV.
2. *Discourses and Essays.* By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, D D., with an Introduction, by Robert Baird, D.D.
3. *The Christian Philosopher; or, the Connection of Science and Philosophy with Religion.* Illustrated with Engravings. By Thomas Dick, LL D. Vol. I. Glasgow: W. Collins.

Of the first of these works we need merely say, that it is printed from the author's own edition, and is designed to complete Mr. Collins's three volumes previously issued. It is published at the almost incredibly low price of one shilling and sixpence, and fairly brings the story of the reformation within the means of the whole reading population of the empire. We appreciate the promptitude with which Mr. Collins has purchased the right to avail himself of Messrs. Oliver and Boyd's copyright, and strongly recommend his edition to all Sunday-school teachers and other young persons.

The Discourses and Essays contained in the second volume possess, to use the strong but appropriate language of Dr. Baird, 'one grand characteristic, that of a glorious baptism, if I may so express myself, into the spirit of the Reformation.' They are worthy of their author, and will not injure his fame. A few of them have previously been translated; but the greater number are now, for the first time, given to the public.

This volume, together with the 'Christian Philosopher,' belongs to the same cheap series as the former, and does great credit to the enterprize and skill of the publisher. It has been considerably enlarged, and has undergone a thorough revision, so as to embrace the latest improvements and discoveries in the several branches of the subjects treated. When such works are purchaseable by all, what may we not look for in the way of popular information?

The History of Civilization, from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution. By F. Guizot. Vols. II. and III. London: D. Bogue.

Mr. Bogue has promptly fulfilled his engagement with the public, by completing his edition of M. Guizot's work. The present volumes bring down the history to the most eventful occurrences of modern times, and its whole course is illumined by a genius always attractive, if not universally sound in its philosophy. Few French writers possess a wider fame than M Guizot, and it is therefore somewhat marvellous that the present work has not previously been translated. Such, however, is the fact, and it goes far to make out a case for such a series as *The European Library*. Let the publisher continue in the course hitherto pursued, and it will be the lasting disgrace of our age, if the Library do not obtain so large a circulation as shall render it as remunerative to himself, as it will prove advantageous to the public. Who, till very recently, would have ventured to expect to purchase such a work as *The History of Civilization* for half a guinea?

The Treatise of John Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople, on the Priesthood. Translated by Edward Garrard Marsh, M. A., Canon of Southwell. pp. 234. Seeley.

Chrysostom on the Priesthood is a work well known to scholars, and held in great esteem for its practical worth. We agree with Mr. Marsh that the value of the work consists in its mode of presenting 'the spirit, in which the holy office of the ministry ought to be undertaken, and the manner in which it ought to be discharged'—for doubtless it contains some sorrowful indications of that fatal heresy, which, when it was written, had begun 'already to work,' and some unwise and extravagant modes of illustrating important truths which are always to be rebuked, and especially in the present day. Excepting these things, in which, after all, Chrysostom was not the greatest offender of his day, the work deserves the commendation of Burnet. 'Every reading will afford a fresh pleasure, and matter of instruction and meditation.'

Mr. Marsh has added to the value of his translation, which appears to be well executed, by giving notes, in which he has 'endeavoured to bring the leading sentiments of this memorable treatise to the tribunal of holy Scripture.' One remark will serve as a key to the spirit and character of these comments, as it is on a point which as much as any affects the controversy between the real papist and the real protestant in all churches:—'Chrysostom has adopted the levitical title, priesthood, ἱερωσύνη, in preference to the evangelical word, presbytership, from which the English word, priest, is a contraction. The words in the original are perfectly distinct, and cannot be mistaken or confounded. This preference accordingly is an indication of a prevailing disposition in that age unduly to magnify the ministerial office by borrowing the terms, and investing it with all the peculiarities of the Levitical priesthood.'

On the Speculative Difficulties of Professing Christians. Pp. 87. William Blackwood and Sons, 1846.

THE design of these 'Letters' is to meet the case of those persons who, while possessing a general belief in revelation, are disturbed and injured by 'specific sceptical objections.' It is admirably suited to this class, which, we are afraid, is a large one. Without committing ourselves to every sentiment, we have great pleasure in expressing a very high opinion of its worth. It is obviously written by an intelligent and well-informed person. It has the calm spirit of reason. Facts, arguments, and discriminating observations abound in it. We utter no mean praise when we say, that it is worthy to be the companion to Whateley's 'Introductory Lessons on Christian Evidences.'

The Godly Sayings of the Ancient Fathers upon the Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. Edited by the Rev. C. I. Daniell, M.A., late Curate of South Hackney. Pp. 153. London: Rivingtons, 1846.

THIS treatise was written by M. Veron, 'a learned Frenchman, one of the eminentist preachers of his time, who died in 1563. It is printed with his own antique spelling, and quaint expressions.' It is beautifully got up.

The Merits of Calvin as an Interpreter of the Holy Scriptures. Translated from the German of Professor Tholuck, of Halle, by Professor Woods of Andover. To which are added, Opinions and Testimonies of Foreign and British Divines and Scholars as to the Value and Importance of the Writings of John Calvin. With a Preface by the Rev. William Pringle. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1845.

A WELL-EXECUTED tribute to Calvin's high claims as an interpreter of the Scriptures.

A Century of Scottish Church History: an Historical Sketch of the Church of Scotland, from the Secession to the Disruption. With an Account of the Free Church. By the Rev. James Dobbs. Pp. 98. Edinburgh: John Johnstone.

ONE of the objects of this little work is to 'present a plea for the Free Church of Scotland, not in a controversial, but in a simply historical form.' The chapters are entitled:—I. Progress and Policy of Moderation. II. Ascendancy of Evangelism—The Disruption. III. The Free Church. It is clearly written, with a little pardonable boasting, and well suited to convey a considerable amount of information on the facts and principles which it presents to view.

Calvin and Servetus: The Reformer's share in the Trial of Michael Servetus Historically Ascertained. From the French, with Notes and Additions. By the Rev. W. K. Tweedie. Pp. 245. Edinburgh: John Johnstone.

SELDOM has one act of a man occupied so important a place in history and controversy as the part taken by Calvin in the proceedings which ended in the death of Servetus. It has been a standing reproach with those who dislike the reformer's ecclesiastical and theological principles. The present volume, which is a translation of the work of M. A. Rilliet, of Geneva,* with the addition of some notes, and a sketch of Calvin's life, by the translator, contains as much as is likely ever to be known on the subject. It supplies important information which was never before published. We do not hesitate to say, that the whole places Calvin's conduct in as favourable a light as his friends had any right to expect. He was not the dark bloody-minded persecutor which he has been often represented. The fate of Servetus is doubtless to be pitied, and the act of putting him to death is to be condemned, but Calvin only believed and acted, in the matter, in accordance with the prevailing principles and practices of the times. Political considerations and duties were largely mixed up in the affair, and Calvin's immediate connection with the death of Servetus was very different from that for which he had credit. The work deserves to be read by all lovers of truth and justice, and, whatever may be its own circulation as a book, it is cheering to think that the facts it discloses will be sure to work their way into history, which is seldom unfair in the end.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

History of the Punjaub, and of the Rise, Progress, and Present Condition of the Sect and Nation of the Sikhs. 2 vols. Vol. I.

The Fawn of Sertorius. 2 vols. Vol. I.

Royal Gems from the Galleries of Europe, engraved after National Pictures of the Great Masters, with Notices, Biographical, Historical, and Descriptive. By S. C. Hall. Part V.

Auricular Confession, and Popish Nunneries. By William Hogan, formerly Roman Catholic Priest, and Author of 'Popery as it was and is.'

Lepage's French School. Part I. L'Echo de Paris.

A Dissertation on the Scriptural Authority, Nature and Uses of Infant Baptism. By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D. 3rd Edition. With an Appendix containing Strictures on the Views advocated by the Rev. Dr. Halley.

Ballads of the East, and other Poems. By I. P.

* Relation du Procès Criminal, Intenté a Geneve, en 1553, contre Michel Servet, redigée d'apres les documents originaux.

Practical Mercantile Correspondence. A Collection of Modern Letters of Business, with Notes, Critical and Explanatory, an Analytical Index and an Appendix, &c. &c. Third edition, revised and enlarged. By William Anderson.

Hogg's Weekly Instructor. Part XVIII.

Clarke's Foreign Library. Compendium of the History of Doctrines. By R. R. Hogenbach. Translated by Carl W. Buch.

An Essay on Primæval History. By John Kenrick.

Justice in Spiritual Things to Ireland; being the substance of a Speech addressed to the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, on Saturday, May 23, 1846. By the Rev. J. Carlile, D.D.

Lessons of Life and Death. A Memorial of Sarah Ball. By Elizabeth Ritchie.

Equity without Compromise, or Hints for the Construction of a Just System of National Education; (2nd edition,) With Remarks on Dr. Hook's Pamphlet, and the Letters of Edward Baines, jun., Esq., to Lord John Russell. By Edward Swaine, Member of the Congregational Board of Education.

The Druidical Temples of the County of Wilts. By the Rev. E. Duke.

The Italian Swiss Protestants of the Grisons. By Dr. Marriott, (reprinted from 'The Continental Echo,') with Two Introductory Prefaces. By the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, and the Rev. James Currie, Rusholme, Manchester.

Domestic Worship. By Dr. Merlé D'Aubigné. Translated from the French by Beata E. Macauley.

Speech of W. Ewart, Esq., M.P., on Moving Resolutions in Favour of Education, in the House of Commons, Friday, July 17, 1846.

Dick's Christian Philosopher. Vol. I. Collins' Cheap Series.

Short Sketches of the Wild Sports and Natural History of the Highlands. From the Journals of Charles St. John, Esq.

Rome, Pagan and Papal. By an English Resident in that city.

Observations in Natural History; With an Introduction on Habits of observing, as connected with the study of that science. Also a Calendar of Periodic Phenomena in Natural History, with Remarks on the Importance of such Registers. By the Rev. L. Jenyns, F.L.S., Vicar of Swaffham Bulbeck, Camb.

British Consuls Abroad; their Origin, Rank and Privileges, Duties, Jurisdiction, and Emoluments, including the Laws, Orders in Council, and Instructions by which they are Governed, as well as those relating to Shipowners and Merchants in their connexion with Consuls. By Robert Fynn, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay, Author of 'Evelina,' 'Cecilia,' &c. Edited by her Niece. Vol. VI. 1793—1822.

Philosophical Lectures. By the Rev. W. Leask, Minister of Zion Chapel, Dover.

Pastoral Exhortations, or the Church instructed, and the Young Invited. Two Sermons, preached at Trinity Chapel, East India Road, Poplar, London, by the Rev. George Smith, on Sunday, May 31, 1846; being the fourth anniversary of his settlement as the Minister of that place.

The Pictorial Gallery of Arts. Part XX.

Royal Gems from the Galleries of Europe. Parts VI. and VII.

The Christian in Palestine, or, Scenes of Sacred History. Part VI.

Heidelberg. A Romance. By G. P. R. James, Esq. 3 vols.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR NOVEMBER, 1846.

Art. I.—*A Retrospect of the Religious Life of England: or the Church, Puritanism, and Free Inquiry.* By John James Tayler, B.A. London: Chapman. 1845. Pp. 563.

WE opened this book, expecting from it more than ordinary pleasure. Written by a Unitarian minister of eminence, it was likely to assert Unitarianism. But we were not ignorant of Mr. Tayler's reputation for a more spiritual metaphysique than is at present popular in Britain; also for exegetical principles and habits according to the better German schools; and especially for honesty of judgment, and for the truthful revelation of his thoughts. We had no doubt, therefore, that we should find him a fair narrator of facts; a sympathising adjudicator of a man's personal character and general status; a reverential discourser upon matters dear to men of social worth, however unimportant to himself: and, if not altogether a successful, yet a skilful physiologist of opinion, and one less prone than some among his brethren to mistake a morbid aspect for a sound but extraordinary one, or to deem wens and fungus healthy and natural developments. Nor, on closing his production, are we greatly disappointed. In the first three capacities mentioned, he has thoroughly fulfilled our expectation; indeed, in the second of them, he has far surpassed it. But on applying his philosophy to thoughts, rather than to men; to changes rather than to fixed facts; and of the last, to the phenomena which have held the place of truths for centuries, rather than to those which are by comparison ephemeral; Mr. Tayler, occupying thus the fourth capacity, has proved himself, and it gives us no pleasure to record it, a much less subtile, and a much more

easily satisfied examiner, than we had hoped. We say, 'than we had hoped:' for when constrained to acknowledge the existence of what seems to us a mighty evil, the more specious its occasions, the less profound would be our sorrow for the agent. Some Unitarians would deride our sorrow in proportion to its depth. Not so Mr. Tayler. He may think it unworthy of philosophers, but he knows it is the necessary produce of our faith; and though he believes it to be excited by a spectrum, and may feel annoyed when identified therewith, he prizes honest kindness far too highly to scorn it. He will understand us, therefore, when we speak of our painful disappointment on finding his endeavours to account for the rise, or what he, perhaps, would call the re-development, of Unitarianism, so much less plausible than we had anticipated from his vigour and accomplishments. The more remote his approximation to success, the less dangerous, however, do we think his book. It will do very little, we apprehend, for the promotion of Unitarianism. It is almost a continued pæan in honour of Calvinistic independency. The more we grieve for the writer, the less we tremble for his readers. We have a pleasure, therefore, as 'unphilosophical,' perhaps, but as humane as our regret. Our faith works by love like this; and the effect is not, in our esteem, an appeal against the cause.

We know few Unitarian books which we could circulate with so little hesitation and so cordial a sanction as we could the work before us. Its easy but comprehensive grouping of the facts of an era; its well defined sketches of individual character; its ready perception of more than the most obvious forms of human moral beauty; its cautious and tender, but not crafty, avoidance of all offensive epithets and insinuations; its manly, but not obtrusive, intimations of the writer's own opinions; its plaintive, but not dispiriting, consideration of the existing divisions in the Christian world; these characteristics, together with its remarkably just and intelligent description of the religious tenets and peculiarities which it exhibits, constitute it not merely a pleasant and an enlightened guide to those facts of former times which especially affect the present, but a valuable suggester of important and healthful inquiries, and a tolerably safe companion when undertaking to reply to the inquiries it suggests. Its style, too, if not distinguished by any particular excellence, is clear of all remarkable faults. If occasionally, but very rarely, not the most luminous, and if not always replete with such elastic vigour as altogether to prevent the sense of dulness; it is natural, decorous, sufficiently flexible, and singularly adapted to all classes of expected readers. And if the precise thought to be conveyed be at times more obscured than we

could wish, the fault is not, it may be, in the structure of the sentences at which we pause, so much as in the omission of intimations connecting the thought we are apprehending and the great general object of the work. This object, indeed, is hardly introduced before the readers; and but for a passage in the preface, we might in vain have conjectured what it was. And though it is there announced with sufficient distinctness, yet the bearing on it of many an evidently important passage is too indirect to be easily perceptible. Hence we have often been constrained to doubt whether or not we had extracted the author's real meaning; and hence less careful readers are likely to complain that it is an uninteresting book, and aims at nothing.

The second title which Mr. Tayler has given to his volume, indicates the topics of his more important chapters. A chapter introductory to the whole; another, contrasting 'The Church' and 'Puritanism;' a brief 'Conclusion;' and ample 'Notes;' these, in addition, constitute the book. And a more unmanageable book for a critical reviewer we have rarely met with. Our memoranda on points on which we should like to engage in friendly discussion with the author, may be counted by hundreds. And these points are not susceptible of classification; nor are they, generally, of such a character, in the form at least in which they come before us, as to admit of our simple affirmation or denial. To enumerate and clarify them would require, however, a volume larger than our author's. We warn our readers, therefore, in relation to these minor matters, that, while recommending this 'retrospect' to their consideration, we are not prepared to identify it with our own. And after extracting two or three admirable passages, such as introduce our Unitarian friend in an advantageous light, we shall brieflycomment on a few instances of what we deem questionable points, and shall then frankly oppose what obstacles we can to the great design avowed by Mr. Tayler in his preface.

The following is part of our author's account of Dr. Owen:—

'A man of a different stamp, more profoundly learned in theology, of an intellect more severely consequential and rigidly dogmatic, but less open, genial, and comprehensive, was Dr. Owen, the celebrated leader of the Independents. The congregational system had been supported by some great names before his time; but his numerous writings, high reputation, and great personal influence, gave it form and character, and impressed upon it the peculiar features of his mind, as Baxter left his on Presbyterianism. . . . . The character and principles of Owen present in several respects a marked contrast to those of Baxter. Each had his own decided view of the great questions of religious truth and liberty in which they

were both, with equal piety and earnestness, engaged; and when the grave had closed over Owen's remains, Baxter paid a hearty and generous tribute to the distinguished worth and endowments of one who had been his frequent opponent in life. Owen's congregational principles, though involving, by necessary consequence, a toleration of different forms of worship and church government, at least among Christians, rather tended to encourage narrow and rigid terms of communion within the limits of each particular church. 'None,' says he, 'but those who give evidence of being regenerated, or holy persons, ought to be received or counted fit members of visible churches. Where this is wanting, the very essence of a church is lost.' Baxter, on the other hand, abhorring separation, and aiming at nationality, would have taken in all quiet and visible Christians that did not break in on the established church order, from the Papist on the one side, to the Socinian on the other. Spiritual purity, freedom from all heretical mixtures, was the essence of a true church in the view of Owen; comprehensiveness was its outward sign and recommendation in that of Baxter. Owen disapproved of worshipping in the national churches; Baxter never withdrew from their communion, and only recurred occasionally to the use of separate assemblies as a necessity that was forced upon him against his will. Baxter, as he advanced in life, approached nearer in his views to Arminianism; Owen retained his Calvinism to the last. . . . . Owen was profoundly skilled in the theology of his age and school, and had communed much with his own heart, and narrowly watched the manifestations of the religious life in close spiritual intercourse with various members of his own church; Baxter had warmer sympathies with general humanity, and read its indications with a more open and excursive eye. Baxter had great simplicity of character and directness of purpose; while Owen combined with remarkable spirituality of mind, a larger share of shrewd caution, knowledge of affairs, and worldly depth and penetration, than usually falls to the lot of a student and divine.'—pp. 232—237.

We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of presenting to our readers the following speculations respecting the capabilities of Puritanism:—

'From the phenomena exhibited by Puritanism in its depressed and persecuted condition, which were an exaggeration of its natural tendencies, it would, however, be wholly unfair to conclude what would have been its settled and permanent character, if, in the struggle with the Stuarts and the church, it had finally carried the day. Nothing can be wider from historical truth than to represent it, even in what are deemed its extreme forms, as a simple movement of democratic fanaticism. The leaders of the Presbyterian party belonged to the nobility and landed gentry; and of the Independents, whom some writers at once dispose of in the mass as illiterate enthusiasts, it has been observed by Mr. Laing, the historian of Scotland, that, 'contrary to the progress of other sects, their system

was first addressed, and apparently recommended by its tolerating principles, to the higher orders of social life.' . . . . . Had the changes which Puritanism was working in the church, the universities, and the state, fixed themselves in permanent results, the sternness of its earliest aspect would have worn off with the return of a tranquil civilisation; while the strong religious impulse of which it was the expression, and which was needed to counteract the extreme licentiousness of the preceding times, would have produced its natural effect in giving a more earnest and lofty character to the mind of the upper classes; and by drawing them, through education and religion, into closer sympathy with the feelings of the great body of the people, might have prevented some of the mischiefs resulting from that intimate reliance between the church and the aristocracy, which commenced with the Revolution.'—pp. 281—284.

Referring, too, to the injuries inflicted on the Puritans subsequently to the Restoration, Mr. Tayler says:—

'But though the natural influence of Puritanism was thus broken and perverted by the pressure of outward wrong, it brought many noble and generous principles into circulation, and preserved a sound heart in the most valuable portion of the community. Of its beneficial effects on the middle and lower classes of society we become additionally sensible in tracing the religious history of the eighteenth century. It kept alive in them the spirit of religious earnestness, public liberty, and popular improvement, those vital elements of the social system, the violent expulsion of which cost France her morals and her faith, and having produced, as its consequence, two revolutions in that distracted country, may yet be preparing a third.'—pp. 289.

We must close the present series of quotations with the following remarks on the spirit of Dr. Watts's ministry, regretting much that we cannot add to them the account, which immediately succeeds, of his contemporary, Doddridge:—

'At the time when the rationalistic tendency sprang up, Watts earnestly contended for a different mode of preaching Christianity, and placed the consummating evidence of its Divine authority in the testimony of man's own conscience and personal experience. 'A statue,' says he, 'hung round with moral sentences, or a marble pillar with Divine truths inscribed upon it, may preach coldly to the understanding, while devotion freezes at the heart:' and he eloquently vindicates 'the movements of sacred passion,' 'life and zeal in the ministry of the word,' though they may be 'the ridicule of an age which pretends to nothing but calm reasoning;' and he tells us he has made it his aim to rescue appeals of this sort 'from the charge of enthusiasm, and to put them in such a light as might show their perfect consistence with common sense and reason.' Had more of this spirit remained among the Dissenters, associated with sound

biblical learning and general cultivation, and controlled by good taste, it would have preserved the religious life inherited from their forefathers, carried the heart of their people along with it, prevented the decline of their congregations, and superseded the extravagances which accompanied the revivals of Methodism.—pp. 392, 393.

We repeat, now, the expression of our grief, that the writer of passages like these—and there are many—should be able, however unconsciously, to employ in behalf of Unitarianism a mode of representation and of reasoning which, if we refrain from calling it assumptive and sophistical, we must describe as loose, inconclusive, and obscure. We proceed to animadvert on a few out of almost innumerable statements thus distinguished.

We have already quoted from page 235, a passage which seems to reflect on congregational principles as 'tending to encourage narrow and rigid terms of communion within the limits of each particular church.' On page 229, too, we are told that 'Howe disapproved of the strictness of the Independent discipline.' After stating also, on page 223, that Baxter's chief ground of difference with the Independents was, in his own phrase, 'their separating strictness,' Mr. Tayler adds, 'Under the guidance of this principle,' desire, namely, 'for a national settlement of religion on the broad basis of purification and reform,' 'Baxter's mind became more tolerant, enlarged, and catholic, the longer he lived.' Such an exhibition of congregational principles is, surely, not very recommendatory. Of this, however, we should have little cause to complain, if these principles themselves were so stated as to seem worthy of the disparaging epithets employed. But when Owen's own words are quoted, as follows, 'None but those who give evidence of being regenerated, or holy persons, ought to be received or counted fit members of visible churches: where this is wanting the very essence of a church is lost:' when, on pages 262, 263, Mr. Tayler ascribes 'a benignant universalism' to 'the Anglican view' of a church, that it is 'a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments are duly administered:' when Mr. Tayler himself, after describing what he deems true Christian union, adopts the words of Howe, and says, page 475, 'The change must be effected not by mere human endeavour, but by an Almighty Spirit poured forth, which shall conquer private interests and inclinations, and overawe men's hearts by the authority of the Divine law, which now, how express soever it is, little availeth against prepossessions;' we think that the insinuations respecting congregational principles are little warranted by aught that appears in Mr. Tayler's book, and are, in fact, injurious and abusive. We

do not forget that by 'faithful' men Mr. Tayler understands men who may not yet be 'saints,' and who give no 'outward token of their Christianity.' We do not wish to hold our friend to what seems to us, however, a necessary inference, that a society of such unholy men is, as a Christian church, 'an attractive and a beautiful idea;' or that such men were denoted by the framers of the 'articles' as 'faithful.' All that we infer is, that Mr. Tayler has not thought enough about the force of words, and that through 'prepossessions,' not yet conquered by 'an Almighty Spirit,' he has misrepresented those from whom he differs.

On p. 106, Mr. Tayler speaks of some 'who had once been Calvinists, but had abandoned their earlier tenets for a milder system.' 'The stern, impassioned Calvinism of Whitefield' is contrasted, too, on p. 124, with 'the more persuasive Arminianism of Wesley.' Again, on p. 303, 'The Arminian and Socinian systems were not identical, but they had near affinities, and grew out of a common tendency of mind. They both indicated a determination to quit the ground of authority, or of mere appeal to enthusiastic feeling, and to bring the doctrines of religion to the test of conscience and the understanding; Arminianism being more immediately the dictate of moral sentiment, and Socinianism a product of the reason.' Yet we find on p. 104, in relation to Laudism; 'a theology of this description, by requiring the prostration of the intellect, was favourable to the designs of tyranny, and entered into a ready alliance with the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance. It combined also more easily with the Arminian than with the Calvinistic view of man's relation to God. It offered salvation to all who would submissively accept it on the church's terms; whereas Calvinism demanded a change within, which no external ordinances could reach, and which left the human soul more directly in the hands of God.' See, too, on p. 101; 'Arminianism and tyranny were supposed to have some secret affinity with each other.' It is, also, in language such as this, and found in every part of his work, that Mr. Tayler contrasts the 'benignant universalism' of the Church-of-England, with the less attractive features of Congregationalism; while, nevertheless, his occasional, or rather his frequent, descriptions of the inhumane and anti-social tendencies of both Anglicanism and Arminianism, are as severely condemnatory as any we can think of. That Mr. Tayler thinks Calvinism stern, not mild, and Congregationalism far too rigid, we have not a doubt. We deny, however, that a righteous historian should speak of them in terms like these, when not merely making no effort to justify his terms, but actually representing in the most repulsive aspects the two sys-

tems which, in regard to mildness and benignity, he patronizes, Should our author reply, that it is in things pertaining to God that Calvinism and Congregationalism are exposed by him as stern and rigid, while in regard to civic rights he strenuously upholds their justice, and even their delicacy, we must then express profoundest wonder at the shallowness of his philosophy, and his indifference to truth. He speaks on p. 44, of 'the badge, the dungeon, and the stake,' as 'weapons of annoyance' once wielded by the English hierarchy, and if converted now 'into the compulsory demand of a church-rate, and the claim of exclusive education,'—converted so far, not through the spirit of the hierarchy, but through the progress of civilization. And he adds, 'But in its assumption of superiority, its disdain of equal intercourse, its virtual denial of Christian brotherhood, the spirit of the hierarchy has undergone no change.' On p. 130, too, he speaks of the Establishment as still 'an instrument of insult and annoyance in the hands of selfish and ambitious men;' and many other such things, and much severer, are scattered through his volume. We utterly deny, now, that an ecclesiastical system such as this, can be consistently regarded as benign towards the conscience: or that a doctrinal system like the Arminianism he describes, can be otherwise than ironically, or from thoughtless conventionalism, spoken of as mild and persuasive in its views of the relations between God and man. Mr. Tayler's 'prepossessions' for the Arminianism which has near affinities to Socinianism, and against the Congregationalism which refuses to confound enemies and children, and insists that men should be what they profess, seem too strong, indeed, to be conquered by any power but almighty. As an avowed disciple of the most exhaustive philosophy, however, without respect to his claims as a spiritual religionist, he was bound to attempt a satisfactory explanation of the opposing phenomena which he asserts. But he contents himself with calling a system mild and persuasive, which combines more easily with what 'requires the prostration of the intellect, and is favourable to the designs of tyranny;' and with terming that a stern theology, which, while offering no civic dishonour to the man who hates it, demands, prior to salvation, 'a change within, which no external ordinances can reach, and which leaves the soul more directly in the hands of God.' Mr. Tayler has studied Calvinism a little more than many of his brethren; but Bishop Horsley, we think, would advise him to study it yet further.

Nor can we pass over without comment, his insinuations respecting the slavish or the fettered spirit with which orthodoxy conducts its religious inquiries. The distinction proclaimed on his title-page between Puritanism and Free Inquiry, having

no explanatory note, is invidious, if not glaringly unjust. The explanation given in the body of the work we shall present in his own words. 'Free Inquiry, Private Judgment, Rationalism, is the right of every man, to bring the doctrines and institutions of religion to the test of his individual reason, and to adopt or reject them as he finds them in accordance with it.' If, now, by 'right' we are to understand 'civic right,' Mr. Tayler, the historian, knows very well that the Orthodox are Free Inquirers as truly as the Unitarians. From his using 'Private Judgment,' as synonymous with 'Free Inquiry,' we are authorized to suppose that 'civic right' is meant: and if it be, the historian is disingenuous in distinguishing between Puritanism and Free Inquiry. If, however, the 'right' intended is a creature's right towards God, Mr. Tayler, the philosopher, is, to use the mildest censure, very vague and superficial. For, not to speak of the seeming flippancy of such language, and of the wrongful implication that this 'right' is asserted where 'Private Judgment' is maintained, the 'right' itself must be singularly modified, we think, ere Mr. Tayler would like to appear as its pledged champion. If, for 'religion' we read 'the Bible,' or 'all supposed discoveries of God's will,' the words admit of two interpretations; the one of them supported by the Orthodox as much as by the Unitarians; and the other, such as Mr. Tayler, we believe and hope, would not avow. For according to their idea of the Bible, and of the 'supposed discoveries,' whether as God's *acknowledged* revelation, or, at present, as a merely self-styled revelation, of his mind and will, so do the Orthodox profess that the field of their inquiry is limited, or is boundless. On the supposition that as yet we have no assured revelation from our Maker, we bring the doctrines and institutions of the Bible to the test of our individual reason, and we adopt or reject them as we find them in accordance with it. What would have been the consequence had God left us to ourselves while we thus brought these matters to the test of reason; this is not the present question. We so brought them, without doubt; or rather, God in his providence so brought them; and in his righteousness he held us accountable to pass a true and faithful judgment. But for his grace we believe we should have judged amiss and sinfully; or if not, we should have been indifferent to the whole momentous matter, or should have held the truth without understanding, without appreciation, and without consistency. By his grace, we thankfully confess it, we are what we are. But he did not in his grace inhibit 'free inquiry' into the reasonableness and the Divine origin of the doctrines and the institutions of the Bible: though in his grace he kept us from what we now see would have been both foolishness and

crime, from inquiring reeklessly, stolidly, or with hostile 'pre-possessions.' For 'he hath given us an understanding that we may know him that is true;' or, in the words of Owen, in the treatise from which Mr. Tayler often quotes with admiration, 'God, speaking in the penmen of the Scriptures, his voice to them was accompanied with its own evidence; and God speaking by them, or their writings, unto us, his word is accompanied with its own evidence, and gives assurance unto us. . . . . For the Holy Ghost communicates light to the understanding, *whence it is able to see and judge of the truth as it is in Jesus*: and the will being thereby delivered from the dungeon wherein it was, and quickened anew, performs its office *in embracing what is proper and suited unto it in the object proposed.*'—Owen's Works, v. iv. pp. 401, 427. The difference, therefore, between Unitarians and the Orthodox, is, not that the former only have inquired freely for the mind and will of God, while the latter have been always restricted to a single field: but that the latter, in the course of their inquiries, have met with what they little looked for, satisfaction, and have unexpectedly undergone, through God's rich grace, such a renewal in the spirit of their minds, that the Bible is to them henceforth their sole authoritative teacher; while the former inquire as freely, that is widely, and, according to their own acknowledgment, to as little purpose, as they ever did, and as we ourselves did in our days of blindness. Mr. Tayler is too earnest-minded a man to suppose that while we thus testify to the truth in relation to ourselves, we wish to speak offensively to him. He will cheerfully acknowledge, that with our experience and belief we can write none other than we do. For, as Owen says, on p. 421, of the same masterly treatise, 'If men, who are blinded by the god of this world, will yet deny this light, (the self-evidencing light of the Scripture,) because they perceive it not, it shall not prejudice them who do.'

If, however, we acknowledge that the Orthodox are no longer free inquirers, whatever they may once have been,—we use not the word 'free' in respect to conscious liberty, but merely in respect to the comparatively larger range which once we explored in search of religious truth. Once, in our freedom, we went every where; now, in that same freedom, assured that to go everywhere is vain, we turn to the Bible only as the revealer of the will of God. We are as free as ever, though we travel not so far. And if our range, in one aspect, be more limited, it is less so in another; for to us the Bible is a universe of truth, infinitely richer and more vast than it had entered into our hearts to conceive as even possible.

And even in our treatment of the Bible we exert, haply a

spirit of much more 'free inquiry' than Mr. Tayler would suppose. For he says, speaking of the first 'Latitudinarians,' Cudworth, Whichcot, Wilkins, and More, who adopted in their studies and practice the maxims of free inquiry already enunciated by Chillingworth and Hales; 'They traced out the broad coincidence of Christian truth with the eternal laws of nature and providence; and brought to bear on its illustration and enforcement all the treasures of heathen poetry and philosophy. . . . They had no sympathy with the Calvinistic sectaries.' (p. 109). Mr. Tayler tells us somewhere, that he has not read many of Owen's works: but the portion of them that he has read; the state of the university of Oxford, applauded by himself, when beneath the care of Owen; and the 'Living Temple' of John Howe, with which Mr. Tayler is evidently acquainted; these should alone have caused another kind of notice of 'the Calvinistic sectaries' in connexion with the Latitudinarians. For, if we except the word 'enforcement,' at least in somewhat that it implies, there is nothing asserted of the Latitudinarians in the foregoing passage, but what might with equal justice be asserted of 'the Calvinistic sectaries,' at all events of the eminent among them, of both that and every age. On pages 359, 360, Mr. Tayler says:—

'A mode of exegesis was introduced by Locke, quite different from that which had prevailed among the Puritan divines of the preceding century, who looked immediately to edification, and neglected the principles of rational criticism and exposition. . . He constructed his own commentary on the principles . . of endeavouring to throw himself back into the circumstances and feelings of the writer, apprehending from this point of view his particular line of argumentation, and bringing all separate phrases and detached observations into connexion by their common relation to it. This was rationalizing the Bible, by putting the interpretaton of it on the same footing with that of other ancient books. It was employing the aids of history, and the ordinary rules of grammar and logic, to find out what the Bible said; where mere feeling and imagination, and notions already in the mind, had been allowed to decide.'

We assert now, that what is here called 'rationalizing the Bible,' has been in all ages eminently distinctive of the 'orthodox,' by whatever name they have been temporarily called; and we remind Mr. Tayler of what he had written on page 344, that Locke 'was entered of Christ Church, Oxford, . . . at the time when Owen was dean, and the university under the rule of the Independents. We deny, however, that the mode of exegesis described is what is commonly called 'rationalizing the Bible.' To rationalize the Bible, it seems to us, is to 'allow feeling and imagination, and notions already in the mind, to decide what

the Bible says; and where this operation is not consciously performed, much less avowedly, it is sometimes done by those even who 'endeavour to throw themselves back into the circumstances and feelings of the writer.' For a mind filled with 'prepossessions,' is not likely to estimate a writer's circumstances and feelings otherwise than in accordance with its wishes. The mode in which in these, and in other portions of his volume, Mr. Tayler shows that Rationalists and Free Inquirers profess to investigate the scriptures, is precisely that professed by the Orthodox as well. We, then, are Free Inquirers, in this meaning of the title, quite as much as they. They, however, or they are often much misrepresented by themselves, include in 'Free Inquiry,' and state it when it suits them, something, and not a little, more than this.

We have not a doubt that Mr. Tayler has inquired more widely and more candidly than Unitarians in general, respecting the principles and the philosophy of Orthodoxy; but our readers will already have surmised that even he has not successfully 'endeavoured to throw himself into the circumstances and feelings' of the orthodox writers, whose productions he has studied. Occasionally, too, though not very often, we meet with odd expressions of his; such as, no one who had thus 'successfully endeavoured' could possibly, we think, employ. Thus he says, on page 262, that Calvinism 'ascribes salvation to the influence of faith on the heart.' On page 138, too, he seems to trace, (but his language is remarkably obscure,) 'the doctrine of election by grace' to the consciousness of men who have risen from a deep decay of faith and morals, that their rise was experienced while intensely concentrating their feelings upon God as the sole and immediate source of spiritual power. For he adds, 'The individual must first be purified and renovated, before he can beneficially exchange a promiscuous sympathy with the whole human race. While he is himself engaged in the process of self-renewal, and feels how difficult and critical it is, how easily it may be stayed and frustrated, and how awful must be the alternative, he cannot as yet with safety to himself regard the mass of his fellow-creatures as otherwise than reprobates.' The last sentence in the book, too, page 563, describes 'the views of Watts, Cudworth, Baxter, and even Owen, when reduced to their essence,' as seeking the true source of faith in inward feeling and conviction.' On all this we need offer only the following remarks. As Mr. Tayler uses the word 'salvation,' we are forced to understand by it, not the actual rescuing of a man from the rule of sinful principles, but his deliverance from the supposed penal consequences of his sin. We simply deny, now, that Calvinism ascribes this salvation to 'the

influence of faith on the heart.' The physiological account of the doctrine of election is ludicrously in opposition to the accounts of Calvinists, to their experience, and to all the phenomena from which only a spectator ought to form a theory. The attribution to Owen, of inward feeling and conviction as the source of faith, is from a misapprehension, unworthy of the Teutonic school, of Owen's meaning in his invaluable but much neglected pamphlet on 'The Divine Original, etc., of the Scriptures.' Owen does not mean to assert that he has first a feeling or conviction of the Divine Original of the Scriptures, and thereupon believes 'the scriptures to be the word of God;' but that this feeling or conviction is his faith; a faith 'of the 'Divine Original;' a faith founded not on his seeing but on what he sees; a faith which may be called a believing apprehension; a faith which is the mind's perceiving; a faith, in matters of intellection, that corresponds to the 'seeing which is believing' of the many in regard to the grosser matters of sight. We do not wish to attribute any consequent evil reasoning to this misapprehension of our author's. We refer to it merely as indicating his inacquaintance, after all his 'endeavours,' with the habitudes of such a mind as Owen's. We may add, by the way, that Owen's views of Divine faith appear to us the germ of truth, for which, disfigured as it seems by them in the various integuments in which they have severally involved it, all the German metaphysical schools, and Cousin's too, and Hamilton's, are still contending. We anticipate with confidence a day of glory, not so much for the mighty and majestic 'leader of the Independents,' whose followers, pleading a paltry sarcasm, because enfeebled in the indolence of 'toleration,' shrink from the fellowship of one so awful in his penetration and profundity; but rather for those views of God, and truth, and the 'prima scientia,' which, favoured, as it seems to us he was, with sympathetic intercourse with God, closer perhaps than any mortal's since apostolic times, it was his lofty blessedness to take, and, we deliberately add it, it was his honour to describe with a *precision* and a *lucidness* unique, and felicitously appropriate to the 'deep things of God' that he discussed. Nor is this day of glory distant; for when men like Mr. Tayler, notwithstanding all their 'prepossessions,' can enjoy and reverence Owen to the extent apparent in this volume, the dawn is assuredly begun. But our mortification has been inexpressible while reading Mr. Tayler's volume, that he, a Unitarian and a German-taught divine, should evince, notwithstanding his misapprehensions, a more intimate acquaintance with the mind of Owen, and a juster appreciation of his personal religion, than we find in scarcely any English-taught Calvinist we meet with.

We turn, in the last place, to Mr. Tayler's object in issuing this book. In his preface, he says:—

'The idea which possessed my mind, when I first sketched out the plan of this volume, was the desirableness of embracing, in a common point of view, the phenomena of the different religious parties, whose unintermitted strife and sharp conflict of manners and opinions, have given such a deep and varied interest to the spiritual history of England; especially during the three centuries which have elapsed since the Reformation. In pursuing this idea, I have tried to discover the governing principle, and understand the characteristic working of each party; to apprehend their mutual relation; to show how they have occasionally passed off into each other; and out of their joint operation to trace the evolution of a more comprehensive principle, which looks above the narrowness of their respective views, and, allying itself with the essential elements of the Christian faith, may in time, perhaps, devise some method of reconciling an unlimited freedom and variety of the religious life with the friendliness and mutual recognition of universal brotherhood.' pp. iv. v.

This is, certainly, a very ill constructed and bewildering sentence. We suppose, however, that Mr. Tayler's object is the association, in Christian churches, of men of every kind of Christian faith. Thus, in a passage already quoted, he seems to praise Baxter because he 'would have taken in all quiet and visible Christians that did not break in on the established church order, from the Papist on the one side, to the Socinian on the other.' And on page 474, he seems to desire the union 'of all Christian minds, if not in one habitual communion, yet at least in a bond of mutual recognition, and in a friendly interchange of religious offices.' In furtherance of this object, Mr. Tayler strives to show, so at all events it seems to us, that all existing Christian parties are so many modified embodiments of at least one great comprehensive principle, allied with the essential elements of the Christian faith. But he nowhere announces what this principle is; and he makes no effort to show that what he deems the essential elements of the Christian faith are so understood by other Christians, or, if not, ought to be. We should have supposed, from the words we have cited, that this principle, common to us all, is extra-Christian, and even ante-Christian. But finding on page 3, 'the principles which distinguish Christianity from all previous religions are spirituality and mental freedom;' we conclude that when these are found allied with the essential elements aforesaid, the pre-requisites for church membership exist. We afterwards learn, however, that there is no need to bear in mind more than these elements, in order to determine on fit candidates for Christian fellowship:—

'The spirit of Christ embraces three elements; union of will and endeavour with the everlasting Father; affectionate sympathy with humanity; and the habitual presence of the idea of immortality. These are all expressed and embodied, with a surpassing power and beauty, in his life. And to sympathise with that life, to baptize our hearts in its redundant spirit of faith and love, to look up to Christ as our spiritual helper and guide to a higher world, is belief unto salvation, an entrance into the kingdom of God. It is difficult to conceive how any pure minds could decline this sympathy with the life of Christ; . . . and in this sympathy of the will and affections with Christ, this acknowledgment of Him with the heart, as the head of his church, the spiritual family of God, there seem to exist the only indispensable conditions of a comprehensive union among Christians.'—pp. 476, 477.

Mr. Tayler, however, wishes to comprehend none but Christians in this union. For having spoken of religious feeling and affection, identical, we suppose, with 'spirituality and mental freedom,' as cravings, of our nature which meet in Christ with their appropriate object, he adds, page 431, 'These elementary wants of our spiritual nature are not considered by deism. It is not adapted to them. It labours under deficiences which only an historical religion can supply. It wants a visible head; it has no Christ. It needs some link for the human soul, through human sympathies, with the unseen God, a centre of living union, a bond of universal brotherhood.' A deist might reply to Mr. Tayler, and, for aught that we can see, successfully; 'We neither need a link, through human sympathies, with God, nor see one, should we need it. We have the religious feeling and affection, the spirituality and mental freedom. A link, a medium, may carnalize and darken; we cannot think it in any way desirable. Besides, your Christ is no historical personage to us. You and your brethren, too, form very different conceptions of his character. Possessed, then, as we all are, equally of the same religious feeling towards God, it does not seem a sufficient cause of separation, that we cannot agree about historical truth; especially when you Unitarians agree among yourselves in little more than this, that there was once a man, and that his name was Christ.' Mr. Tayler himself says, page 422, 'In mode of reasoning, and in the general conception of religion, the deists and the rationalist divines of this time' (the middle of the last century) 'had much in common. The line must have been vague and arbitrary, indeed, which kept such writers as Middleton, and Wollaston (author of the 'Religion of Nature Delineated,) *within* the limits of Christianity, and put Shaftesbury, Morgan, and Chubb, *without* them.' We think so too; and quoting again from Mr. Tayler, pages 431, 422, 'It is a

presumption against deism's possessing the whole truth, and meeting the entire demands of our nature, that it has shown itself incapable hitherto of generating and sustaining a church:' we add, and it is a presumption against Mr. Tayler's scheme of church comprehension, that it seems necessitated to include the votaries of what has hitherto shown such incapability. Or if the obligation to include them be not, as yet, apparent, we see not how it can be denied after reading the following from pp. 559, 560:—'If one thing be clear in the New Testament, it is, that the conversion there spoken of as the beginning of the Christian life, was a change brought on the will and affections of man. When this is accomplished, through communion and sympathy with the spirit of Christ, it is surely a matter of subordinate importance, what view be taken of those purely *external* facts, which have no value but as subservient to the moral effects that are anticipated from a belief in them.' See, too, pp. 422—426. Now it is 'the miracles and the resurrection of Jesus' which Mr. Tayler denotes by the term 'external facts.' But we can see no reason for excluding the life and the character of Jesus from the same class of facts to which the miracles and the resurrection belong. If, therefore, 'this change is accomplished,' though without communion and sympathy with the spirit of Christ, it is surely a matter of subordinate importance what view be taken of the purely external facts, that Christ lived, and that his 'character was far above the ordinary standard of human morality,' p. 430. Be these facts asserted, or be they denied 'from men's intellectual inability to grasp them,' p. 560; yet, if the asserters and the deniers equally 'acknowledge with their hearts' the same moral nature in God, and the same moral standard for man, we see not why they should not enter into one religious church as easily and cordially as 'devout persons, who, unable to assure themselves of the reality of Christ's miracles and his resurrection, yet acknowledging with their hearts what they feel to be divine in Christ's doctrine and person,' are allowed by Mr. Tayler's scheme to constitute with him, and such as he, a Christian church. The 'presumption,' then, against the scheme, becomes the stronger.

Mr. Tayler, as well as Mr. Newman, has a theory of development. The two theories are not identical, nor are they used for the same purpose; but they are both redolent of the same Teutonic spring. Mr. Newman developes one principle or institution into many, and reveres the latter as deeply as the former. His developement is regular, progressive, and without a blemish; and though the process be unintelligible to an heretic, and, indeed, to his eye have the appearance of an aggregation of antagonistic natures rather than of the develop-

ment of one, yet to the pious all seems as orderly and natural as the evolution of mathematical corollaries. Mr. Tayler's development, however, is still stranger and more startling. He developes circularly, commencing with purity, developing into all species of impurity, and then developing backwards into simple purity again. The following is his own account of the matter:—

'Things were approaching the state in which the gospel had been originally preached to men. For the last century there had been a constant effort to reverse, step by step, the process by which the Church had gradually arranged and consolidated its constitution, and grown up into the form and organization of the papal hierarchy. First, the connexion with Rome was dissolved, and national independence was acquired under the sovereign and the bishops; this was the work of the Anglican party, and its result was the Church of England as constituted under Elizabeth. The next move was to reduce bishops to the rank of Presbyters, and to govern the Church by subordinated assemblies of pastors and elders, the national unity in religion being still preserved. This was the effort of the Presbyterians, who thus got a step further back towards primitive Christianity. Then came the Independents, who renounced the idea of a national religion, and by their congregational system, retaining, however, a fixed discipline, a regular ministry, and a due administration of ordinances, approached still nearer to the ancient practice of the Church. Lastly, the Quakers, the Seekers, the Fifth Monarchy men, throwing off the restraint of any definite system, abandoning themselves to a wild enthusiasm, and living in the vague expectation of some great approaching change, remind us, in the absorbing spiritualism of their views, and their renunciation of the ordinary concerns of life, of the description given in the Acts, of the infant Church at Jerusalem, and terminate this progressive picture of the reversal of the Christian story." (pp. 192, 193.)

Of these same primitive Christians, the Quakers, we read, too, as follows, on pp. 190, 191:—

'The earnest, meditative mind of Fox, retiring in disgust from the hopeless controversies of the rigid Scripturalists, looked for an authority anterior to Scripture itself in the revelations of the spirit within, awakened by Scripture, and holding direct communion with God. He penetrated through the letter to the divine spirit which it expressed, and which he saw mirrored in the quiet depths of his own mind. The principles of the Quakers, originating with him towards the close of the war, and exaggerated in the wild vagaries of Naylor, completed the cycle of Puritanic change.'

Again, on p. 245:—

'Quakerism went back to the primitive fountains of religious conviction, and involved elements of the deepest spiritual truth, fitted to attract minds of a pure and elevated order. Its extreme simplicity really adapted it to very high mental refinement."

And we find in the next page—

'Its theology stands in a sort of middle point between Calvinism, Arminianism, and Socinianism.'

Of course, now, proof enough is given in all parts of the book, that those elements of Quakerism which Mr. Tayler admires, are nearly, if not quite, identical with modern Unitarianism or Free Inquiry. This, therefore, is the last development and whether it take the form of Deism, or retain a connexion with what Mr. Tayler calls, 'the essential elements of the Christian faith,' it seems to us neither more nor less than what we have already found him describing as our nature's religious craving. Whereas, then, Mr. Newman wishes to confine church membership to those who adopt all the later developments of first principles, Mr. Tayler's object is to include in church communion *all* men who are conscious of religious sentiment, a feeling and an affection for 'the spiritual power and presence that encompasses us,' a sense of God, one of the 'ultimate facts in our constitution.'—See pp. 428, 429. And though at times he seems ready to impose the condition that this 'sentiment' shall have been awakened 'through communion and sympathy with the spirit of Christ,' yet when we review *all* that he has said, and especially the passages referred to last, we do not believe that he would strenuously insist thereon. All men, therefore, who possess 'the religious sentiment;' all, at least, who have it in connexion with sympathy with Christ, in whatever point of the cycle they may be, whether in the Roman Catholic state, the Anglican, the Independent, or the Seeking; whether, then, the development is now commencing, or whether, as in the modern Unitarians, it has proceeded to the last result, the completion of the circle, the point where pure non-inquiry and pure free inquiry meet, and are identical; all such men should form 'a comprehensive union;' 'individuals and societies grounding on this simple basis, whatever forms and usages they may find expedient for the culture of their spiritual affections, and associating with it any exposition of doctrinal views that may be needed for the satisfaction of the speculative intellect; but all, amidst their many varieties of opinion and worship, prepared to own as a brother disciple of Christ, every one whose life is conformed to that Divine example, and whose heart is filled with his heavenly spirit.'—p. 477. We have lately had occasion to object to an Evangelical alliance with a doctrinal basis; we must now object to Mr. Tayler's proposal for a Christian, or a Theistic, alliance with a basis of sentiment.

And we assert, then, that Mr. Tayler's scheme would necessitate the introduction of the very thing that he abhors, a test of

sincerity; or else must allow all to be members of this union who make a certain profession, even though, in the esteem of their fellow-professors, making that profession most unworthily. The candidate's heart must be 'filled with Christ's heavenly spirit, and his life must be conformed to Christ's divine example;' or, whether this be the case or not, he must profess it is. Mr. Tayler calls it 'attractive and beautiful,' if a church 'require no outward token of a man's Christianity before admission to membership,' p. 262.; and we suppose, therefore, that the foregoing profession is all that ought to be required. Yet the candidate may be a supporter of what Mr. Tayler calls 'sacerdotal usurpation,' which on the same page, p. 6., he most satisfactorily identifies with 'heathenism;' and he may, therefore, compel his fellow-candidates to pay 'church-rate,' claim the exclusive right of educating them, assume superiority over them, disdain equal intercourse with them, and virtually deny their Christian brotherhood, see page 44: or he may be a presbyterian resolved on a full development of presbyterianism, a system which, as Mr. Tayler amply shows, is at least as exclusive as prelacy, and requires for its full display, nationalism, and such ascendency as forbids to independents the free exercise of their principles: or he may happen to think it very self-conceited and presumptuous, when Mr. Tayler, on p. 476, confines the elements embraced in the spirit of Christ, to three; and he may insist upon the introduction of thirty more, as essential, in his view, as the three: or he may deem it very dogmatical and arbitrary, that a free inquirer, like Mr. Tayler, should insist on three, especially on two of them, the first and the third: or, rejecting Christianity altogether, he may quote Mr. Tayler's own apologetic words for Deists, on p. 425; 'their intellectual constitution may have been less fitted for the clear and firm apprehension of truth; but that is no ground for moral imputation, excepting so far as this infirmity can be shown to have resulted from the wilful indulgence of passion or prejudice.' Varieties like these, however, are discrepances impalpable and indiscernible when compared with the great 'religious sentiment' common, or asserted to be common, to all the candidates alike. They all say they have it; and, doubtless, they are all honourable men. They have it, therefore, and are bound to give each other correspondent credit for it. And though at sight of their reciprocated courtesies, Atheists may multiply, pronouncing Christian union the greatest lie the world has ever seen, and longing for an hour when the earth may be cleansed from its polluting nuisance, and man be for ever freed from the demoralizing presence of 'religious sentiment;' yet shall 'candour,' 'brotherhood,' 'sympathy,' and all the mawkish vocabulary of the school

as much an ally and prop of the aristocracy, a tool and pander of selfish interests as the church. The real and pretended descendents of the Norman conquerors have successfully hidden the characters and conduct of the men whose blood they boast. The true tale of the Conquest remains to be told. Surely the contrasts between the pretences and the practices of chivalry,—the professions and the procedure of mediæval popery,—the magnificent ceremonials and vulgar meannesses of royalty, abound with noblest subjects for the pencil of caricature. Satire as powerful as ever, Hogarth or Gillray, or Cruickshank, embodied in ludicrous pictures of the personages and manners of the day, would scarcely approach the demands of a fair and adequate satirical representation of the conquest, the chivalry, the church, the royalty of England. Were Mr. Leech possessed of a knowledge of English history at all correspondent with his knowledge of the politics of the day, he would be the very man to render this great service to truth, justice, and progress.

The advice of critics is seldom well taken; but impelled by respect for his talents and earnestness, we shall venture to bestow our advice on him. We submit that he has not formed a high enough conception of what his comic illustrations of English history might be. He does not avail himself of the great privilege of the caricaturist to be more true than the historical or portrait painter. His portraits of persons, his sketches of localities, of houses, scenes, and events, ought all to be based on the truest information he can obtain, the most authentic materials, the best testimonies. We should deem him a benefactor to letters were he to cause to be copied and reproduced some of the best of the grotesque and historical caricatures which are to be found in the British Museum and the Bibliotheque Royale. They are full of the past. They are suggestive of valuable ideas. Historical meanings of the past are to be seen in them, for they are parts of the past. In them the satirical passions of the dead are still alive. While recommending fidelity to the facts of history we are only inviting Mr. Leech to a worthier exercise than he makes at present of his gifts of imagination and intellect. Let him present us with the true Knight of Chivalry, as he was a splendid figure in the tournament and a squalid hound to his royal master. Let him show the lofty ceremonials and the low life of courts. In the monasteries set up as institutions of penitence let him exhibit the resemblance to the modern clubs, having often one identical central idea—the *cuisine*. Let him paint the confessional as a shrine of Venus. Coming down to the days of the Stuarts let our caricaturist display how royalty, triumphant over the aristocracy, the church, and the people, came to believe itself divine.

Let him depict how Royalism in the person of the first James, appears in the character of Sacred Majesty, tyrannical and tipsy. The royal martyr was a finer Pecksniff than Dickens could conceive. A court as beautiful and witty as that of either the second James or Charles could be furnished from off the pavement of Regent-street any evening, identical in honour, principles, purposes, and spirit. And in the courts of the Georges the same *morale* prevailed, only in a stupefied condition. Undoubtedly there is a crying want of a comic and satiric artist to display all in the forms and colours of irresistible caricature. If imposture, crowned, coronetted, mitred, — imposture flaring in pictured coaches, affronting God, man, and eternity, right, truth, and goodness, be legitimate subjects for the caricaturist, a genius in his art may win the greatest fame and render the greatest services on the field of the 'Comic History of England.'

Of Mr. Gilbert A'Beckett's part of the work we can speak in terms of much praise. He is doing it well. He does not distort the facts of history for the sake of amusement. On the contrary, he presents the authentic and ascertained circumstances and events to his readers in a brief, lively, and elegant narrative. What he makes sport of is the fiction, and not the facts, of history. Fabulous incidents, glozing impostures, historical humbug, the fudge and not the facts of our antiquarians and chroniclers, are the things which he wraps up and preserves in puns and witticisms. Such a work was wanted. There is no history of England in existence which a wise father can place in the hands of his family with safety. Instead of wishing our children to regard the past through the spectacles of a Hume or a Clarendon, we should teach them to laugh at it all. To make scoundrelism seem splendid was the aim of both historians, and, as a consequence, to paint nobleness and sanctity in the colours of baseness and hypocrisy. The more closely his period is studied, and the more clearly its facts appear, the mendacity of Clarendon becomes manifest, conspicuous, and revolting. Long known to have been as remote from fact in his history as he was from faith in his creed, Hume is now-a-days celebrated by his apologists only as the writer of a brilliant historical fiction. Now, viewed in this light, we have small admiration for the work of Hume. It is a dull romance—a prosy poem. Merits of style it undoubtedly possesses. Had not, however, grave authorities of church and state taught the last generation to believe it to be true, and the perusal of it therefore a duty, few would have travelled to the end of the long colonnade of pillars of polished ice of which the glittering and unsubstantial fabric is built. Hume was careful to erect only a monument to his own ingenuity. Hume saw not God in

of the art of caricature. He showed how compatible his art could be with refinement, kindliness, and good nature. Personal bitterness or rancour there is none in his sketches. Though we miss from the prints of Leech the air of refinement which pervades those of H. B., the qualities which suit them so gracefully for the drawing-room table, the want is made up by the presence of a higher and nobler moral influence. There is more moral purpose in John Leech. He is in earnest to do good. He seems animated by the spirit of that democracy which is at one with philanthropy. To delight the elegant talkers of the drawing-room seems to be the ambition of H. B., while the purpose of Leech is to excite scorn against everything base, unmanly, and unjust. In moral qualities H. B. was a great improvement on Gillray, and Leech rises above H. B. in the same noble superiority. In mere genius both are surpassed by Gillray, to whom even George Cruickshank, the king of caricaturists, has not come up. Gillray, the grotesque splendors of whose genius have been surpassed by no artist, was a man utterly severed and alienated from all morality, all humanity, all principle, all religion. His fierce sarcasms are animated by mere disdain and derision, and this greatly gifted lost spirit scattered abroad such malignant fancies as might be sported in Pandemonium. Grandeur and coarse humour are as closely associated in his prints, as if all the expressions of all the faces of a grinning match were permanently calotyped on sheet lightning. His fancy soared into regions of beauty and loftiness, and sported with the manifold glories of sunrises and sunsets—of rainbows, solar and lunar—and of wind-lashed seas—only to blend with them the mockeries of a despairing fiend to whom there was no holiness in the skies and no lovingness on the earth. Inferior though all caricaturists are to Gillray in intellectual gifts, all are superior to him in moral spirit. Himself a Jacobin, who sold his genius to the aristocracy, a man who for the wants of his body deprived his soul of all connection with the fountain of life—duty and God,—Gillray saw a similar disruption in all the universe. A vapour, as of sulphur, made the sun unbeneficent to him. In his power of invention, in his wild magnificence of fancy, even Hogarth was less lavishly endowed. But the satanic mark is on nearly all the sketches of Gillray. He lived an outcast from the decencies of society. Privately he could drink on his knees the health of David the Jacobin painter, while publicly he was working along with Canning and Gifford against the progress of liberty and equality. Meagre and malicious as was the spirit of even John Kay, the Edinburgh caricaturist, contemporary with Gillray, his works are more entitled to complacency, for he evidently had a delight

in producing true and characteristic likenesses. Gillray cared for nothing but the indulgence of his own wild and wilful fancies. No wonder though insanity darkened the last years of a genius without principles, without affections, without purposes, without self-respect. No wonder though the last accounts we find of him state that the gentlemen of White's Club were shocked by seeing his head sticking between the iron bars of the attic in No. 27, St. James's-street, in which he was confined insane for the last five years of his life.

We honour Leech for his moral courage. Prince Albert, the husband of our deservedly popular Queen, has repeatedly disgraced himself by indulging in effeminate sportsmanship with small rebuke from the Press, with the brave exception of Mr. John Leech, the caricaturist of 'Punch.' It was a service all the more honourable to hold up to contempt this royal introduction of cruel and effeminate sportsmanship into this country that the flunkey portion of the public is disposed to resent such truthful dealings with royalty. The whole plush world is indignant at freedoms with royal personages. Leech has a strong feeling within him for what is true, right, and fair. 'The Royal Fagin of France' is a powerful caricature. Seldom has the general opinion of the public been more happily hit off than by Mr. Leech with reference to the premier in the print in which the queen is made to express her fear that Lord John is not strong enough for the place, and in the one in which he is displayed in clothes, robe, and hat, a world too large for him, the costume of his office—'It isn't just a fit, but we shall see how he gets on.' Though we presume to think that Mr. Leech would be improved by studying the refinement of H. B., we acknowledge the beautiful is seldom entirely absent from his sketches. However, as he pursues his art, his taste will become more elegant, his invention will grow richer through the improving influence of the moral purpose which distinguishes him;—for a moral purpose in an artist, whether of the pencil or of the pen, is blessed in many ways—doubly blessed, it blesses himself and the public—trebly blessed, it makes art a servant of duty.

We cannot praise the illustrations of the first four numbers of the 'Comic History.' They are mere trash. They are unworthy of Mr. Leech, and most unworthy of his subject. Occupying a relation to comic pictures like that of pantomime to comedy, they are scarcely worthy of the attention of children. Their absurdity predominates over their humour—and absurdity is more painful than laughable. Yet there is abundant scope and matter for pictorial satire in English history. Legitimate butts for caricatures abound among the deeds and sayings, manners and customs of our ancestors. History has been made

dominates over the light and frivolous emotions. Such jokes cause a shudder instead of a laugh. There is no clash or collision of emotions, because the painful feelings obtain and maintain an entire mastery over their opposites. A comic artist so practised and expert as Mr. A'Beckett, ought to have avoided this mistake from the mere instinct or experience of his art. We shall content ourselves with only one instance of this error:—'The Danes,' says our author, 'still continued the awful business of dyeing and scouring; for they scoured the country round, and dyed it with the blood of the inhabitants.' Mr. A'Beckett has indulged his habit of punning, until he has dulled his feeling of horror at the mention of ravage and bloodshed. There is no real inhumanity, but there is an apparent inhumanity in the obtuseness to the painful feeling which such a joke displays. With his attention devoted to the puns and jokes, he overlooks or scarcely feels the painful emotions. His readers are just in the opposite state of mind. They have their attention all the more forcibly directed to the painful ideas by the failure of the attempt to make them laugh at them. They shudder first at the ideas, and next at the author who tries to make a joke of them. If of the class of readers who are quick to condemn, they mistake an error of habit, a mere mistake in the use of words, for actual and positive and practical obtuseness of heart. More judicious readers, judging more correctly, see that the author has carried his facetiousness too far. A critical reader must condemn the error as a blunder in art. No reader of this book can suspect Mr. A'Beckett, whose feelings are strong and decided against oppression and injustice of any real inhumanity, any practical obtuseness to human suffering, any sympathy with the shedders of blood.

The first four numbers of the 'Comic History of England' bring the narrative down from the earliest times to the death of Henry III. Authentic history commences with the invasion of Julius Cæsar. We are therefore presented with a sketch of the great Roman general, attended by his guards, at an oyster stall, 'looking for the pearls for which Britain was formerly celebrated.'

'Cæsar, who might have been so called from his readiness to seize upon every thing, now turned his eyes and directed his arms upon Britain. According to some, he was tempted by the expectation of finding pearls, which he hoped to get out of the oysters, and he therefore broke in upon the natives with considerable energy. Whatever may have been Cæsar's motives, the fact is pretty well ascertained, that about ten o'clock one fine morning in August—some say a quarter past—he reached the British coast with 12,000 infantry,

packed in eighty vessels. He had left behind him the whole of his cavalry—the Roman horse-marines—who were detained by contrary winds on the other side of the sea, and, though anxious to be in communication with their leader, they never could get into the right channel. At about three in the afternoon, Cæsar, having taken an early dinner, began to disembark his forces at a spot called to this day the Sandwich Flats, from the people having been such flats as to allow the enemy to effect a landing. While the Roman soldiers were standing shilly-shallying at the side of their vessels, a standard-bearer of the tenth legion, or, as we should call him, an ensign in the tenth, jumped into the water, which was nearly up to his knees, and, addressing a claptrap to his comrades as he stood in the sea, completely turned the tide in Cæsar's favour. After a severe shindy on the shingles, the Britons withdrew, leaving the Romans masters of the beach, where Cæsar erected a marquee for the accommodation of his cohorts. The natives sought and obtained peace, which had no sooner been concluded than the Roman horse-marines were seen riding across the Channel. A tempest, however, arising, the horses were terrified, and the waves beginning to mount, added so much to the confusion, that the Roman cavalry were compelled to back to the point they started from. The same storm gave a severe blow to the camp of Cæsar, on the beach, dashing his galleys and transports against the rocks which they were sure to split upon. Daunted by these disasters, the invaders, after a few breezes with the Britons, took advantage of a favourable gale to return to Gaul, and thus for a time the dispute appeared to have blown over.

'Cæsar's thoughts, however, still continued to run in one, namely, the British, Channel. In the spring of the ensuing year he rigged out 800 ships, into which he contrived to cram 32,000 men, and with this force he was permitted to land a second time by those horrid flats at Sandwich. The Britons for some time made an obstinate resistance in their chariots, but they ultimately took a fly across the country, and retreated with great rapidity. Cæsar had scarcely sat down to breakfast the next morning when he heard that a tempest had wrecked all his vessels. At this intelligence he burst into tears, and scampered off to the sea-coast, with all his legions in full cry hurrying after him.'—pp. 4—6.

Ninety-seven years after the island was seized by Cæsar, it was clawed by Claudius. 'Aulus Plautius, the Roman general, pursued the Britons under that illustrious character Caractacus. He retreated towards Lambeth Marsh, and the swampy nature of the ground gave the invaders to feel that it was somewhat too—

> 'Far into the bowels of the land
> They had marched on without impediment.'

'Vespasian, the second in command, made a tour in the isle of Wight, then called Vectis, where he boldly took the bull by the horns, and seized upon Cowes, with considerable energy. Os-

dominates over the light and frivolous emotions. Such jokes cause a shudder instead of a laugh. There is no clash or collision of emotions, because the painful feelings obtain and maintain an entire mastery over their opposites. A comic artist so practised and expert as Mr. A'Beckett, ought to have avoided this mistake from the mere instinct or experience of his art. We shall content ourselves with only one instance of this error:—'The Danes,' says our author, 'still continued the awful business of dyeing and scouring; for they scoured the country round, and dyed it with the blood of the inhabitants.' Mr. A'Beckett has indulged his habit of punning, until he has dulled his feeling of horror at the mention of ravage and bloodshed. There is no real inhumanity, but there is an apparent inhumanity in the obtuseness to the painful feeling which such a joke displays. With his attention devoted to the puns and jokes, he overlooks or scarcely feels the painful emotions. His readers are just in the opposite state of mind. They have their attention all the more forcibly directed to the painful ideas by the failure of the attempt to make them laugh at them. They shudder first at the ideas, and next at the author who tries to make a joke of them. If of the class of readers who are quick to condemn, they mistake an error of habit, a mere mistake in the use of words, for actual and positive and practical obtuseness of heart. More judicious readers, judging more correctly, see that the author has carried his facetiousness too far. A critical reader must condemn the error as a blunder in art. No reader of this book can suspect Mr. A'Beckett, whose feelings are strong and decided against oppression and injustice of any real inhumanity, any practical obtuseness to human suffering, any sympathy with the shedders of blood.

The first four numbers of the 'Comic History of England' bring the narrative down from the earliest times to the death of Henry III. Authentic history commences with the invasion of Julius Cæsar. We are therefore presented with a sketch of the great Roman general, attended by his guards, at an oyster stall, 'looking for the pearls for which Britain was formerly celebrated.'

'Cæsar, who might have been so called from his readiness to seize upon every thing, now turned his eyes and directed his arms upon Britain. According to some, he was tempted by the expectation of finding pearls, which he hoped to get out of the oysters, and he therefore broke in upon the natives with considerable energy. Whatever may have been Cæsar's motives, the fact is pretty well ascertained, that about ten o'clock one fine morning in August—some say a quarter past—he reached the British coast with 12,000 infantry,

packed in eighty vessels. He had left behind him the whole of his cavalry—the Roman horse-marines—who were detained by contrary winds on the other side of the sea, and, though anxious to be in communication with their leader, they never could get into the right channel. At about three in the afternoon, Cæsar, having taken an early dinner, began to disembark his forces at a spot called to this day the Sandwich Flats, from the people having been such flats as to allow the enemy to effect a landing. While the Roman soldiers were standing shilly-shallying at the side of their vessels, a standard-bearer of the tenth legion, or, as we should call him, an ensign in the tenth, jumped into the water, which was nearly up to his knees, and, addressing a claptrap to his comrades as he stood in the sea, completely turned the tide in Cæsar's favour. After a severe shindy on the shingles, the Britons withdrew, leaving the Romans masters of the beach, where Cæsar erected a marquee for the accommodation of his cohorts. The natives sought and obtained peace, which had no sooner been concluded than the Roman horse-marines were seen riding across the Channel. A tempest, however, arising, the horses were terrified, and the waves beginning to mount, added so much to the confusion, that the Roman cavalry were compelled to back to the point they started from. The same storm gave a severe blow to the camp of Cæsar, on the beach, dashing his galleys and transports against the rocks which they were sure to split upon. Daunted by these disasters, the invaders, after a few breezes with the Britons, took advantage of a favourable gale to return to Gaul, and thus for a time the dispute appeared to have blown over.

'Cæsar's thoughts, however, still continued to run in one, namely, the British, Channel. In the spring of the ensuing year he rigged out 800 ships, into which he contrived to cram 32,000 men, and with this force he was permitted to land a second time by those horrid flats at Sandwich. The Britons for some time made an obstinate resistance in their chariots, but they ultimately took a fly across the country, and retreated with great rapidity. Cæsar had scarcely sat down to breakfast the next morning when he heard that a tempest had wrecked all his vessels. At this intelligence he burst into tears, and scampered off to the sea-coast, with all his legions in full cry hurrying after him.'—pp. 4—6.

Ninety-seven years after the island was seized by Cæsar, it was clawed by Claudius. 'Aulus Plautius, the Roman general, pursued the Britons under that illustrious character Caractacus. He retreated towards Lambeth Marsh, and the swampy nature of the ground gave the invaders to feel that it was somewhat too—

> 'Far into the bowels of the land
> They had marched on without impediment.'

'Vespasian, the second in command, made a tour in the isle of Wight, then called Vectis, where he boldly took the bull by the horns, and seized upon Cowes, with considerable energy. Os-

torius Scapula, a sharp blade, erected a line of defences—a line in which he was so successful, that it may have been called his *forte*. Ostorius suffocated every breath of liberty in Suffolk—hauled the inhabitants of Newcastle over the coals—drove the Welsh before him like Welsh rabbits, and made Caractacus fly with the remains of one wing of his army. This brave Celt was taken to Rome in chains; but, by his dignified conduct, he caused his chains to be struck off, and thus we lose the chain of his history. In the reign of Nero, Boadicea, after burning London, was defeated by Suetonius, and poisoned herself. The serial attacks of the Romans were continued by Ceriales. Agricola, the father-in-law of Tacitus, certainly did considerable havoc in Britain.'

'He sent the Scotch reeling over the Grampian Hills, and led the Caledonians a pretty dance. He ran up a kind of rampart between the Friths of Clyde and Forth, from which he could come forth at his leisure and complete the conquest of Caledonia. In the sixth year of his campaign, A.D. 83, he crossed the Frith of Forth, and came opposite to Fife, which was played upon by the whole of his band with considerable energy. Having wintered in Fife, upon which he levied contributions to a pretty tune, he moved forward in the summer of the next year, A.D. 84, from Glen Devon to the foot of the Grampians. He here encountered Galgacus and his host, who made a gallant resistance; but the Scottish chief was soon left to reckon without his host, for all his followers fled like lightning, and it has been said that their bolting came upon him like a thunderbolt.

'Agricola having thoroughly beaten the Britons—on the principle, perhaps, that there is nothing so impressible as wax—began to think of instructing them. He had given them a few lessons in war which they were not likely to forget, and he now thought of introducing among their chiefs a tincture of polite letters, commencing, of course, with the alphabet. The Britons finding it as easy as A, B, C, began to cultivate the rudiments of learning, for there is a spell in letters of which few can resist the influence. They assumed the toga, which, on account of the comfortable warmth of the material, they very quickly cottoned; they plunged into baths, and threw themselves into the capacious lap of luxury.'—p. 9.

Severus and Caracalla successively maintained the Roman power in Britain. Carausius, the pirate, joining the Britons, the Roman eagles were put to flight, and 'both wings of the imperial army exhibited the white feather.' Carausius was murdered by Alectus—Alectus at the instigation of Constantius Chlorus—the murderers becoming in succession the rulers and masters of the island after their victims. Internal decay compelled the Romans to look at home, and abandon Britain to a British party,

and a Roman faction, of which Vortigern and Aurelius Ambrosius were the chiefs. Britain was abandoned by the Romans about the year 420 after the Roman civilization had been impressed more or less effectually on parts of the island for five centuries. Thus, to the Celtic element, which is the basis of our social condition, was added the indestructible seeds of Roman culture in arts and arms.

Mr. A'Beckett's account of the Saxons and the Heptarchy opens with some jokes on their arms, the battle-axe and the hammer, and their wicker boats. We obtain a glimpse of Rowena, the daughter of Hengist, presenting a wine-cup to King Vortigern, and intoxicating him with love and drink. The story of the massacre at Stonehenge is repeated, where the Saxons are said to have assassinated the Britons at a feast, with swords or knives concealed in their hose. Hengist became king of Kent, Middlesex, Essex, and a part of Surrey. 'The success of Hengist induced several of his countrymen, after his death, to attempt to walk in his shoes; but it has been well and wisely said, that in following the footsteps of a great man, an equally capacious understanding is requisite.'

'In the year 447, Ella the Saxon landed in Sussex with his three sons, and drove the Britons into a forest one hundred and twenty miles long and thirty broad, according to the old writers, but in our opinion just about as broad as it was long, for otherwise there could have been no room for it in the place where the old writers have planted it. Ella, however, succeeded in clutching a very respectable slice, which was called the kingdom of South Saxony, which included Surrey, Sussex, and the New Forest; while another invading firm, under the title of Cerdic and Son, started a small vanquishing business in the West, and by conquering Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, founded the kingdom of Wessex. Cerdic was considerably harassed by King Arthur of fabulous fame, whose valour is reported to have been such, that he fought twelve battles with the Saxons, and was three times married. His first and third wives were carried away from him, but on the principle that no news is good news, the historians tell us that as there are no records of his second consort, his alliance with her may perhaps have been a happy one. The third and last of his spouses ran off with his nephew Mordred, and the enraged monarch having met his ungrateful kinsman in battle, they engaged each other with such fury, that, like the Kilkenny cats, they slew one another.'—pp. 14, 15.

In 547, Ida, with a host of Angles, settled on a small wild space between the Tyne and the Tees, a tiny possession, in which he was much teased by the beasts of the forest.

Our author conjectures that the disturbed condition known as a state of sixes and sevens, may have derived its title from the

torius Scapula, a sharp blade, erected a line of defences—a line in which he was so successful, that it may have been called his *forte*. Ostorius suffocated every breath of liberty in Suffolk—hauled the inhabitants of Newcastle over the coals—drove the Welsh before him like Welsh rabbits, and made Caractacus fly with the remains of one wing of his army. This brave Celt was taken to Rome in chains; but, by his dignified conduct, he caused his chains to be struck off, and thus we lose the chain of his history. In the reign of Nero, Boadicea, after burning London, was defeated by Suetonius, and poisoned herself. The serial attacks of the Romans were continued by Ceriales. Agricola, the father-in-law of Tacitus, certainly did considerable havoc in Britain.'

'He sent the Scotch reeling over the Grampian Hills, and led the Caledonians a pretty dance. He ran up a kind of rampart between the Friths of Clyde and Forth, from which he could come forth at his leisure and complete the conquest of Caledonia. In the sixth year of his campaign, A.D. 83, he crossed the Frith of Forth, and came opposite to Fife, which was played upon by the whole of his band with considerable energy. Having wintered in Fife, upon which he levied contributions to a pretty tune, he moved forward in the summer of the next year, A.D. 84, from Glen Devon to the foot of the Grampians. He here encountered Galgacus and his host, who made a gallant resistance; but the Scottish chief was soon left to reckon without his host, for all his followers fled like lightning, and it has been said that their bolting came upon him like a thunderbolt.

'Agricola having thoroughly beaten the Britons—on the principle, perhaps, that there is nothing so impressible as wax—began to think of instructing them. He had given them a few lessons in war which they were not likely to forget, and he now thought of introducing among their chiefs a tincture of polite letters, commencing, of course, with the alphabet. The Britons finding it as easy as A, B, C, began to cultivate the rudiments of learning, for there is a spell in letters of which few can resist the influence. They assumed the toga, which, on account of the comfortable warmth of the material, they very quickly cottoned; they plunged into baths, and threw themselves into the capacious lap of luxury.'—p. 9.

Severus and Caracalla successively maintained the Roman power in Britain. Carausius, the pirate, joining the Britons, the Roman eagles were put to flight, and 'both wings of the imperial army exhibited the white feather.' Carausius was murdered by Alectus—Alectus at the instigation of Constantius Chlorus—the murderers becoming in succession the rulers and masters of the island after their victims. Internal decay compelled the Romans to look at home, and abandon Britain to a British party,

and a Roman faction, of which Vortigern and Aurelius Ambrosius were the chiefs. Britain was abandoned by the Romans about the year 420 after the Roman civilization had been impressed more or less effectually on parts of the island for five centuries. Thus, to the Celtic element, which is the basis of our social condition, was added the indestructible seeds of Roman culture in arts and arms.

Mr. A'Beckett's account of the Saxons and the Heptarchy opens with some jokes on their arms, the battle-axe and the hammer, and their wicker boats. We obtain a glimpse of Rowena, the daughter of Hengist, presenting a wine-cup to King Vortigern, and intoxicating him with love and drink. The story of the massacre at Stonehenge is repeated, where the Saxons are said to have assassinated the Britons at a feast, with swords or knives concealed in their hose. Hengist became king of Kent, Middlesex, Essex, and a part of Surrey. 'The success of Hengist induced several of his countrymen, after his death, to attempt to walk in his shoes; but it has been well and wisely said, that in following the footsteps of a great man, an equally capacious understanding is requisite.'

'In the year 447, Ella the Saxon landed in Sussex with his three sons, and drove the Britons into a forest one hundred and twenty miles long and thirty broad, according to the old writers, but in our opinion just about as broad as it was long, for otherwise there could have been no room for it in the place where the old writers have planted it. Ella, however, succeeded in clutching a very respectable slice, which was called the kingdom of South Saxony, which included Surrey, Sussex, and the New Forest; while another invading firm, under the title of Cerdic and Son, started a small vanquishing business in the West, and by conquering Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, founded the kingdom of Wessex. Cerdic was considerably harassed by King Arthur of fabulous fame, whose valour is reported to have been such, that he fought twelve battles with the Saxons, and was three times married. His first and third wives were carried away from him, but on the principle that no news is good news, the historians tell us that as there are no records of his second consort, his alliance with her may perhaps have been a happy one. The third and last of his spouses ran off with his nephew Mordred, and the enraged monarch having met his ungrateful kinsman in battle, they engaged each other with such fury, that, like the Kilkenny cats, they slew one another.'—pp. 14, 15.

In 547, Ida, with a host of Angles, settled on a small wild space between the Tyne and the Tees, a tiny possession, in which he was much teased by the beasts of the forest.

Our author conjectures that the disturbed condition known as a state of sixes and sevens, may have derived its title from the

turmoils of the seven Saxon sovereigns of the Heptarchy. In Kent, Ethelbert, a successor of Hengist, was always acting on the principle of give and take. He took what he could, and gave battle. He seized the throne of Mercia, resigning it only on condition that Webba, the rightful heir, should become his tributary. He introduced Christianity into England, and was the correspondent of Gregory, the punster pope, and author of the celebrated *jeu de mot* on the word *Angli* in the market-place,—'Non Angli sed Angeli forent si fuissent Christiani.' Ethelbert was the pretwalda or chairman of seven kings. Egbert, King of Wessex, managed, in 723, to seat himself on all the seven thrones at once. The successive kings of Northumberland assassinated each other, until the people quietly submitted to Egbert. In East Anglia was seen a similar succession of murderers and monarchs. Offa, King of Mercia, or the midland counties, invited Ethelbert, King of the East Angles, to marry his daughter Elfrida. During the nuptial festivities at Hereford, the bridegroom was asked into a back room by his father-in-law, and had scarcely taken a chair when his head was struck off his shoulders. In proof of his penitence, he exacted a penny from the people from every house possessed of thirty pence a-year, which he sent to the pope. These Peter's pence may have originated the expression respecting robbing Paul to pay Peter. The throne of East Anglia fell under Wiglaff, and the remaining stock of royalty was seized by Egbert. Of the histories of Essex and Sussex little is known. Egbert had acquired at the court of Charlemagne that French polish 'which ought to be found on every gentleman's table.' The King Beatric of Wessex being accidentally poisoned by his wife, Egbert was embraced by the people as the rightful heir. Egbert subdued in battles the Mercians, who were 'fat, corpulent, and short-winded.' Mercia, Kent, and Essex subdued, East Anglia protected, Northumberland protected, and Wessex belonging to Egbert by succession, the Heptarchy became a monarchy about four hundred years after the arrival of the Saxons. The Danes, in alliance with the Britons, gave Egbert and the Saxons much trouble, until he defeated them at Kingsdown Hill, and closed a long and prosperous reign victoriously.

Alfred the Great was the grandson of Egbert. His father, Ethelwolf, took him when only six—and, therefore, Alfred the Little—on a pilgrimage to Rome.

'He spent a large sum of money abroad, gave the pope an annuity for himself, and another to trim the lamps of St. Peter and St. Paul, which has given rise to the celebrated *jeu de mot* that, 'instead of roaming about and getting rid of his cash in trimming foreign lamps, he ought to have remained at home for the purpose of trimming his enemies.'

'On his return through France he fell in love with Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald, the king of the Franks, who probably gave a good fortune to the bride, for Charles being known as the bald, must of course have been without any heir apparent.—pp. 20, 21.

His sons resented this marriage. 'Athelstane being dead, Ethelbald was now the king's eldest son, and had made every arrangement for a fight with his own father for the throne, when the old gentleman thought it better to divide his crown than run the risk of getting it cracked in battle.'

'Ethelbald immediately cried halves when he found his father disposed to cry quarter, and after a short debate they came to a division. The undutiful son got for himself the richest portion of the kingdom of Wessex, leaving his unfortunate sire to sigh over the eastern part, which was the poorest moiety of the royal property. The ousted Ethelwolf did not survive more than two years the change which had made him little better than half-a-sovereign, for he died in 857, and was succeeded by his son Ethelbald. This person was, to use an old simile, as full of mischief 'as an egg is full of meat,' and indeed somewhat fuller, for we never yet found a piece of beef, mutton, or veal, in the whole course of our oval experience. Ethelbald, however, reigned only two years, having first married and subsequently divorced his father's widow Judith, whose venerable parent Charles the Bald was happily indebted to his baldness for being spared the misery of having his grey hairs brought down in sorrow to the grave by the misfortunes of his daughter. This young lady, for she was still young in spite of her two marriages, her widowhood, and divorce, had retired to a convent near Paris, where a gentleman of the name of Baldwin, belonging to an old standard family, ran away with her. He was threatened with excommunication by the young lady's father, but treating the menaces of Charles the Bald as so much balderdash, Mr Baldwin sent a herald to the pope, who allowed the marriage to be legally solemnised.

'We have given a few lines to Judith because, by her last marriage, she gave a most illustrious line to us; for her son having married the youngest daughter of Alfred the Great, was the ancestor of Maud, the wife of William the Conqueror.'—p. 22.

Ethelbald was succeeded by his brothers Ethelbert, Ethelred, and Alfred, in turn. Constant resistance to the ravages of the Danes was the chief business of all the successors of Egbert. Alfred taught Britannia her first lesson in ruling the waves, by destroying the fleet of Guthrum the Dane. Amidst the festivities of Twelfth Night, Alfred was surprised at Chippenham by the Danes, and deserted by his subjects. It was on this occasion that he assumed the disguise of a swineherd, and was rebuked by the peasant's wife for neglecting to turn the cakes

on the fire, while she was otherwise employed in trying to turn a penny. In the disguise of a 'wandering minstrel,' Alfred visited the camp of the Danes, and, prepared with his jokes, by splitting the sides eventually to make splinters of the enemy. Having returned to his friends, Alfred led them against Guthrum, whom he defeated and compelled to embrace Christianity. The Danes settled quietly on the east side of the island.

'Alfred, having tranquillised the country, died in the year 901, after a glorious reign of nearly thirty years, and is known to this day as Alfred the Great, an epithet which has never yet been earned by one of his successors.

'The character of this prince seems to have been as near perfection as possible. His reputation as a sage has not been injured by time, nor has the mist of ages obscured the brightness of his military glory. He was a lover of literature, and a constant reader of every magazine of knowledge that he could lay his hands upon. An anecdote is told of his mother, Osburgha, having bought a book of Saxon poetry, illustrated according to the taste of our own times, with numerous drawings. Alfred and his brothers were all exclaiming, 'Oh give it me!' with infantine eagerness, when his parent hit on the expedient of promising that he who could read it first should receive it as a present. Alfred, proceeding on the modern principle of acquiring 'Spanish without a master,' and 'French comparatively in no time,' succeeded in picking up Anglo-Saxon in six self-taught lessons. He accordingly won the book, which was, no doubt, of a nature well calculated to 'repay perusal.'

'Nor were war and literature the only pursuits in which Alfred indulged; but he added the mechanical arts to his other accomplishments. The sun-dial was probably known to Alfred; but that acute prince soon saw, or, rather, found from not seeing, that a sun-dial in the dark was worse than useless. Not content with being always alive to the time of day, he became desirous of knowing the time of night, and used to burn candles of a certain length with notches in them to mark the hours. These were indeed melting moments, but the wind often blew the candles out, or caused them to burn irregularly. Sometimes they would get very long wicks, and, if every one had gone to bed, no one being up to snuff, might render the long wicks rather dangerous. In this dilemma he asked himself what could be done, and his friend Asser, the monk, having said, half sportively, 'Ah! you are on the horns of a dilemma,' Alfred enthusiastically replied, 'I have it; yes, I will turn the horns to my own advantage, and make a horn lanthorn.' Thus, to make use of a figure of a recent writer, Alfred never found himself in a difficulty without, somehow or other, making light of it.

'He founded the navy, and, besides being the architect of his own fortunes, he studied architecture for the benefit of his subjects, for he caused so many houses to be erected, that during his reign

the country seemed to be let out on one long building lease. He revised the laws, and his system of police was so good, that it has been said any one might have hung out jewels on the highway without any fear of their being stolen. Much, however, depends on the kind of jewellery then in use, for some future historian may say of the present generation, that such was its honesty, precious stones — that is to say, precious large stones—might be left in the streets without any one offering to take them up and walk away with them.

'Alfred gave encouragement not only to native, but to foreign talent, and sent out Swithelm, bishop of Sherburn, to India, by what is now called the overland journey, and the good bishop was therefore the original Indian male, or Saxon Waghorn. He brought from India several gems, and a quantity of pepper; the gems being generously given by Alfred to his friends, and the pepper freely bestowed on his enemies.'—pp. 26, 27.

There is little worthy of detailing in the reigns of Ethelstane, Edmund, Edred, Edwy, or Edgar, and our analysis has already been amply sufficient to exhibit the peculiarities of Mr. A'Beckett's mode of treating his subject. When he comes to the Norman conquest, his narrative is truthful enough to make every well-regulated mind deem it a shame and not a boast to be descended from the Norman conquerors. But we have already exceeded our space. We, however, cannot resist presenting to our readers a few specimens of the felicitous wit with which Mr. A'Beckett occasionally hits off the characters of our monarchs. Of William the Conqueror he says—'His character has been a good deal blackened, but scarcely more than it deserves; for there is no doubt that he was cruel, selfish, and unprincipled. It is, however, a curious fact, that what receives blacking from one age gets polished by the next; and this may account for the brilliance that has been shed in this country over the name of one who introduced the feudal system, the Game Laws, and other evils, the escape from which has been the work of many centuries. Though a natural son, he was an unnatural father; and the result was, that being an indifferent parent, his children became also indifferent.' We have met with nothing better in these numbers than the following character of King Stephen.

'The historian often finds himself awkwardly situated when called upon to give a character to a king; and there being a natural objection to written characters, the difficulty is greater on that account. It may be said for Stephen, that he was sober and industrious, tolerably honest, not addicted to gluttony, or given to drink, like many of his predecessors, and of course, therefore, not so much accustomed to wait at table. He had a pleasing manner, and a good address, except while confined in prison, when his address was none of the pleasantest. On the whole, when we look at him as the paid

servant of the public, we think him ill adapted for a steward, since England was always in confusion while under his care; and as a coachman he was even worse, for he was quite unfitted to hold the reins of power.'—p. 83.

It is a joyful thing, that in our day wit and ridicule have taken the side of the people and of progress. From the Restoration to the Georgian era—from Samuel Butler to Theodore Hook—the wits have been the tools of courts and parties. Ridicule was called the test of truth at the Restoration, and wit was used as a weapon against every thing sacred, or beautiful, or noble. Ridicule is as much a test of truth as it is a test of medicines, but it is a powerful and a valuable instrument in the service of any cause.

> Each fool still hath an itching to deride,
> And fain would be upon the laughing side.

Wit is most valuable as a means of gaining attention to truths and facts which are shut out from many minds, by headstrong prejudices and selfish interests. The tinklings of the cymbals of wit gather audiences to hear ideas. The last seven years has seen wit and ridicule change their service. They have doffed the plush liveries. A new generation of wits has arisen, who have disdained to serve either courts, aristocracies, or parties. The jesters have refused to serve successively the courts and the factions of the noblesse, and will now be merry only in the cause of right and man. The wits were long the Swiss of literature, ready to do battle for anything which could pay them, either with pelf or puff. However, another, a better, a noble breed of wits has now shone forth, who seem animated with the desire chiefly to make the world benefit by their being in it.

Among this new race of light writers Mr. A'Beckett holds a distinguished place. He carries their spirit, principles and purposes into the past. To him we shall look for a compendium of English history, which may be safely placed in the hands of our children,—a history in which rouged licentiousness will not be passed off as beautiful—in which selfishness, though throned, crowned, sceptred, and jewelled, will be shewn to be baseness still—a simple manly book on the side of the people, because their cause is one with justice and right.

Art. III.—*A Memoir of the Life and Character of Thomas Wilson, Esq., Treasurer of Highbury College.* By his Son. 8vo. London: John Snow.

We have risen from the perusal of this Memoir with a deep impression of the importance of the lesson which it is adapted to teach. Recording the life of a private gentleman whom no professional ties bound to religious service, it sets before us an animated example of what may be done, by earnest devotedness, in the truest and noblest walk of life. Had the subject of this Memoir been a minister professionally, little would have been heard of him. His activity, prompted by good sense and practical wisdom, might have enabled him efficiently to occupy some subordinate post. As a pastor, he would have been vigilant, unsparingly faithful, evangelical in the tone of his ministrations, strictly denominational, yet solicitous probably within that limit, to multiply and strengthen the churches of Christ. All this, and perhaps something more than this, he might have been; but his mental qualities would have prevented his influence being felt over an extended circle, and we doubt whether he would have elicited strong personal regard. Filling up his appointed sphere with credit, he would have passed off the stage, esteemed it may be by his charge, but little known beyond its precincts. The very directness of his efforts—the exclusive pursuit of religious ends to which he was professionally bound, would have militated against his usefulness, and insured to others a less result of good than, by a different destination, was happily effected. We say this with no disrespect, for we revere the memory of Thomas Wilson, but from a sincere concern to elicit from his history the instruction it is suited to yield. There are many false judgments afloat, the correction of which can only be accomplished by a due consideration of such facts as his biography records: and we are persuaded that one of these is near akin to the remarks we are now making.

Nothing is more common among intelligent young men, when first impressed with a deep sense of the importance of religion, than to contemplate devoting themselves to the Christian ministry. It is the natural expression of what is passing within them; the outward and visible sign of the religious life to which they have just awakened. Rejoicing in their own escape—viewing with entire complacency the spiritual life on which they have entered—grateful for the mercy shewn, and tenderly compassionate towards others yet insensible to their danger and wretchedness—their desires naturally revert to the Christian ministry as the vocation which will allow full play to every better feeling, and proffer the opportunity of aiding the best

interests of their fellow men. The earliest movements of the spiritual life are frequently in this direction, and that, too, precisely in the degree in which that life is healthful and strong. Now there is much to be commended in this, but the impulse is not wholly to be trusted. It needs direction and controul. Good in its origin, and most honourable in the object it proposes, it is yet liable to gross perversion; and, unless wisely directed, may become the means of limiting the usefulness, if not of rendering the life of an individual wholly wretched. In former ages it led to monasticism, and other forms of seclusion still more exceptional; and, in our own times, has sometimes prompted pious men to abandon stations for which they were eminently fitted, and to enter on others, the duties of which they were incompetent to discharge. Let no man therefore conclude that the Christian ministry is the only vocation in which religious service can be rendered; or even the one in which, as a universal rule, the largest measure of it can be performed. In some cases, this is unquestionably the fact. Where the specific endowments required are possessed in an unwonted degree; where the intellect and the heart are attuned to the occupation, so as to prompt—apart from all secular considerations—to its duties, and to necessitate their discharge; *there* the seal of the divine spirit is set; and woe be to him, parent, guardian, or friend, who prevents the obvious design of God.

We have frequently been pained to observe the reluctance with which Christian parents—in some cases, officers of our churches—consent to their sons foregoing the prospect of temporal advancement, in order to devote themselves to a vocation for which they are eminently formed. Some of our wealthy men have much to answer for in this respect; and how their consciences are satisfied we know not. If secular aggrandizement be the great object of human life, their opposition is wise and right; but if there be other and higher objects, as their religious profession declares, then their hostility is indifference to the salvation of men, and unfaithfulness to the Redeemer whose name they bear. Either their religious profession is a lie, or their hostility—sometimes carried to an extreme of bitterness—convicts them of infidelity, and brands them as earthly and sensual. The arguments by which professedly Christian men endeavour to turn aside their sons from the service of the sanctuary are fraught with the noxious elements of worldly prudence—are adapted to sap and undermine the integrity of their religious character, and, if followed out to their legitimate results, would induce the entire renunciation of religion itself. But whilst we most seriously deprecate the

irreligious efforts sometimes made by religious men to overrule the obvious leaning of their sons, we are at the same time concerned that religious service should be regarded apart from the conventionalities of any class or time. The question to be determined in any particular case, is one of comparison. It is not whether religious interests shall be subserved or not, but whether they may be best promoted by the one or the other of two occupations; whether most good, religious good, will be effected by a professional adoption of its engagements, or by a personal consecration in connexion with a secular position. This is by no means a simple case. Its solution frequently proves difficult, and calls for much fidelity and matured experience. Each case must be decided by itself; and we point triumphantly to the subject of the memoir before us in proof that, in some instances, at least, the latter alternative should be chosen. Religious service is much larger than the ministry. It may be pursued in every walk of life, at all times, and in every place. It need not be intrusive or talkative; but wherever its professors are—on land or sea, at home or abroad, in the senate or in the study, on the exchange or in the market-place—it may be rendered as a grateful offering acceptable to God, and eminently conducive to human good. This is one of the lessons taught by the Memoir of Mr. Wilson, and there are others for which, a more appropriate place will be found in the course of the remarks we have to offer on some parts of his biography.

Mr. Wilson was born on the 11th of November, 1764, in the City of London, and was sent at an early age to a boarding school at Newington Green. 'He was a quiet, sober, and thoughtful boy; not addicted to youthful sports, but fond of retirement, and more disposed to read than to play.' His education was strictly commercial, and his biographer strongly inclines to the opinion that, he was benefitted rather than otherwise by the ignorance in which he was kept of classical learning. From this opinion we dissent, and think there would not be much difficulty in shewing that the view taken is one-sided and superficial. Indeed, it is clear to us that Mr. Wilson suffered materially through life from the defective character of his early training. A more enlarged course of education would have liberalized his mind, and, without impairing his many excellencies, have fitted him for a yet wider sphere of usefulness. Considering what his early advantages were, it is marvellous that he compassed so much. What he might have been, and done, had they been greater, it is not easy to say; but it is quite clear to us, that he would, in such case, have been much better qualified for the station he filled, and have been enabled to extend his influence far beyond the limits by which it was

actually bound. 'I do not recollect,' says his son, 'ever asking him whether he received any instruction in the Latin and Greek languages; but of the former his knowledge was extremely limited. The only portion of Latin I ever heard him repeat was the invocation of the Lord's Prayer,—'Pater noster qui es in cœlo.' Of Greek, I believe he was entirely ignorant; and I cannot suppose that he had ever learned even the alphabet of that noble language.'

His father's household was distinguished by its religious complexion, and it is probable that the character of the son was mainly determined by this fact. He was not, we are informed, accustomed to speak much of his early religious history; but in 1808, when referring to it, he says,—'I have great reason to be thankful for kind and pious parents, and especially for a gradual love which I have felt for divine things. Engaged in the active pursuits of life, his father appears to have had little sympathy—save in the matter of religion—with affairs beyond his immediate vocation. 'He was a Nonconformist of the good old Puritan school; strictly conscientious, and constantly striving to walk in all the ordinances and commandments of the Lord blameless; retaining all the close habitual regard to the will of God for which those excellent men were distinguished, without any of the demure austerity and rigid stiffness and scrupulosity which are commonly, although with questionable truth, ascribed to them.'

At the early age of fourteen, Thomas Wilson was apprenticed to his father; soon after which, at the suggestion of an intimate and intelligent friend, Mr. Noble, a General Baptist minister, was engaged to attend twice a week, in order to afford him instruction in history, geography, and other branches of useful knowledge. Immediately on the termination of his apprenticeship he was taken into partnership by his father, and became what is technically styled 'a silkman.' Though his habits at this period were those of a decidedly religious man, he did not formally connect himself with any of the churches of the Congregational or Independent body. The reason of this is not positively known, but the following is given as a probable solution:—

'A considerable portion of his apprenticeship had been spent in Coventry, where a branch of the business was carried on While at that place he attended at the chapel in West Orchard, of which my grandfather had been one of the founders. The late Mr. Matthew Wilks had, previously to May 1733, frequently visited Coventry and supplied that congregation, by whom he was invited to become their minister. My father frequently heard him there, and admired his evangelical strain of preaching, and his striking, powerful, and

impressive mode of address. This would naturally lead him afterwards to hear that eminent man when he regularly officiated at the Tabernacle in London. The minister chosen at Haberdashers' Hall to succeed Dr. Gibbons, who died in the year 1785, was not a popular or attractive preacher, so that there was no powerful inducement for him regularly to frequent that place; and having been accustomed to attend at the Tabernacle on the Lord's-day evenings, and also some of the week-evening services, he had heard all the preachers who supplied there, and preferred their warm, lively, affectionate manner, to the more correct, perhaps, but colder and less earnest style of the regular London pastors. He had also formed acquaintance and contracted friendship with some of the ministers who were annual supplies at the Tabernacle, and under these circumstances it was natural that he should feel a superior attraction to that place, and become a regular attendant there He joined in communion with the Tabernacle society, I believe, shortly after his apprenticeship expired, but in what year I have not been able to ascertain.'—pp. 63, 64.

His habits through life were of an active rather than of a sedentary character. He was more of an observer than a reader—a noter of what appeared on the surface of society, not a meditative recluse, who sought communion with forms of truth impalpable to the grosser apprehensions of the multitude. Whatever addition may have been made by Mr. Noble to his pupil's stock of knowledge, it does not appear that any mental habits were formed which prompted to the subsequent prosecution of literature.

'I do not find any indications that my father, after the expiration of his apprenticeship, devoted much time to mental cultivation. Probably his attention—like that of many young men engaged in business—was too fully occupied by its concerns to allow of his being either a general reader or a close student; and there were not, at that time, those facilities and inducements which now abound on every hand to intellectual improvement. It is much to be lamented, that the most valuable years in the life of a young person should be suffered to pass away, without his attaining an increased degree of mental developement, as well as large additions to his previously acquired stock of general knowledge and useful information Young men engaged in business should be urged, by a strong sense of duty, to redeem a portion of time for mental improvement, and to devote at least some of the precious *morning* hours of every day to reading and study, as well as to devotional exercises.'—p. 93.

For some years, Mr. Wilson was in the habit of hearing a great variety of ministers—partly from his attendance at the Tabernacle, and partly perhaps from the habit induced by the plan on which that celebrated place of worship was then sup-

plied. Amongst these, the most grateful recollection was cherished of the Rev. Andrew Fuller, 'to whom,' says his son, 'he was probably more deeply indebted than to any other, and of whose sermons he appears to have retained a more lively and permanent impression.' It is probably known to but few of our readers, that the special application of Mr. Wilson's talents to the department in which he laboured, was mainly owing to the Secretary of the Baptist Mission. Such cases are refreshing to the Catholic believer. They serve to break down the separating wall which keeps Christians apart from each other, and shew us how superior to our sectarian conventionalities is the gracious agency of the divine Spirit. That the two sections of the Congregational body should have been led to regard each other with mistrust, cherishing uncharitable thoughts, impugning one another's integrity, and sometimes evincing the spirit of unhallowed strife and partizanship, is amongst the most mournful and humiliating spectacles presented by the Church. Such things, however, have been; and even now there are not wanting, on either side, those who would inflame discord, perpetuate disunion, and whisper, when they dare not loudly utter, what charity and truth alike condemn. Let all such ponder on what God does, and then honestly say whether it comports with Christian rectitude—to say nothing of the profession of liberality—to maintain the position they assume. The practical difficulty felt by many is to reconcile the supposition of liberality of mind with the earnest advocacy of what is opposite to their creed; and, until this is overcome, no real advance can be made in genuine catholicity. Nothing, in theory, is more obvious than the compatibility of the two, yet nothing is practically more difficult than to act on the supposition. Fidelity to truth requires the one; fidelity to the Christian brotherhood demands the other. Each is necessary to the discharge of duty; and the clear perception of their harmony will furnish one of the best evidences of an advanced state of true-hearted, as opposed to fictitious and artificial, liberality. In the case of Mr. Wilson, Dr. Philip gives the following account of the effect of Mr. Fuller's teaching:—

'Thomas Wilson' knew the obligation he was under to God and to his cause, before he became a public character; but it was not till he heard a sermon by Mr. Fuller from these words. 'Cast thy bread upon the waters,' &c., that he realised those obligations to their full extent, and resolved, in humble dependence on Divine aid, to consecrate himself, his time, his talents, and his property to the Lord's service. Under that sermon he felt, for the first time, that what he had been doing for the cause of God did not amount to the self-denial enjoined in the text; and that it was his interest as

well as his duty, not to content himself with the common standard of liberality, but to deny himself not only the luxuries of life, but also what may be deemed [by some] its necessaries.'—p. 134.

Mr. Wilson retired from business in 1798, and devoted himself with increased assiduity to what he justly deemed his special calling. In this he set a noble example; to which we invite the attention of such as are entrusted with a large measure of this world's substance. Nothing is more common in such circumstances than for wealthy men, even though committed to a religious profession, to act on the most selfish and contracted views of duty. Relieved from the pressure of business, they form their plans as though personal indulgence were their only legitimate object. Their time and energy are expended on themselves; or if any other end be proposed, it is too frequently the aggrandizement of their family—the elevation in the social circle of those who are entrusted to their care. The airs of gentility which are in such cases assumed, the poor and pitiful meannesses which are perpetrated, in order to raise themselves in the social scale, are amongst the most contemptible exhibitions which human folly supplies. The opportunities for usefulness which are enjoyed are thus wasted, their own minds suffer injury, and the want of useful occupation frequently embitters the remainder of their lives. It is at all times hazardous for the man of business to leave his wonted engagements. The instances are rare in which his habits fit him for the quiet of seclusion. They need action and excitement, and in their absence too frequently engender irresolution, fretfulness, and dissatisfaction. Mr. Wilson guarded against these evils by the noble purpose to which his leisure was consecrated. He was yet in comparative early life when he retired from business, but his religious principles were sufficiently powerful to stamp their character on the measures he devised.

'More persons,' says Mr. James, in a letter appended to the Memoir, 'can be found willing to give their wealth, than can be found to give *themselves*. To see a man economising the resources of a handsome, though at the commencement of his useful career by no means an exuberant, income; relinquishing the equipage and other appendages of wealth, and contenting himself with the simple habits of men possessed of not half his means, in order that he might have the more to dispense; to see this same man hiring an office, employing a clerk, and going to the scene of his benevolent occupation, there to be accessible to all who wanted either his money or his counsel; and all this with the same constancy, punctuality, and untiring perseverance, as any merchant in the metropolis goes to his counting-house, was a scene which I believe had no parallel, and still has none.'—p. 569.

Had not Mr. Wilson been a religious man, or, being one, had his religious character been less matured, he would not probably have retired from business so early. As it was, he acted from the noblest impulse, and his reward was large.

'My father,' says the biographer, 'was enabled to avoid a great error into which persons retiring from business often fall. They are too apt to consider themselves at liberty to live in a desultory, irregular manner —to suppose that they may pass the remainder of life without a fixed plan, a determinate scheme of action—the consequence of which is, they have no practical aim—no definite object of pursuit. My father formed his purpose advisedly, and arranged his plan deliberately. The object selected by him is the greatest that can engage the attention or occupy the faculties of man, to which he had in previous years devoted a considerable portion of time, and to which he now determined to devote the whole of his remaining life. That object was USEFULNESS, which has been well designated 'the very excellency of life' He selected, too, that department of service which may be called the flower of usefulness—beneficence in regard to the spiritual and eternal interests of mankind. Charity to the soul—to adopt a quaint phrase of the Puritan divines—is the soul of charity.'—pp. 163, 164.

From this period his usefulness may be dated. Not that he was inactive or niggardly before, but that his opportunities were now more ample, and his energies were undivided. He continued to occupy the same house in Artillery Place, in one room of which, true to his purpose, 'he sat during great part of the day, devoting many hours to transact that which he had determined henceforth to make his business—'the happy, joyful business of *doing good*,'—and to which he attended with all the energy and vigour which he had learned in his secular calling.' The habits of business were carried into his higher occupations, and greatly aided him in the various and sometimes perplexing engagements of his later life. As his example, in the stedfast pursuit of religious service, was worthy of imitation, so his wisdom was strikingly evinced in the department of usefulness which he selected. He did not fritter away his strength on many objects, but wisely concentrated it. The principle of a division of labour is yet to be applied to religious service. Its wisdom is admitted in the factory and in the shop, but from the Christian church it has been almost wholly excluded; and we consequently find the same men attempting a dozen different things, any one of which would afford them sufficient occupation. The committees of our religious societies furnish melancholy illustrations of this. Men hurry from one to the other, or give their attendance only occasionally to each, so as to embarrass the councils or to overrule the decisions of those who

are most conversant with the matter to be determined. There is no work, therefore, which is done so ill, or which affords more frequent occasion to retrace the steps taken.

Mr. Wilson acted otherwise, and his success was proportionably great. As his son remarks, 'he formed his purpose advisedly, and arranged his plan deliberately.' He selected his own department—made himself master of its details—personally superintended and concentrated upon it the whole force of his mind. The result was what might have been looked for. His labours were crowned with pre-eminent success, and thousands who were strangers to his person were led to revere and love him.

'As my father's character affords a striking instance of unity and singleness of purpose, so his life furnishes abundant proof of what extensive good may result from individual effort—how much may be done by one man devoting himself to one thing—consecrating all his energies to one object. This lesson is rendered the more impressive from the fact, that my father possessed no brilliant qualities of any kind—neither splendid talents nor profound acquirements. If, however, he did not possess the dazzling and showy qualities, neither was he destitute of the more sterling, solid, and valuable endowments—a vigorous understanding, strong good sense, a sound judgment, considerable penetration, and great practical wisdom. He possessed an eminently *sound* mind, distinguished for sobriety. Above all, he was firm, determined, and decisive in purpose, prompt, vigorous, and persevering in execution—resolute in will, and energetic in action. His natural endowments admirably fitted him for the work assigned to him, and that work was, in some respects, peculiar, and exclusively his own.'—p. 543.

The department of labour to which Mr. Wilson devoted himself naturally divided into two branches, one of which seems to have grown out of, and to have been suggested by, the other. All our readers will understand us as referring to the college formerly at Hoxton, now at Highbury, and to the erection of places of worship in various parts of the kingdom. To the former of these he was introduced by his father, whom he succeeded in the treasurership in March, 1794, having been a member of the committee from 1786. It is impossible to speak too highly of the exertions he made on behalf of this institution, nor can we venture on any details. 'During my father's life,' he himself said, 'I felt much interest in this object; and when I undertook the office of treasurer, I determined to devote myself to its duties; and, to do this more effectually, I gave up my connexion with business in the year 1798.'

'It was greatly owing to my father's influence,' says his son, 'that,

after he became treasurer, the number of students was year after year augmented. When Mr. Simpson entered upon the office of tutor at Hoxton in 1791, he had only three young men under his charge. In 1794 there were not more than thirteen. In 1798 the number had increased to twenty, in 1801 to twenty-five, and in 1803 to thirty. He was in the habit of seeking out young men who appeared suitable, and encouraging them to offer themselves as candidates.'—p. 176.

In 1793 the annual subscriptions to Hoxton College amounted only to £368 11s., but in 1803, ten years afterwards, they had advanced to £1171 9s. 6d. His subsequent labours in this department are well known, and stand recorded in the noble edifice at Highbury, a monument of unwearied, self-denying, and high-minded service, of which any man might well be proud. His exertions on behalf of the college were incessant, and involved an amount of personal labour from which most men would have shrunk. He visited various parts of the country in order to advocate its claims, and set, in his own contributions, a worthy example before the more wealthy members of his community. Nor was he less mindful of what he deemed the interests of the students. Whatever opinion may be entertained respecting the weaker points of his character—and who is there without such?—he doubtless cherished the kindest and most paternal feelings towards them. He was amongst them, in intention at least, as a father; and the volume before us furnishes evidence of his having frequently succeeded in impressing them with this conviction. That he was somewhat accessible to flattery, that in occasional instances he repaid servility in other coin than the contempt it deserved, that he was slow to perceive merit where homage was not rendered to himself, and reluctant to abandon the unfavourable impression which had once been made,—in a word, that he was somewhat despotic in temper and unattractive in outward demeanour, are admissions required, we apprehend, by truth, and which may readily be made by his warmest and most attached admirers. No good end is gained by a delineation of spotless excellence. None believe in its truthfulness, for it is not human. It is a mere fancy painting, with the beauty of which we may be pleased, but which no one imagines to be the likeness of a human being. It is far better in such cases to state the whole truth, and religious biography would be much more useful than it has been, if this rule were strictly observed. The inspired writers did so, and were never, therefore, guilty of painting a faultless mortal. Mr. Joshua Wilson is not wholly unmindful of this canon, though with natural partiality, he fails to apply it as extensively as should have been. In one short paragraph, how-

ever, he has furnished an explanation of some cases which occurred more frequently, as we have reason to believe, in the early than in the latter part of his father's life. 'Although,' he remarks, 'I believe his meaning was always kind, yet there was perhaps, occasionally, a degree of bluntness and apparent harshness in his mode of speaking. He did not at all times completely succeed in combining the *suaviter in modo* with the *fortiter in re*.'

His constant intercourse with the students gave him opportunities, of which he freely availed himself, to urge on them a simple, earnest, affectionate, and evangelical style of preaching. Mr. Wilson's views on these points were in the main sound. He regarded human nature from the right point of view, and was intensely solicitous to preserve the religious aspect and bearing of the ministry. Nothing is more seriously to be deprecated than a cold, formal style of preaching, the mere discussion of topics, a scholastic exhibition of the skeleton of theology, apart from the living spirit which gives it animation and value. The truths with which the preacher is conversant are pre-eminently adapted to move the deepest feelings of the soul. They address themselves to the whole man—to the affections as well as the judgment, and are never fairly dealt by, unless exhibited in such form as is suited to engage the one as well as to command the homage of the other. Many of them lie on the borders of the profound and the mysterious, and the rash, the unreflecting, the half-thinker, is thereby tempted beyond his depth. But in no case is this inevitable. The reverent mind will respect the limits which infinite wisdom has imposed, and from the regions of clouds and darkness, will bring back lessons of piety to cheer and strengthen the devout believer. The pulpit is desecrated when the remedial character of the Christian system is lost sight of, or when any other purpose than the spiritual benefit of mankind is proposed in its ministrations. In order, however, that its object should be attained, its style both of language and illustration must be suited to popular apprehension. What is recondite, involved, or metaphysical, should be admitted but rarely, and then only with an obvious subordination to the spiritual interests concerned. For the most part the Christian teacher has to do with the unreflecting and illiterate—we use the word in an inoffensive sense—and his mode of address should be level to their comprehension. He should speak so as to be readily understood, so as to raise no unnecessary barrier to the excitement of emotions, so as to involve in the least degree that cooling process through which the human being passes, when the intellect has much to do prior to the form of truth being presented to the heart. Now it is obvious that the reverse of all this is becoming

fashionable with many of our ministers. There is a false style of preaching growingly prevalent amongst those who affect intellectual superiority. The un-English and barbarous phraseology rendered fashionable for an hour amongst little men, by the authority of the school of Carlyle, is waging war with the simplicity of the pulpit, to the serious detriment of popular instruction. Against this evil—enormous as we verily conceive it to be—the best antidote is found in deep earnest sympathy with the religious ends of the ministry. Let men feel, as the Christian preacher should feel, the compassionate tenderness and awful fidelity of the Gospel, and we defy them to speak the jargon in which the airs of the metaphysician are assumed. The following extract is eminently honourable to Mr. Wilson, and may be usefully pondered over by the Christian teacher.

'Often have I heard him in earnest, animated conversation with the students, urge upon them to combine what is accurate and judicious, with what is free and unpremeditated; to unite in their sermons the mature product of patient thought and laborious study with the warm and fresh effusions of natural feeling, the spontaneous outpourings of genuine emotion, excited at the time by the subject absorbing their own minds, and the scene before them awakening the deepest sensibilities of their nature, and inspiring the liveliest concern for the salvation of their hearers. The perfection of preaching certainly consists in blending thought and feeling, so as both to communicate luminous instruction, and to produce vivid impression. My father, while he considered it an important part of a minister's work to inform the understanding, and to convince the judgment, regarded it as yet more his office, by a persuasive, pathetic address to touch the feelings, to move the passions, and thus, by the blessing of God, to warm and melt, to soften and subdue the heart—in short, to *persuade* men to be reconciled to God. In order to this, it is indispensable to let the hearers see that he is himself in earnest, and that his own heart is set on their salvation.

'As a specimen of my father's mode and style of conversation with the students, I may insert the following extracts from a communication lately received from one of the most honoured and useful ministers of the present day, Rev. John Raven, of Dudley, who entered Highbury College in 1827.

''I shall never forget my interview with him in his own house, at the close of my first session at Highbury College. After informing me that I was to preach for six Sabbaths of the vacation at Writtle, in Essex, he inquired whether any of the deacons or members of the church with which I was connected would hear me? On being answered in the affirmative, he said, 'Well, sir, they will expect to discover some improvement after a year's study. They will make their observations; and recollect, sir, that your conduct and preaching will either honour or disgrace your tutors and the college. People sometimes say, that young men are spoiled

by our colleges; I want you to prove that this is *false*. You will not do this by *saying* so, but if you are more *humble, spiritual,* and *zealous*, and preach the Gospel more *fully, plainly*, and *faithfully*, than before you came to us, they will like our colleges, and support them. It is when young men are proud and conceited in their manner, and metaphysical in preaching, that people are prejudiced against our institutions. Don't you go and affect fine things. . . . . You are not to show off yourself, but to preach Christ and save souls. . . . . Be energetic. . . . . It is the duty of a man to understand his own profession, and it is your duty (as a minister) to understand the *Gospel*. Sinners are diseased; they are dying. You must go and tell them of the remedy—do it earnestly—urge them to receive it. Do not make them think, by a dull, lifeless style of preaching, that it is of little importance whether they believe in Jesus Christ or not. Tell them they are perishing—urge them to repent and believe immediately; and the more effectually you do this the better people will think of you as a preacher. *Your work is to save souls.*''—p. 489—491.

We must not be understood to express the opinion that Mr. Wilson's views of preaching were complete. We do not think so. Much that we have heard, and some things which we meet with in this volume lead to a different conclusion, and we should be unfaithful to our conviction if we did not say as much. In the main, as already stated, they were sound; but the character of his own mind, and the very limited literary advantages which he possessed in early life, disqualified him for duly estimating the higher mental qualities of the preacher. The dread he entertained of metaphysical preaching savoured of this, for the term, as he used it, was descriptive of much that should be cultivated, and which, in due proportion, gives lucidity, without impairing strength or diminishing warmth, to the instructions of the preacher. 'Why not,' he said, on one occasion, referring to a recent theological work, 'take the whole word of God, without attempting to show how various passages harmonize?' To this defect we, in part, attribute the want of mental power in the pulpit ministrations of the day. This is felt much more extensively than is supposed, and the popular mind of the country is, in consequence, losing its respect for the pulpit. It is breaking loose from the controul which is now more needed than ever, and its confidence will not be recovered without a return to the masculine strength, and genuine scholarship, of a better age. This is deeply to be regretted. How it has happened we stop not to inquire. We note simply the fact, and commend it to the consideration of our readers. Many causes have doubtless contributed to it, amongst which we are compelled to place the influence of Mr. Wilson. An attenuated, artificial,

and showy style of preaching—not such certainly as he *designed*, though not unnaturally following in the wake of his counsel—striking for the instant, but destitute of the elements of continued power, has in many cases supplanted the more simple, earnest, and manly address, which becomes the pulpit. There is less both of intellect and of heart than there should be, and it need not, therefore, be matter of surprize if the influence of the ministry be greatly diminished. As an instrument of permanently affecting the popular mind, it is clearly unequal to its destination. Whatever qualities it may possess, this is wanting; but there are other topics which must be noticed, and we therefore leave the theme for the present.

There was another defect in Mr. Wilson's views, nearly allied to the one just noticed, and which grew out of the same causes. He did not duly estimate the importance of *advanced* literary culture, and therefore lent his influence too readily to the early and premature settlement of the students. We do not wish to dogmatize on this point, but we respectfully urge on the tutors of our colleges, and on the committees to which their management is intrusted, whether a serious evil be not inflicted on our younger ministers, and on the churches with which they settle, by allowing, as was formerly not uncommon, the period of study to be abridged, in order to meet the views, and *apparent interests* of destitute societies. We confess to a strong opinion on this point. The wider our observation has become the deeper is our conviction, that the cases are very rare, in which such settlements have not been productive of evil rather than of good. The present benefit has been purchased by an ultimate injury. The minister has been enfeebled for life, and the church has speedily learned that sufficient time had not been allowed for the formation of habits, and the accumulation of resources, which are imperatively demanded in the present day. The evil is further aggravated by the fact that, the students whose early settlement is commonly sought by destitute churches, are those in whose case it is specially desirable that the full term of initiatory study should be insured. They consist of two classes; those who possess, in an unwonted degree, the secondary qualities of a public speaker, and those who are preeminently distinguished by mental endowments. Now these are just the men who ought to be improved to the utmost; on whose training a liberal expenditure is economy; whom, to stint in early culture, is to injure irreparably for life; and from whose after labours the universal church may anticipate the largest and most gratifying result. To such men it is an act of cruelty to abridge, by a single day, the time of preparatory study, whilst to the churches they serve it is short sighted and most mistaken

kindness. We are glad to strengthen our position by the recorded opinion of Mr. James, who, referring to this feature of Mr. Wilson's public life, says :—

'His views of the *necessity* of ministerial education were correct, but perhaps he was not sufficiently impressed with the *importance* of its being carried on to any very high degree of classical, philosophical, and scientific acquirement. He admitted that an entrance to the ministry should be through an academic institution, but then the college was viewed too much, or too exclusively, by him as only the door to the pulpit. The education of dissenting laymen, even among the respectable classes, was in his youth not what it happily is now; and he was not, therefore, prepared to appreciate the value of literature from an enlarged acquaintance with it. The same remark will apply to the education of ministers who, when he entered on his career, and for a long while afterwards, had gone back from the standard of their forefathers, and were taught to do good with a much smaller modicum of general acquirement than is now justly considered necessary for the pastors of our churches. He lived to see a vast improvement in his own cherished institution, and, I believe, rejoiced in it If in some earlier stages of his official connexion with Hoxton Academy he erred in attaching too little value to scholastic acquirements, it was the error, to a considerable extent, of no small portion of the religious public. His influence in the direction of the affairs of the college was, in the opinion of many intelligent observers, too often and too much given in the way of curtailing the already too short term of the curriculum of the students, in order to meet the application of the destitute churches for pastors. He did not consider that it is better for a church to be kept a year or two waiting for a pastor, than that it should be supplied with one whose education is incomplete. It used to be pleasantly said of him, that he had a double anxiety, first to get the young men into college, and then, as soon as possible, to get them out again. In his ardour for the spread of the Gospel and the supply of vacant churches, he occasionally lost his end by precipitancy in furnishing unsuitable men: he was too much guided by number, too little by quality. It is sometimes said, that we had better have inefficient ministers than none at all. This leads to a great error. It would be a benefit if many of our churches could be relieved of useless ministers, even though they should remain destitute for years, so that they were settled at last with men likely to do good. Far better is it to have the ground quite unoccupied for any reasonable length of time, than to have it permanently covered with encumbrances.'—p. 574, 575.

There is another topic to which we must advert, and we regret that our limits preclude our doing it full justice. The labours already recorded are far beyond what are ordinarily rendered, and had nothing more been done by Mr. Wilson, his

name would deserve to be had in lasting honour. But in a distinct, though cognate branch of service, his exertions were still more abundant, and entitle him in a yet higher degree to our gratitude and admiration. Never did a man more fully realize the obligation entailed by his Christian profession to live not to himself. Instead of regarding his wealth as the means of personal gratification, or of family aggrandisement, he laid it under generous tribute to the cause of truth, and became thereby a benefactor, in the highest and best sense, of his fellow men. He did not wait to be forced into action, nor was he content with being ready to meet the call of duty. It is a poor and pitiful consecration which some evidence,—a thing of words and idle sympathies,—an outward garb, rather than an inner habit—the negative of evil more than the animated and earnest prosecution of good. It was far different with Mr. Wilson, and in this was his most honourable distinction. He was perpetually seeking for opportunities of doing good. He knew that such existed, and with the sound-heartedness and enlightened judgment of a Christian man, he sought them out. Few, probably, are aware of the extent to which he did so. We had heard much, but honestly confess that our largest conceptions of what he did, fell immeasurably below the truth. From the perusal of this volume we have risen with astonishment and profound respect, and are conscious of an anxiety beyond what we commonly feel that other gentlemen whose circumstances resemble his, should attentively read this record of his labours. 'Go thou, and do likewise,' is the language it addresses to all such. Would that their hearts may be stirred to a compliance with the divine precept!

It does not appear that the building of chapels formed any part of Mr. Wilson's original plan. 'Indeed,' remarks his son, 'there is some reason to conclude, from a passage in one of his early letters, that he was not at that time very sanguine in his expectations of great spiritual fruit from the multiplication of chapels then commencing.'

He commenced with Hoxton, where, at a cost of 850*l.* he erected a larger chapel than the one which had previously existed in connection with the college.* The usual dissuasives were addressed to him on this occasion by the prudent and the worldly. Some, from whom he might have expected aid, assured him that the place would 'never be filled.' But he

* For this chapel, and the several enlargements which took place between 1800 and 1809, Mr. Wilson advanced upwards of 5000*l.*, 'nearly the whole of which, by his own diligent and unremitting attention, had, in 1811, been refunded.'—p. 309.

was too much in earnest to listen to their advice, and the result proved his wisdom. Encouraged by the success of his first effort, he united with other gentlemen in 1808 in erecting Tonbridge Chapel, New Road, towards which he advanced a loan of £1500, that was subsequently reduced to £350, which he generously remitted. Five years afterwards his property was considerably augmented by the death of a relative, and the magnitude of his contributions increased in an equal degree. A sudden augmentation of wealth is a severe trial of character. Many have failed before it, and instead of augmenting their donations, have withdrawn such as they were previously in the habit of giving. 'Happily,' says Mr. Joshua Wilson, 'in my father's case, habit had come in aid of principle. He had been too much accustomed to do good, and had tasted too deeply of the pleasures of active beneficence, to be in so great danger from this temptation as he might have been at an earlier period of life.'

In 1813, the year in which his property was increased, 'he gave orders, on his own sole responsibility, for the erection of a spacious chapel, with school-rooms in the basement,' at Paddington. The contract for the building amounted to £4925, and he purchased the freehold in the following March for £779. The sum expended by Mr. Wilson on this erection greatly exceeded £7000. Of this amount, £5178 10s. 4d. remained due in 1835, and was then most generously reduced to less than one-half.

Claremont Chapel, at Pentonville, was another of Mr. Wilson's erections, and he proceeded in it with the same noble-minded generosity. It cost upwards of £7000, and was opened September 24th, 1819. Of the sum advanced Mr. Wilson ultimately gave £500, and the balance due to him was discharged in February, 1834.* Only two years after the opening of this place of worship he entered into another contract for the erection of one yet larger, in the neighbourhood of Oxford-street, the total cost of which exceeded £11,000. We refer, as our readers will anticipate, to Craven Chapel, respecting which our author justly remarks,—

'This was my father's last and greatest work of the kind in London, and in no other did he more clearly exhibit that spirit of noble daring and unshaken confidence in God and his cause which distinguished him through life. He had faith in God in habitual exercise, he also

* 'His rule—a rule to which he invariably adhered—was, to take *no interest*; but he did expect that the whole, or the greater part, of the *principal* laid out on his large and costly London chapels should be gradually repaid.'—p. 309.

added to his faith courage, and in this instance that courage assumed an almost heroical aspect. All must admit that it was a bold undertaking—some may even deem it foolish and presumptuous—to take a lease of a large piece of ground, and give orders for a chapel capable of affording accommodation to upwards of 2000 persons, knowing at the time of but few individuals who would attend; yet he acted with judicious forethought and prudent consideration. He knew that the ground he was about to take was surrounded by a dense and teeming population, chiefly of the *middle* class, a large proportion of whom would probably be disposed to attend, when they saw a respectable and handsome chapel erected in the midst of them. He did not act rashly and unadvisedly in doing what he did. He well knew the lamentable deficiency in the means of evangelical instruction provided for a vast number of inhabitants in Oxford Street, and the numerous streets on either side of it; and, a providential opportunity presenting itself for securing suitable ground in the very centre of this populous district, he seized the favourable moment to obtain a sufficient portion for the erection of a spacious chapel.'—pp. 320, 321.

Thus was furnished an unprecedented exemplification of a noble spirit of Christian enterprize. Within ten years, almost entirely at his own expense and at a cost of more than £25,000, Mr. Wilson erected three large chapels, where about 5,000 persons are now in constant attendance, and the gospel is faithfully, earnestly, and successfully preached. The son may well be proud of such a father, and point to this unique achievement as 'specially worthy of honourable memorial.' When the names of our heroes and statesmen have passed away; when our poets cease to charm and our philosophers to instruct; when their works have perished with them, and all ephemeral distinctions are lost in the one grand and pervading element of eternity, the unostentatious services we have recorded will be had in lasting remembrance, and thousands of grateful hearts, made happy by them, will render thanks on their behalf to 'the God of the spirits of all flesh.'

Mr. Wilson's labours were not restricted to London. With the sound practical judgment which was one of his most marked qualities, he was accustomed to say, 'London has the first claim upon me.' He was right in this, and his selection was as wise as it proved useful. But he did not, as most men would have done, refer to his labours in the metropolis as a ground for refusing pecuniary aid to the country. On the contrary, his gifts to the latter were sufficient to make the reputation of a score of ordinary liberal men. We can only specify a few of these, and that in the barest form. To Ipswich, in 1825, he *gave* £1500; to Northampton, in 1829, £2100; to Richmond, in 1830, £2000; to Oxford, in 1831, £500; to March, in 1836,

£400, and three years afterwards, £200 more; to Chatteris, £350; to Leatherhead, about £400; to Dover, in 1838, £1,780; and to Derby, £500. In innumerable other cases he gave smaller sums, on which we need not dwell, and which our space prevents our detailing. We have said enough to show that in the appropriation of his property to this department of religious service, Mr. Wilson was unparalleled. None preceded him and he has had no successor. He occupied a sphere of his own, not so much from an indisposition to co-operate with others, as from his plans being larger, and his scale of contribution more generous. Without much general enlargement of mind, he was eminently generous here. It was as though his spirit operated with an intensity in proportion to its limited range; as though he accumulated on this field of labour the expansiveness and liberality which in other directions seemed foreign from his character.

The question of trust deeds naturally arises in connexion with that of chapels, and we should have been glad to be supplied with information respecting the course adopted by Mr. Wilson concerning them. This was the more advisable from circumstances which have recently occurred in the case of some of his London chapels. Rumour has been busy on the point, and it would have been well if our biographer had expounded his father's views, so as to have guarded his procedure from misapprehension, or to have pointed out the errors—should there be any—into which he incidentally fell. We have been at some pains to inform ourselves on this point, and our conviction certainly is that such errors were committed, and that great practical interests are involved in a full and thorough investigation of the question thus suggested.* We need scarcely say that nothing is more remote from our design than to impugn

* The great importance of this subject has recently been shown in the case of the Congregational Church at Holloway, to the history of which Mr. Joshua Wilson refers (pages 287, 289). After a long period of depression, this interest has been revived, under the able ministry of the Rev. J. A. Morris, and a new chapel has been built, towards the cost of which it was natural and right that the sum realized by the sale of the old place should be appropriated. To this course, however, every obstruction which his legal position permitted, was offered by one of the trustees, bearing the name of Wilson; and nothing but the hopelessness of wresting the place from the church appears, at length, to have induced the abandonment of opposition. The church at Holloway did right in refusing to surrender the old chapel. The property was its own, and the proceeds of its sale were therefore righteously at the disposal of the society. Such an attempt would awaken our reprobation in any case, but more especially so when directed against a ministry pre-eminently distinguished by talent and fidelity. Few of our churches are privileged like that at Holloway. May the improvement of its members be proportioned to their advantages!

the excellency of Mr. Wilson's motives. We are as free from any approach to this as his son and biographer can be, and should resent any such attempt as a wrong to his memory, and an injury to the Christian profession. But in proportion to the respect in which we hold Mr. Wilson, is our solicitude that his errors in matters of public interest should be pointed out, lest others, stimulated by his example, may be induced to imitate them, and their baneful influence be thus widely extended. The errors of obscure men are of little importance. They die with them, and others, therefore, are not affected. But the errors of the wise, the good, the influential, are infectious. They become patterns, are adopted as examples, and frequently survive to distant generations, through the reverence with which we cherish the memory of the dead. The early corruptions of the church,—the obscuration of its faith, the overlaying of its simple worship by the mummeries of superstition, the introduction and growth and ultimate domination of the priestly power,—were all assisted in this way. The virtues of the fathers gave weight and authority to their errors, and so it has continued to the present hour. Bearing this principle of human conduct in mind, we are sorry that Mr. Joshua Wilson has not said one word on the subject to which we refer. He doubtless regarded it as uncalled for and inexpedient; but, as already intimated, there are in our judgment important practical interests involved, and we must therefore detain our readers for a moment.

According to common report, Mr. Wilson's form of trust-deed was open, more or less, to two objections; the creation of a power independent of the church; and a specification, descending even to the minuter points of doctrines to be received and rites to be practised, by the associated body. If this be so—and none will be more gratified than ourselves to have the report authoritatively contradicted—much evil may be apprehended; not immediately, perhaps, but as surely, however slow the process, as effect follows cause. Both points are, in our judgment, infractions of the first principle of our ecclesiastical polity; and it is marvellous that the latter has so long eluded detection and exposure. According to our principles, the church is the conservator of truth. God has committed it to her; it is her high and special vocation; and every appeal from her to the magistrate, of whatever order, indicates want of faith in God's arrangement, and a leaning, however unconsciously, to the appliances of secular policy. We are no more justified in making the Lord Chancellor the protector of our purity of doctrine, than we are in constituting our civil rulers the upholders and extenders of the truth. The argument which justifies the former, will go far to establish the propriety of the

latter. Both partake of the same essential spirit, and are parts of a system which must stand or fall together. As we look to the civil ruler for the protection of our persons simply, so his province in relation to our chapels is merely to prevent their alienation to private purposes. They are the property of a society, and should be protected as such. Instances may no doubt occur in which the application of this principle affords occasion for partial and temporary evil; but viewed on a large scale, and in relation to an extended period, we have the fullest confidence in its results. On the present occasion, we can do no more than indicate, incidentally, what we deem the sounder course, and must leave to another opportunity the fuller exposition of our views.

As it respects the immediate occasion of our remarks, an illustration directly in point is furnished in the *Memoirs of Dr. Fletcher of Stepney*, just published by his son.* From these 'Memoirs' we learn that, in 1816, Dr. Fletcher was invited to take the pastoral oversight of the church assembling in the new chapel at Paddington. Mr. Wilson cordially concurred in this invitation, assuring Dr. Fletcher, in a letter dated June 6th, 'My opinion is decidedly in favour of your acceptance thereof.'† The latter was naturally anxious to know the nature of the trust-deed that was to be executed, and wrote to Mr. Wilson for information on this point. 'You will not be surprised,' he says, 'at my inquiry respecting your intentions as to placing Paddington Chapel in the hands of trustees, and the principles on which you have resolved to act in the arrangements of that business.'‡ In reply to this inquiry, a draught of the proposed deed was forwarded; in reference to which Dr. Fletcher remarks, under date of June 27th,—'It is, I conceive, the characteristic principle of Independent or Congregational church-governments, that it recognises the authority of the church in all the acts of its administration; that from the church all official power is immediately derived, and that matters purely spiritual lie exclusively within their jurisdiction. I look upon the trustees as a mere civil delegation, appointed by the church for the guardianship of its property, and to secure its appropriation to the purposes for which the place was erected. You

* We regret not having yet been able to give that notice of these Memoirs, and of the volumes which accompany them, to which they are entitled. We hope to do so next month; and in the meantime record our high sense of the amiable disposition, ministerial eminence, and enlightened dissenterism of one of the most esteemed and beloved members of the Congregational body.

† Memoir of Dr. Fletcher, p. 212. ‡ Ib. p. 214.

will not be surprised if, under these impressions, several points in the draught you sent me appear exceptionable.'

'Such a principle,' he subsequently remarks, alluding to the selection of trustees, 'immediately affects the independence of the church at Paddington; and this idea is confirmed by a third circumstance, which appears to be inconsistent with all the views I have ever held on this subject. I allude to the power of removing a minister, which the projected deed vests, in the first instance, in four of the trustees, not belonging to the church at Paddington.' His fourth objection refers to the last of the two we have named, and we are glad to avail ourselves of such an authority. It is of the more weight with us as it did not arise from any objection to the doctrines stated. 'Allow me, also,' says Dr. Fletcher, 'to state, in the fourth place, that I conscientiously object to the requirement of subscription; not because I do not cordially approve of all the particulars you have specified, but because subscription is unnecessary when more legitimate and satisfactory methods of ascertaining a man's sentiments may be adopted, and has been proved by experience and observation to be altogether insufficient for the purpose.' 'I should consider,' it is added, in a postscript, 'the actual existence of a trust on the principles of your draught a sufficient reason for instantly determining in the negative.'* The whole of this letter is highly honourable to the writer, and the manner in which it was met by Mr. Wilson, though indicative of imperfect views on the points mooted, and not entirely free from chagrin, was yet consistent with great worth and the most sincere devotion to religious interests. He offered to concede various points, and pleaded a misapprehension of his meaning on some others. The following sentence, however, is decisive of the fact that he mistrusted the popular character of our churches, and designed to impose a check not warranted, as we believe, by the divine rule. 'I wish,' he says, 'to do for the best; but I will not hesitate to allow that, though I am a decided Dissenter, yet, from the experience I have had of much evil arising from the improper conduct of ministers, and the want of management in churches, that I am not warmly attached to Independency as at present constituted.'†

The issue of the negotiation is well known. Dr. Fletcher remained at Blackburn, though it is due to his correspondent to state that he admitted his objections, so far as the trust-deed was concerned, to have been 'completely removed.' Whether his suggestions were finally adopted we know not. For the sake of our common independency we hope they were. If not the

* Memoir of Dr. Fletcher, pp. 216—218. † Ib. p. 219.

seed of future evil is sown, which sooner or later will produce its appropriate fruit.

The closing scene of Mr. Wilson's life was characteristic. 'The righteous hath hope in his death.' This was eminently his case. His character was the growth of years, and its Christian virtues shone forth in mild and beautiful proportions in the immediate prospect of death. We must make room for the following simple and touching narrative of his last hours:—

'On Lord's-day, June 11th, he was in a very happy frame of mind, and manifested that humility and self-abasement before God, for which he had been distinguished. Another of his faithful servants who waited upon him that day said to him, 'There will no doubt be many prayers offered up for you, sir, to-day.' He replied—'Yes, probably there will; it is very kind of them to think of me, for I am most unworthy to be remembered in their prayers. By the grace of God I am what I am.' He was much affected, and immediately after repeated with great feeling that verse of a well-known hymn which expressed his dying experience, that Christ is All.

'Other refuge have I none,
Hangs my helpless soul on thee;
Leave, ah! leave me not alone,
Still support and comfort me.'

'Being reduced to a state of extreme debility, he was unable after this day to hold much communication with those around him. On the morning of the 14th, on going to his bed-side, he warmly took my hand; I said to him, referring to Psalm cxvi. 6, 'My dear father, you are brought very low, but God will help you.' He instantly replied, quoting the words of Samuel, 1 Sam. vii. 12, 'Hitherto he hath helped me;' thus erecting on his death-bed, amidst the helpless infirmity of his animal nature, his last Ebenezer, his dying testimony to the faithfulness of that God who was a very present help, even when heart and flesh were failing, and to whom he could even then look, as the strength of his heart and his portion for ever. Having obtained help of God, he had continued unto this day, nearly the last day of life; and the God whom he had long served in health and vigour did not forsake him now that his strength was altogether failing. He who had been the guide of his youth continued his guide even unto death, and his God for ever and ever.

'On the day following, the pain ceased—mortification having commenced. Of this, I apprehend, he was aware. When I inquired how he felt, on my first seeing him after this fatal symptom had supervened, he made some remark, the meaning of which I did not exactly perceive at the time; but I have since been led to suppose that he meant it as an intimation that now the struggle with pain was over, and the bitterness of death had ceased. He soon after sank into a state of lethargic torpor, in which he continued for

some days, with only occasional, but very transient intervals of apparent consciousness. I have therefore no death-bed sayings to record; but happily we needed no solemn testimony or renewed assurance from his dying lips, to the truth and efficacy of those evangelical doctrines and principles to which his whole life had borne witness.

'During the two or three last days, although he continued with us, we were withdrawn from all sensible communication with him, and to all appearance he was, except during momentary intervals, cut off from all communication with the external world. But although we could hold no farther intercourse with our beloved and venerated relative, he was not *alone;* for his heavenly Father was with him. Underneath him, even while 'the outward man was perishing,' were the everlasting arms. He died in faith. The life which he lived in the flesh had been by faith in the Son of God, who loved him and gave himself for him, and he died a believer in Jesus.

'My beloved and venerated father quietly fell asleep in Jesus, and entered into his heavenly rest shortly after midnight, June 17th, 1843.'—pp. 524—526.

In the event of a second edition we respectfully counsel the author to diminish the bulk of his volume, by omitting some portions which are not needful to the elucidation of his father's history or character. Much of the earlier chapters may be excluded with advantage; as also the Margate voyage, the Hampshire journey, and many of the extracts from popular works, taken from Mr. Wilson's memorandum book. We also except, —and solicit the writer's special attention to this point—the propriety of enumerating the minor contributions which were made by his father. There is an appearance of labour in the getting up of this part of the narrative which savours of display more than of usefulness, and which therefore militates against the beneficial tendency of the volume. The enumeration of such gifts is not needful for the illustration or enforcement of any principle, whilst it wearies the reader, and renders less attractive than might otherwise be, the book in which it is contained.

Art. IV.—*Poems.* By Elizabeth Barrett Barrett, author of 'The Seraphim,' &c. In Two Volumes. London: Edward Moxon.

People have often asked, 'What is poetry?' and have received replies more obscure than the inquiry — replies, that remind us of William Penn's test of the wisdom to be gleaned from asking questions, '*That*, friend, is as the answers may be.' We shall not attempt any solution of the question, 'What is poetry?' considered as a demand for definition. In that sense it has received one or two replies which the world will not easily see amended—and, as to present use, the faculty to apprehend a definition is not always a concomitant of the power to appreciate that to which it refers. But, to draw our remarks into a circle, by ending where they began; as Sir Walter Scott made it the test of a truthful painting, that it excited in its beholders emotions similar to those which the objects it sought to represent would call up, so we appeal to all thoughtful and feeling minds, by the emotions these volumes awaken, whether they be not poetry.

The varied opinions formed of Miss Barrett – the contrast between the degrees assigned to her on the scale of excellence, reminds one of what is said by John Foster, in his Journal, about truth,—that she may be likened to a beautiful statue seen by a crowd of spectators at many different angles and distances, and therefore appearing to each one differently to all the rest. In order to come near enough to what we would rightly behold, let us consider the aspect under which their author presents these poems to us; let us examine the preface; if it be true to its idea, *that* is a part which in no work should be overlooked, especially where, as in this case, it is the truthful voice of the writer—the very key to the objects and aims of the after pages. Listen, now, to what they are; of her expressed design in individual poems we may speak when we consider them. Now hear the views with which, as a poet, she speaks to the public:—

'If it were not presumptuous language on the lips of one to whom life is more than usually uncertain, my favourite wish for this work would be, that it be received by the public as a step in the right track, towards a future indication of more value and acceptability. I would fain do better,—and I feel as if I might do better: I aspire to do better. It is no new form of the nympholepsy of poetry, that my ideal should fly before me; and if I cry out too hopefully at sight of the white vesture receding between the cypresses, let me be blamed gently if justly. In any case, while my poems are full of faults, as I go forward to my critics and confess,

they have my heart and life in them,—they are not empty shelled. If it must be said of me, that I have contributed immemorable verses to the many rejected by the age, it cannot at least be said that I have done so in a light and irresponsible spirit. Poetry has been as serious a thing to me as life itself; and life has been a very serious thing: there has been no playing at skittles for me in either. I never mistook pleasure for the final cause of poetry; nor leisure, for the hour of the poet. I have done my work, so far, as work—not as mere hand and head work, apart from the personal being, but as the completest expression of that being, to which I could attain,—and as work I offer it to the public,—feeling its short-comings more deeply than any of my readers, because measured from the height of my aspiration,—but feeling also that the reverence and sincerity with which the work was done, should give it some protection with the reverent and sincere.'—p. xii.

We feel that this preface spreads an Ægis over its writer; criticism, at least, may not touch her. We are, indeed, deeply moved, as the image glides before us of the solitary poetess, the love of her glorious art rising above her weakness and her weariness, 'as a flame, tempest swayed,'—forgetting completely the toil of the way in its inspiring end, as the Persian Prince, for that his heart was full of the lady of his love, overlooked that it was a path of gold he trampled, in bounding to her. Well may we resolve against our indolence when we remember Elizabeth Barrett Barrett. We think upon the peaceful people whom warriors left unconquered because they could not fight where there was no resistance; of Cœur de Lion saying, as he turned his weapon from the Knight of the Leopard, 'I cannot strike one who neither trembles nor strives;' of virgins unharmed by lions in their hunger; of Una, safe in her wanderings; of all images that figure to us the might of gentleness, the greatness of humility, as we read this aspiration and appeal. We must say one word on the allusion they contain,—and which is repeated in several of the poems,—to a circumstance necessary to be considered in forming a right appreciation of them, — the impaired health of the writer. There are few entirely unqualified to estimate how a weakened frame restrains the flights of mind; how thoughts, amid which, at other times, she moves as in her home, seem then to elude her grasp, or to stifle her with their greatness; to be unwieldy when she would pour them into the mould of language, and intangible when she would array them as a defence. Then, our very earnestness of desire to alter the exact idea, seems to call up a cloud of words that mock us, and we can only make our conception visible by marking off, as it were, what does not belong to it, that so the dweller

within the boundary line may rise upon the thought of the reader. In carefully considering these poems, not abstractedly, but as a true reflection of the mind of their author, it appears to us, that their having been wrought through a mental strength somewhat borne down by bodily weariness, will explain, and win forbearance for those passages, which, compared with happier parts, seem laboured or perplexing. We do not forget that there are times when illness repays for long exhaustion, by intervals of power; when it seems to loosen instead of tightening the bonds of the flesh, and through the attenuation of the tenement, the spirit takes a wider range beyond it,—when the power to embody waits on the power to conceive,—when words are warmed through with the sunshine of feeling, and the felicities of language weave a transparent garb for the subtle thought. It is part of the law of compensation, and of such bright seasons these volumes afford proof; yet they may claim forbearance even while they command admiration, for the weight of indisposition is daily felt, and its periods of expansion are rare. We repeat, the strength of the mind is here far more striking than the weakness of the body; yet these volumes may be considered a remarkable physchological phenomenon as truly as Mozart's 'Requiem,' or Mrs. Hemans's 'Antique Greek Lament.' We cannot leave this subject without remarking the pure, vigorous, and cheerful tone of thought which distinguishes them. There is no repining; life, whether a sad or joyous season, is spoken of as given for exertion whose results end not with time,—nay, as being cheered by the toil that ennobles it, or, better still, as passed in peace through Him whose it is. If we are perplexed in choosing passages in proof, it is by their number, not their rareness. Perhaps we do not select the best evidence, but enough is found in this noble Sonnet on Work:—

'What are we set on earth for? Say, to toil.
Nor seek to leave thy tending of the vines,
For all the heat o' the day, till it declines,
And death's mild curfew shall from work assoil.
God did anoint thee with His odorous oil,
To wrestle, not to reign; and he assigns
All thy tears over, like pure crystallines,
For younger fellow-workers of the soil
To wear for amulets. So others shall
Take patience, labour, to their heart and hands,
From thy hands, and thy heart, and thy brave cheer.
And God's grace fructify through thee to all.
The least flower, with a brimming cup, may stand,
And share its dew-drop with another near.'

We have been surprised occasionally to hear persons infer from isolated sentences, as that quotation in the preface, 'we learn in suffering what we teach in song,' or those lines in the 'Vision of Poets,' 'Knowledge by suffering entereth, and life is perfected by death,' that Miss Barrett thinks mental power necessarily associated with pain,—that the vocation of a poet is one of much sadness. We think this might be sufficiently disproved by her poetic art having been her selected solace through all trial, (as she herself says in the dedication to her father, 'if this art of poetry had been a less earnest object to me, it must have fallen from exhausted hands before this day'); by the self-evidence that one who can so sing must find pleasure in the song; but at least she must be believed to think nobly of her vocation, who says in her poem on The dead Pan:—

'What is true, and just, and honest,
What is lovely, what is pure—
All of praise that hath admonisht,
All of virtue shall endure;
These are themes for poet's uses,
Stirring nobler than the Muses,
Ere Pan was dead.'

Our space will permit but few remarks on the distinguishing characteristics of Miss Barrett's poetry. We must, however, observe that it is the utterance of a devout heart. The proof of this is, not that religion is the constant theme of these volumes; on the contrary, they take an unusually wide range of topics,—but that human passions, daily scenes, common interests, are viewed from a point which the religious mind alone can occupy. If, as Dr. Arnold said, the law of Christ should rule in such wide harmony in Christian souls, that no strange discrepancy should be felt in passing from a sick room to the work of every day, we may welcome another name among the writers, whose most earthly page moves no feeling discordant with those of an hour of sacred meditation. Some poets, whose writings we can hardly refuse to call beautiful, make for themselves a moral atmosphere, in which the forms traced glow with radiance and power; they claim from us unhealthy sensibilities, and disquiet the mind, as if its sense of beauty harmonised with two opposing types. We rejoice that Miss Barrett contrasts with these, and that she does not dwell exclusively on religious themes;—there is abundant store of works for those who seek expressly religious edification. It has been well said that the mission of a Christian poet, in this age, is more to the world than to the Church,—rather to speak of earthly things in a religious spirit than to

explain sacred things to the devout; to show that godliness embraces all things rather than to mark the boundary of the inner court of the temple. Is it not part of the working of a general law, that in a day when Carlyle and others systematically speak of earthly energies by terms appertaining to powers that are not of the earth, we should have a Poet who paints the wide though passing interests of man in colours that harmonize with the light of the sanctuary? Miss Barrett's topics roam through a wide field; she treads it with a firm step, and from the height surveys an extended territory, won only by the strong-minded. But her foot-prints have a woman's delicacy of outline, however high they ascend. The union exhibited of clear and vigorous thought, of sense, which it were no compliment to call manly, with the fine feeling of beauty, the delicacy of apprehension which can pertain but to woman, we regard as one symptom among many less pleasing of *this* age. Having had first, in the Rosa Matilda or Della Cruscan school, the feminine fragility, and then, as if extremes evoked each other, the strong purpose without the grace of womanhood in Mary Woolstoncraft, we now behold the better parts of each united in—

> 'Perfect' women, 'nobly planned
> To warn, to comfort, and command;
> And yet' spirits 'still, and bright
> With something of an angel light;'

and are ready to say that if the wild weeds must precede 'the bright consummate flower,' we accept of all rather than resign the last.

The volumes before us are the *habitual* voice of the spirit—the breathing of the life of thought; not the result of occasional and strained imagination,—not done on a sudden call to answer a fitful purpose,—but, as their author says, 'they have her heart and life in them,'—'they are the completest expression of her being to which she could attain.' Perhaps this truth, this life-like emotion, is, with their variety of theme, the cause that every class of mind finds in them something which strikes its peculiar sympathies. In hearing these poems spoken of, we have found that almost every one of the shorter ones has intelligent admirers, who think it of unrivalled excellence,—others may be beautiful, but this superlative. Miss Barrett is sometimes accused of imitating Tennyson, but to our apprehension the contrast is far more striking than the resemblance. We have not time to point out instances in proof, but surely the likeness is, at most, but that of two who have studied in the same school; the tinge of colouring which, as in the case of the

many dramatists of the Elizabethean age, clings, amid a thousand strongly marked differences to the writers of the same period.

We may surprise some by naming conciseness as one of Miss Barrett's distinguishing excellencies. We mean by conciseness fulness of meaning, conveyed in few and simple words: and if brevity is the soul of wit, it is no less the soul of the highest eloquence, the most touching pathos. We think, however, that the more careful is the inspection of Miss Barrett's writings, the more incontrovertible will this appear. These poems have two elements of conciseness, each in itself a great praise. First, their language is, as it were, twin with the thought; it is evidently constructed to express thought exactly as it exists in the mind of the writer,—to mark out and define the precise thing she means, in the precise aspect it wears to her,—not giving a vague and hazy outline of her design, but painting it out clear and individually so as to mark off the finest shade which distinguishes it from the most kindred thought. This is alike a result and cause of her originality,—'individuality *is* originality.'

Let any one who doubts whether Miss Barrett possesses this power, express in fewer words, *leaving out no shade of meaning*, the greater part of the 'Dead Pan,' 'Loved Once,' 'Crowned and Buried,' &c.; or let him exert his power of compression on the 'Fourfold Aspect,' any half-stanza of which might be the motto for a long discourse. Deep feeling, no less than high thought, has left its trace on these wonderful lines,—the heat and light, inseparable elements in the fire of genius. 'All deep things,' says Carlyle, 'are song.'

In the next place, Miss Barrett's conciseness is caused by her skill in the use of symbols,—symbolic language being often the most condensed expression of thought. The analogies which her figurative language make apparent, perpetually give us the delight of surprise in the midst of familiarity. Unthought of resemblances are constantly developed from old figures,—

> 'New, as if come from other spheres,
> Yet welcome, as if loved for years.'

It is of the similes in Coleridge's prose writings, especially the 'Friend,' more than of any other, that Miss Barrett's have often reminded us. *En passant*, we may just mention a kindred power in another writer, which lately struck us. When employing an hour with the volume of our own George Herbert, we said internally, 'What do these quaint but beautiful images recall to us?'—and after reading the Sabbath, the Elixir, Love Unknown, &c., (to which we appeal in favour of our judgment,)

we replied, 'It is certainly of something k
widely unlike in form, in Miss Barrett's p

We must just mention this lady's
visible nature, and in painting human emotion.
perhaps the most remarkable, when we r
she never put her foot on the green swara.
truly must the aspect of external nature
enable her to describe many of its more re
ticeable graces, as she does! We ha
example, which we choose for its brevity :—

'What a day it was, that day!
Hills and vales did openly
Seem to heave and throb away,
At the sight of the great sky:
And the silence, as it stood
In the glory's golden flood,
Audibly did bud—and bud!

Through the winding hedgerows green,
How we wandered, I and you—
With the bowery tops shut in,
And the gates that showed the view!
How we talked there! Thrushes soft
Sang our pauses out, or oft
Bleatings took them from the croft.'

Another of Miss Barrett's characteristics, is a spirit of generalization;—law, in the Platonic sense, ruling in her mind, and leading her to show that the causes which originate small and daily results, are the same which work among the large phenomena of the universe—or to draw a wide moral from a slight and passing circumstance—or to symbolize universal conditions of existence, or principles of action, by minute accidents: as in the meaning of the marble silence sleeping, in 'Lady Geraldine's Courtship;' in the Sonnets on the 'Seraph and Poet;' 'Past and Future;' 'Irreparableness;' 'Tears;' 'Perplexed Music;' 'Patience taught by Nature;' or, as when in the 'Romance of the Page,' she makes us hear in the wood, by the slaughtered page, the convent bell tolling for the dead Abbess:—

'Dirge for abbess laid in shroud,
Sweepeth over the shroudless dead,
Page or lady, as we said,
With the dews upon her head,
All as sad, if not as loud!
Ingemisco, ingemisco!
Is ever a lament begun
By any mourner under sun,
Which, ere it endeth, suits but *one*?'

Miss Barrett's genius appears to us as incontrovertible in her slighter as in her greater productions—as the merest fragment of diamond which reflects a sunbeam is as truly a precious gem, as the 'sea of light' on the brow of a sultan. But if called on for our weightiest proof of her genius, we should probably select her personification of Lucifer, in the Drama of Exile; though we admit the portrayment is of somewhat unequal merit, and, —but here the fault may lie in our own apprehension,—not in perfect keeping; at least his yearning lament for his Morning Star—his grief, even to tears, for his dethronement and her desertion, seem to us not in perfect keeping with the splendid passage we quote. We should premise that the 'Drama of Exile' is the longest poem in the volumes, and represents, as its author says, 'the new and strange experience of the fallen humanity, as it went forth from Paradise into the wilderness, with a peculiar reference to Eve's allotted grief, which, considering that self-sacrifice belonged to her womanhood, and the consciousness of originating the Fall to her offence, appeared to me imperfectly apprehended hitherto, and more expressible by a woman than a man. There was room, at least, for lyrical emotion in those first steps into the wilderness—in that first sense of desolation after wrath—in that first audible gathering of the recriminating 'groan of the whole creation'—in that first darkening of the hills from the recoiling feet of angels—and in that first silence of the voice of God. And I took pleasure in driving in, like a pile, stroke upon stroke, the Idea of Exile—admitting Lucifer as an extreme Adam, to represent the ultimate tendencies of sin and loss, that it might be strong to bear up the contrary idea of the heavenly love and purity.' The belief of Lucifer that his original beauty is not all departed, lingering as an echo of its reality, making more visible the depth of evil which closes out all love and beauty from him, seems to us very fine; but it is useless to attempt an analysis of this personation, we leave it to the perception of our readers:—

'*Adam.* Perhaps a fallen angel. Who shall say!
Lucifer. Who told thee, Adam?
Adam. *Thou!* The prodigy
Of thy vast brows and melancholy eyes,
Which comprehend the heights of some great fall.
I think that thou hast one day worn a crown
Under the eyes of God.
Lucifer. And why of God?
Adam. It were no crown else! Verily, I think
Thou'rt fallen far. I had not yesterday
Said it so surely; but I know to-day
Grief by grief, sin by sin.

Lucifer. A crown by a crown.
Adam. Ay, mock me! now I know more than I knew.
Now I know thou art fallen below hope
Of final re-ascent.
Lucifer. Because?
Adam. Because
A spirit who expected to see God,
Though at the last point of a million years,
Could dare no mockery of a ruined man
Such as this Adam. * * *
* *

Eve. Speak no more with him,
Beloved; it is not good to speak with him.
* * * Being bereft,
We would be alone. Go!
Lucifer. Ah! ye talk the same
All of you—spirits and clay—go, and depart!
* * *
And yet I was not fashioned out of clay.
Look on me, woman! Am I beautiful?
Eve. Thou hast a glorious darkness.
Lucifer. Nothing more?
Eve. I think no more.
Lucifer. False heart, thou thinkest more!
Thou canst not choose but think, as I praise God,
Unwillingly but fully, that I stand
Most absolute in beauty. As yourselves
Were fashioned very good at best, so *we*
Sprang very beauteous from the creant Word
Which thrilled around us; God himself being moved,
When that august work of a perfect shape,
His dignities of sovran angel-hood,
Swept out into the universe; divine
With thunderous movements, earnest looks of gods,
And silver-solemn clash of cymbal wings.
Whereof I was, in motion and in form,
A part not poorest. And yet—yet, perhaps,
This beauty which I speak of is not here,
As God's voice is not here; nor even my crown—
I do not know. What is this thought or thing
Which I call beauty? Is it thought or thing?
Is it a thought accepted for a thing?
Or both? or neither? A pretext—a word?
Its meaning flutters in me like a flame
Under my own breath; my perceptions reel
For evermore around it, and fall off,
As if it were too holy.
Eve. Which it is.
Adam. The essence of all beauty I call love.
The attribute, the evidence, and end,

The consummation to the inward sense,
Of beauty apprehended from without,
I still call love. As form, when colourless,
Is nothing to the eye; that pine-tree there,
Without its black and green, being all a blank;
So, without love, is beauty undiscerned
In man or angel. Angel! Rather ask
What love is in thee, what love moves to thee,
And what collateral love moves on with thee;
Then shalt thou know if thou art beautiful.
* * *
Lucifer. I scorn you that ye wail.
* * * Yet one cry
I, too, would drive up, like a column erect,
Marble to marble, from my heart to heaven;
A monument of anguish, to transpierce
And overtop your vapoury complaints,
Expressed from feeble woes!
Earth-Spirits! I wail, I wail!
Lucifer. For, O ye heavens, ye are my witnesses
That *I*, struck out from nature in a blot,
The outcast and the mildew of things good,
* * *
Was made by God like others. *
* * Ha! ye think,
White angels in your niches, I repent;
And would tread down my own offences, back
To service at the footstool! *That's* read wrong:
I cry, as the beast did, that I may cry—
Expansive, not appealing! Fallen so deep
Against the sides of this prodigious pit,
I cry—cry! dashing out the hands of wail,
On each side, to meet anguish everywhere;
And to attest it in the ecstacy
And exaltation of a woe sustained
Because provoked and chosen.
* * * *
My curse catch at you strongly, body and soul;
And *He* find no redemption, nor the wing
Of seraph move your way. And yet rejoice!
Rejoice! because ye have not set in you
This hate, which shall pursue you; this fire-hate,
Which glares without, because it burns within;
Which kills from ashes; this potential hate,
Wherein I, angel, in antagonism
To God and His reflex beatitudes,
Moan ever in the central universe,
With the great woe of striving against love;
And gasp for space amid the infinite,
And toss for rest amid the desertness.

Self-orphaned by my will, and self-elect
To kingship of resistant agony
Toward the good round me; hating good and love,
And willing to hate good and to hate love,
And willing to will on so evermore;
Scorning the past, and damning the to-come.
Go, and rejoice! I curse you! [*Lucifer vanishes.*'

'he effect of this is injured by the impossibility of extracting whole passage; yet here is not wholly lost the climax—accumulation of scorn and woe, which reminds one of power he same kind in the 'Prometheus Bound' of Æschylus. We give but one more extract from the 'Drama of Exile,'—it art of the address of Christ, when he appears in vision to state Adam and Eve in their sovereignty over earth and its ncies:—

* * 'Ponder it!
This regent and sublime humanity,
Though fallen, exceeds you. This shall film your sun;
Shall hunt your lightning to its lair of cloud;
Turn back your rivers, footpath all your seas;
Lay flat your forests; master, with a look,
Your lion at his fasting, and fetch down
Your eagle flying. * *
* * Therefore, over you,
Accept this sceptre; therefore be content
To minister with voluntary grace,
And melancholy pardon, every rite
And service in you to this sceptred hand.
Be ye to man as angels be to God—
Servants in pleasure, singers of delight;
Suggesters to his soul of higher things
Than any of your highest. So, at last,
He shall look round on you, with lids too straight
To hold the grateful tears, and thank you well;
And bless you when he prays his secret prayers,
And praise you when he sings his open songs,
For the clear song-note he has learnt in you,
Of purifying sweetness; and extend
Across your head his golden fantasies,
Which glorify you into soul from sense!
Go, serve him, for such price. That not in vain;
Nor yet ignobly ye shall serve. I place
My word here for an oath—mine oath for act
To be hereafter. In the name of which
Perfect redemption and perpetual grace
I bless you, through the hope and through the peace
Which are mine, to the love which is myself.'

We must now say a few words on Miss Barrett's alleged faults. In the first place, a passage here and there,—as the conclusion of the song of the Nightingale, in the Drama of Exile, and part of that of the Morning Star, in the same poem, is pronounced perfectly unintelligible. We think it not unlikely that in future editions the author may make the ideas intended to be expressed, more perspicuous; in the mean time they are not to our apprehension, meaningless. Perhaps the excuse which Foster made for Coleridge, and which in the *Friend*, and the *Biographia Literaria* Coleridge makes for himself, is in some degree applicable to them; that there are ideas which dwell beyond the region assigned to language, and to which therefore language can furnish no full expression,—broken steps, the lamp which guides from one to another, being borne by the reader himself. Another complaint is directed against the occasional use of Greek words, which, in English composition is held inadmissible, or such as ought to be introduced rarely, and only on very special occasions. This rule is a sound one, and we are inclined to give judgment against our author for its violation. There is also fault found with her use of a few adjectives as if they included the meaning of both adjective and substantive, as 'Human'—in the title of one of Miss Barrett's most generally acceptable poems, 'The Cry of the Human.' We presume this arises from her wish to give the most condensed form to a comprehensive idea;—where her power does not answer to her will, we can imagine her in her resolve for progressive excellence, regarding this and other difficulties, in the spirit of Penn's reply to his threateners with imprisonment, 'Friend, thy strength shall never equal my patience.'

Perhaps, however, the loudest complaint concerns the rhymes. We acknowledge that though some are of unsurpassed sweetness, they do not always pass muster either to eye or ear. One of the most faulty in this respect,—amusingly faulty we have heard it called,—'The Wine of Cyprus,'—has however, a magnificent and flowing rythm, that seems to smile defiance at strictures; and bears us on, like a breeze over the billows,—though there are mingled with it touches of deep pathos, as if some way-mark of past suffering rose above the wave.

We hope again to meet Miss Barrett, when her aspirations for advance in her art have been more than realised; and when she has won a yet higher place among the imperishable names of her country. It is now more than two years since the volumes before us were published. Doubtless the time will come when that period for exertion, and we rejoice to learn, of amended health, will be nobly accounted for. If in our present parting we may venture to express a wish as to the

future direction of her powers; it would be that some thrilling incidents of our History might be treated by one, so capable of 'stirring the soul as by the sound of a trumpet;' and that whatever she may decide on this point,—she would present to the public more of her thoughts in the form of prose, a vehicle possessing facilities at least *different* to those of verse, and perhaps better than even verse adapted to some modes of lofty thought. We think this wish must be echoed by every one who can appreciate the graces of her exquisite preface,—which like her verse, presents a form of beauty undiscerned before.

It has occasionally happened to us to feel surprise at the temerity of critics, in composedly parcelling out blame to every quality of authors, the *coast* line of whose intellect, the entire extent of their own, would not fathom. How many spirited reviews would suffer total change if re-fashioned on the Platonic maxim,—'understand a man's ignorance before you attempt to judge his understanding!' But the effort to do justice to an author, sometimes involves presumption,—and in many cases we feel, that the mind, which from the height of its aspiration, looks down on all attained success, must yet perceive the lines of beauty it has designed with more exquisite appreciation than its critic. We shall, however, be not ill-satisfied if we succeed in suggesting these poems as a realm of thought, to those who may penetrate more deeply into its riches, than ourselves; and in any case, may know the joy of the humble,—reverence for the high,—for

> 'There is delight
> In praising, though the praiser sit alone
> And see the praised far off him, far above.'

Art. V.—*Report of a Discussion in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, on Monday, July 7, 1845, on the Presentation of two Memorials from Belfast and Derry.*

On every hand the voluntary principle is making progress. Practically or theoretically it bids fair to become universal among Protestant churches. In several cases where it is most stoutly repudiated it is, nevertheless, practically adopted, and most vigorously worked.. We can, therefore, well afford, and that too with no small amusement, to hear good men disclaim the very principle which is their only support, and on which they have

We must now say a few words on Miss Barrett's alleged faults. In the first place, a passage here and there,—as the conclusion of the song of the Nightingale, in the Drama of Exile, and part of that of the Morning Star, in the same poem, is pronounced perfectly unintelligible. We think it not unlikely that in future editions the author may make the ideas intended to be expressed, more perspicuous; in the mean time they are not to our apprehension, meaningless. Perhaps the excuse which Foster made for Coleridge, and which in the *Friend*, and the *Biographia Literaria* Coleridge makes for himself, is in some degree applicable to them; that there are ideas which dwell beyond the region assigned to language, and to which therefore language can furnish no full expression,—broken steps, the lamp which guides from one to another, being borne by the reader himself. Another complaint is directed against the occasional use of Greek words, which, in English composition is held inadmissible, or such as ought to be introduced rarely, and only on very special occasions. This rule is a sound one, and we are inclined to give judgment against our author for its violation. There is also fault found with her use of a few adjectives as if they included the meaning of both adjective and substantive, as 'Human'—in the title of one of Miss Barrett's most generally acceptable poems, 'The Cry of the Human.' We presume this arises from her wish to give the most condensed form to a comprehensive idea;—where her power does not answer to her will, we can imagine her in her resolve for progressive excellence, regarding this and other difficulties, in the spirit of Penn's reply to his threateners with imprisonment, 'Friend, thy strength shall never equal my patience.'

Perhaps, however, the loudest complaint concerns the rhymes. We acknowledge that though some are of unsurpassed sweetness, they do not always pass muster either to eye or ear. One of the most faulty in this respect,—amusingly faulty we have heard it called,—'The Wine of Cyprus,'—has however, a magnificent and flowing rythm, that seems to smile defiance at strictures; and bears us on, like a breeze over the billows,—though there are mingled with it touches of deep pathos, as if some way-mark of past suffering rose above the wave.

We hope again to meet Miss Barrett, when her aspirations for advance in her art have been more than realised; and when she has won a yet higher place among the imperishable names of her country. It is now more than two years since the volumes before us were published. Doubtless the time will come when that period for exertion, and we rejoice to learn, of amended health, will be nobly accounted for. If in our present parting we may venture to express a wish as to the

direction of her powers: [illegible]
its of our History might [illegible]
rring the [illegible] as by the [illegible]
hatever she may decide on this [illegible]
public more of her thoughts [illegible]
possessing facilities at least [illegible]
erhaps better than even verse [illegible]
thought. We think this wish [illegible]
no can appreciate the graces of her [illegible]
like her verse, presents a form [illegible]

has occasionally happened to [illegible]
ty of critics, in composedly par[illegible]
of authors, the *coast* line of [illegible]
of their own, would not [illegible]
s would suffer total change [illegible]
,—'understand a man [illegible]
lge his understanding!' [illegible]
thor, sometimes involves [illegible]
we feel, that the mind [illegible]
tion, looks down on all [illegible]
ies of beauty it has [illegible]
than its critic. We [illegible]
ceed in suggesting these [illegible]
who may penetrate [illegible]
ves; and in any case, may [illegible]
nce for the high,—for

'There [illegible]
[illegible] though the [illegible]
[illegible] the praised far off [illegible]

[illegible] *Discussion* [illegible]
[illegible] *on* [illegible]
[illegible] *from* [illegible]
[illegible] voluntary [illegible]
[illegible] cally it [illegible]
In [illegible]
[illegible]
We [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] is the [illegible]

to cast themselves to escape the squeezing and crushing of their 'nursing fathers and nursing mothers.' Yet it is not quite consistent to eat the bread which this principle provides, and then to lift up their voice against it.

In Ireland, as well as in England and Scotland, the voluntary principle is working its way. It is taking fast hold of the minds of intelligent and thinking men. The recently increased endowment of Maynooth has added to its power, and accelerated its course. That event led during the past year to a discussion of the voluntary question in the 'Londonderry Sentinel,' the great organ of Church and State in that city. The Editor, who had thrown down the gauntlet and gallantly expressed his readiness to 'break a lance' with an opponent, after some smart-fighting, was however compelled abruptly to quit the field his lance broken, and his panoply sadly battered.

And—a new thing under the sun—somewhere about the same time, two memorials were presented to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, one from Belfast and the other from Derry, praying that body 'to consider the propriety of taking immediate steps to render the ministers of your communion independent of all state endowments:' or, as the Derry memorial expresses it, 'to abandon, or rather refuse any longer to accept of the Parliamentary grant, commonly called *Regium Donum*.' The Belfast memorial took the ground of *expediency* on which to rest its prayer. The state has, by the endowment of Maynooth, made 'provision' for 'the maintenance and propagation in these realms, of the doctrines of the church of Rome,' and 'can no longer be justly regarded by any of the churches of the Reformation in these countries as their auxiliary in contending for the faith once delivered to the saints; therefore all such churches established and endowed, should, the one 'withdraw from its alliance;' the other refuse its bounty, lest by continuing to receive its support, they appear in the eyes of the world to sanction its principle, or in any degree render themselves unable to bear efficient and faithful testimony to the truth, and thereby expose themselves to the reproach of men, and the righteous displeasure of God.'

The Derry memorial is more decided, but not so explicit in the repudiation of the establishment principle as we could wish; yet we have reason to know that the memorialists are thorough voluntaries. They say that the Maynooth bill cannot be consistently 'opposed by those religious bodies, who are themselves endowed by the state:' that the 'withdrawment by the state of all grants now given for religious uses, would place all parties on a just and equal footing:' that thus 'the ladder would be removed by which Roman catholics can climb to power

and ascendancy;' and that from these changes 'there would result no loss to the cause of vital christianity, but, as in the case of the Free Church of Scotland, great gain.' These are liberal, enlightened, noble sentiments. But were we the memorialists, we should have taken the liberty of declaring, that we believe all state support and state alliance for the churches of Jesus Christ, to be unscriptural and wicked, impugning and contravening the will of Christ our King; and that the endowment of truth is as bad as the endowment of error, nay, to the cause of Christianity, infinitely worse. However, the presentation of these memorials produced a 'DISCUSSION' in the General Assembly: a discussion of a question never before we believe, at least since the reception of *regium donum*, mooted in that body. Counsellor Gibson, of Belfast, presented the memorial from that town, and supported it in a speech of some length. He took his stand on the principle on which his memorial was based—the principle of expediency. His speech is therefore, in our view, a failure. The state is no longer the ally of the truth; it is everywhere running away from the battle of the Lord; it is subsidising error; it is fostering in its bosom the most antagonist principles. The church is represented as leaning on the arm of her Beloved; but were she to 'direct her looks to one who sought to rob her of her right—to the regards of her Lord and Master, and to separate her from his case, would not the latter leave her in his anger,' &c. But have Mr. Gibson and his fellow memorialists been sleeping up to the period of the Maynooth endowment bill? Were they not aware of the endowment of Arianism in Ireland, Puseyism in England, of the patronage of paganism in India, and of Romanism in Lower Canada? Have they only now, for the first time, opened their eyes to look about them? There exists, we confidently aver, *there exists no reason now for the refusal of regium donum by the General Assembly which has not always existed.* Are Mr. Gibson and his friends in a pet, because the 'Irish Presbyterian church cannot hope to be the favoured child of the state, or long to enjoy any of its bounty?' If not, why is it they have now come forward as men who have made new discoveries, when these fresh revelations happen to be state facts, always spread out palpably before their eyes? What is the increased endowment of Maynooth a single fact added to the many of the same sort long previously existing? Perhaps these friends are now beginning to be ashamed of being found in bad company? Certainly, a man of character will not relish this. We commend the spirit, but would rather see them eschewing *badness* itself.

Dr. CARLILE, the moderator of the assembly, left the chair and proceeded to reply to Mr. Gibson. Of Dr. Carlile we wish

to speak respectfully. For piety, extensive information and good sense he has no superior in his church. We have often listened with delight, spite of his awkward manner, to the words of wisdom which proceed out of his mouth. But on this occasion his good sense failed him. We speak moderately when we call his speech *miserable*. The sum substance of his reasoning is, that the question of voluntary support is one for the people alone, not for the ministers (!!!); that were terms attached to the receiving of *regium donum*, the question would be theirs alone [are there no terms attached to the receiving it?]; that it is an unchristian thing to endow error; that should they throw away their bounty it would go to the endowment of Maynooth,—'should we,' he adds, 'throw away £35,000 because Roman Catholics gained £30,000?'—that should they depend for support on the Presbyterians of Ulster, there might be some enemies of Christ in Ulster, and 'to receive support from enemies of Christ was more withering and blasting than to receive any payment from the hands of government'!!! Gentle reader, this is Dr. Carlile's reasoning; and if you believe not us, read the report of the 'Discussion.'

The Rev. JAMES DENHAM, of Derry, however, came directly to the point. His met Mr. Gibson's reasonings thus:

'As to the principle that it was wrong and sinful to take aid from a party of men who, like their statesmen, had given support to Popery, he asked, was there any one man, or any one church, or any one missionary society, who would act on that principle; who would refuse from any man or party a sum of money for good purposes, because such party had given aid to build a Romish chapel or college? He believed no persons would think of refusing for such a reason. . . . . If the memorialists themselves would not refuse money for a church, or a missionary society, from such a motive, was it not most inconsistent to come and ask the ministers of their body, for such reasons, to throw away the means of their support?'

Right: and as a reply to Mr. Gibson's expediency speech perfectly conclusive.

The Rev. Mr. MOLYNEAUX, among many other things silly and wise, said, 'the government may or may not be the auxiliary of the true church; no proof has been given that it is not; it must be regarded rather as inclining in the opposite direction. We affirm and we believe that *we are the true Church*, and are we not endowed by government? The government gives us *more* in proportion to our numbers than it gives to what we consider a false church; and, therefore, *in the same ratio* are we to regard the state as *more favourable* to the true Church than to a false one'!! Is this *moral philosophy*, Mr. Molyneaux? Certainly it is not common sense. Much of his reasoning is of

the same character. Another choice specimen is as follows: 'Mr. Gibson had said that the government is the enemy of the true Church, and, therefore, it is not to receive any support from its enemy. That is, if we possess any advantage, and if we are to struggle with our enemies, we must weaken ourselves and add to their strength before we begin the conflict.' There is much to the same purpose. The only scrap of argument in the speech is a reference to Ezra and Nehemiah. Were they 'to be denounced in receiving assistance from an eastern monarch, who was a heathen, to rebuild Jerusalem and again erect its ruined temple for the worship of the true God?' Certainly not; but it is for Mr. Gibson, not for the consistent voluntary, to answer this: Ezra and Nehemiah, though living under a national dispensation, did nothing that infringed the principles of the strictest voluntaryism. They received what the king gave of his 'own proper good,' and out of the 'royal treasure.' He gave of *his own*, and gave *freely*.

The Rev. Dr. Stewart referred to the same point, but with no better effect. The Rev. Dr. Brown 'held to the principle of the ancient covenanters, that the state was bound to support the truth, and to resist the encroachments of error;' and yet he denounces 'Popery' as having been 'always adverse to civil and religious liberty.' But with Dr. Brown, civil and religious liberty is probably the liberty of the true kirk to tyrannise over and crush all dissidents from her doctrine and government,—to extirpate 'independency, popery, and prelatcy.'

The Rev. Mr. Gibson, while expressing his general concurrence with the members of the assembly, did not enter at all on the argument, but delivered a speech expressive of some apprehensions as to the probable course of affairs, but of firm faith in God, whatever might be the result, that the Presbyterian Church in Ireland would ever bear a faithful testimony to the truth, trusting not to an earthly arm for support, but, under God, to the purity of their principles, and looking to the sympathy of their brethren in the Lord of all denominations, which they would find 'more sustaining far, in the hour of need, than any favour which might be extended to them by courts and parliament.'

Mr. Gibson's reply to the various speeches of his clerical opponents adds nothing in the way of argument to his introductory address. There is no sound argument in either. He failed to make out a good case. He had taken a false, and therefore untenable, position. He made, he could make no impression on the advocates of Regium-donum. They looked on him and the memorialists as very silly men in asking them to part with their money; and as to the scheme of the memorialists,

their sustentation by which £50,000 were to be raised for the support of their ministers instead of the £83,000 of *donum*, it was '*utopian*' and 'perfectly visionary.' The donum 'doubled,' Dr. Stewart and Mr. Molyneaux would prefer to its being 'taken away altogether.' And, indeed, the memorialists do appear in a position not a little absurd when they stand before the assembly and say, 'Reverend fathers and brethren, we think it is wrong for you to receive *regium donum*, give it up, and we herewith present a plan by which *we think* we shall be able to support you better than you are supported at present.' The reverend fathers naturally enough reply,—'Give up our Donum—Give up a certainty for an uncertainty!' Do you think, 'intelligent' men as you are, that we are so 'foolish' as 'to place dependence on' your 'statement?' *Why* should we give up our donum? 'Oh,' say the memorialists, 'the government is endowing Popery,—they are giving £30,000 a-year to Maynooth.' 'And,' reply their reverences, 'are we therefore to prevent them endowing truth? Because they do wrong in one case, are we to hinder them doing *right* in another?' We never before heard 'such a specimen of logic' as this.

And then, as Mr. Gibson admitted that it was right for government to provide Roman Catholic chaplains for jails and workhouses, he completely nullified his own reasoning. He bereft it of what semblance of strength, (and semblance was all) which it previously possessed. It were 'monstrous persecution' he says, to refuse to make such provision. On this admission Dr. Stewart fastens. He properly admits the 'monstrous persecution' in case of not 'allowing the inmates of jails and workhouses to receive instruction;' but 'it is quite a different thing to pay those who instructed them.' It is 'part and parcel of the same evil;' as the 'establishment of Popery.' Very true; the principle in both is precisely the same. And how Mr. Gibson, a man of great intelligence and a lawyer, could fail to perceive this, is perfectly astounding.

The *discussion* may do good, if it only served to stir up thought. But the truth on the great question was not presented to the Assembly. The argument for voluntaryism, and against church establishments, and government endowments, was neither exhibited nor grappled with. It is much to be regretted that the Derry Memorialists, at least, had not a better representative in the Assembly—one who would have taken his stand on high scripture ground, and denounced all state support for religion, as opposed to political justice, and to the laws of Christ's kingdom.

In closing, we have one question to put to the judgment, and conscience of the memorialists, and which we hope they will

consider. It is this: is it consistent or right for you to denounce the state endowment of religion in *words*, and to sustain it in deeds?—to *pull down* with the one hand, and to *build up* with the other?—to declare that *regium donum* is scripturally wrong and politically unjust, and yet to aid in upholding it?—to aver that state churches are not churches of Christ, and yet to give the whole weight of your character and influence to support and perpetuate them? 'We speak as unto wise men, judge ye what we say.'

Art. VI.—*Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology.* Edited by Wm. Smith, Ph. D., editor of 'The Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities.' Parts I—XVI. 8vo. Taylor and Walton, London.

In the brief review of the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, inserted in this journal in the month of November, 1843, we noticed the first four parts of the 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology.' In that review we succinctly indicated the principles on which these works were constructed; and bestowed our warmest commendation on the manner in which the learned and respected editor, and his band of able coadjutors, had prosecuted their onerous task. In that article we stated the impossibility of satisfactorily exhibiting, in the shape of a review, the just value and importance of works of this encyclopædical character, whether in the way of analysis of their contents, or the selection of adequate specimens. That impossibility prevents our now doing anything more than reporting the progress which has been made in the publication of the 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology;' and reiterating, which we do very sincerely, the praises which we then bestowed. The first volume, extending to no less than 1,093 closely and beautifully-printed pages, in double columns, is completed; and the second volume, as far as the 880th page. Of the whole work, sixteen parts have been issued; the closing pages of the last bringing us to the letter 'N.' The work is, throughout, illustrated by well executed engravings, of ancient coins, gems, and medals. The following judicious remarks, from the editor's 'Preface,' will show the comprehensiveness of the *plan* on which the work is projected, and the care which has been taken to secure its accurate and adequate accomplishment.

'The present work has been conducted on the same principles, and is designed mainly for the use of the same persons, as the 'Dictionary

of Greek and Roman Antiquities.' It has been long felt by most persons engaged in the study of Antiquity, that something better is required than we yet possess in the English language, for illustrating the biography, literature, and mythology, of the Greek and Roman writers; and for enabling a diligent student to read them in the most profitable manner. The writings of modern continental philologists, as well as the works of some of our own scholars, have cleared up many of the difficulties connected with these subjects, and enabled us to attain to more correct knowledge, and more comprehensive views, than we formerly possessed. The articles in this dictionary have been founded on a careful examination of the original sources: the best modern authorities have been diligently consulted, and no labour has been spared, in order to bring up the subject to the present state of philological learning upon the continent, as well as at home.

'A work like the present, embracing the whole circle of ancient history and literature, for upwards of two thousand years, would be the labour of at least one man's life; and could not, in any case, be written satisfactorily by a single individual, as no man possesses the requisite knowledge of all the subjects of which it treats. The lives, for instance, of the ancient mathematicians, jurists, and physicians, require, in the person who writes them, a competent knowledge of mathematics, law, and medicine; and the same remark applies to a greater or less extent, to the history of philosophy, the arts, and numerous other subjects. The editor of the present work has been fortunate in obtaining the assistance of scholars who had made certain departments of antiquity their particular study; and he desires to take this opportunity of returning his best thanks to them for their valuable aid—by which he has been able to produce a work which could not have been accomplished by any single person. The initials of each writer's name are given at the end of the articles he has written, and a list of the names of the contributors is prefixed to the work.

'The biographical articles in this work, include the names of all persons of any importance, who occur in the Greek and Roman writers, from the earliest times, down to the extinction of the Western empire, in the year 476 of our era; and to the extinction of the Eastern empire, by the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, in the year 1453. The lives of historical personages occurring in the history of the Byzantine empire, are treated with comparative brevity; but accompanied by sufficient references to ancient writers, to enable the reader to obtain further information, if he wishes.'

* * * * * * * *

'More space, relatively, has been given to the Greek and Roman writers, than to any other articles; partly because we have no complete history of Greek and Roman literature in the English language, and partly because the writings of modern German scholars contain, on this subject, more than on any other, a store of valuable matter, which has not yet found its way into English books; and has hitherto

only partially, and, in a few instances, exercised any influence on our course of classical instruction. In these articles, a full account of the works, as well as of the lives of the writers, is given; and likewise a list of the best edition of the works, together with references to the principal modern works on each subject.

'The lives of all Christian writers, though usually omitted in similar publications, have likewise been inserted in the present work, since they constitute an important part of the history of Greek and Roman literature; and an account of their biography and writings can be attained at present only by consulting a considerable number of voluminous works. These articles are written rather from a literary than a theological point of view, and, accordingly, the discussion of strictly theological topics, such as the subjects might easily have given rise to, has been carefully avoided.

'Care has been taken to separate the mythological articles from those of a historical nature, as a reference to any part of the book will show.'

* * * * * * * *

'The lives of painters, sculptors, and architects, have been treated at considerable length, and an account is given of all their works still extant, or of which there is any record in ancient writers. These articles, it is hoped, will be useful to the artist, as well as to the scholar.'

The principles thus indicated have been fully and fairly applied throughout the work; and if, as we have no reason to doubt, it should be completed with as much spirit as it has hitherto been carried on, it will constitute an invaluable repository of Greek and Roman Mythology and Biography, and, we may add, in the lawful sense of the word, *history;* for all the principal names, as, for example, Cæsar, Cicero, Hannibal, are treated with a copiousness and particularity which involve a very thorough elucidation of the history of the periods in which they respectively lived. Some of the articles in the work are in fact so ample that, if printed separately, they would form volumes of no inconsiderable magnitude. We once more, and most cordially, recommend the work to the patronage of the public.

Such too were the state and disposition of the United Kingdom at that time, with regard to politics and religion, that we much doubt whether Solomon himself, had he been a Roman-catholic, could have exercised an influence over Charles I. without serious detriment to his affairs.

Though the French attendants of the queen were dismissed, a good understanding between her and the king was not immediately established; and the complaints of Henrietta to her mother, were so frequent and serious, that the latter at length sent over the Duc de Bassompierre, a brave old comrade of Henri IV., and a man of talents and prudence, to inquire on the spot into the causes of the queen's dissatisfaction, and to take all necessary measures for removing them. He had so much regard for the daughter of his old friend, that finding the fault to be principally on her side, with perfect candour, and without regarding for the time her royalty, he treated her as a woman, remonstrated with her on her folly in constantly picking quarrels with the king, and treated her to a good sound lecture on the duties of a wife; and she, on her part, when her anger was over, had the good sense to perceive the value of his counsel, and to act accordingly: in consequence of which she secured the affections of her husband, and a life of uninterrupted domestic happiness for the next sixteen years.

In 1628 the queen gave birth to a son, who died, however, on the same day; but on the 29th of May, 1630, Henrietta presented her royal consort with another prince, afterwards Charles II., a remarkably plain child, who, with more consistency than he showed on most other points, grew up as ugly as he was born. The queen, herself, was fully conscious of his lack of comeliness; and there is an amusing letter written by her, to her former attendant, Madame St. George, in which she very candidly describes what Miss Strickland not unaptly calls 'the solemn ugliness of her fat baby.' As this is the first record extant concerning Charles II., having been written by his own mother in the first year of his life, we give the few lines of her letter in which it is embodied.

'MAMIE ST. GEORGE,—The husband of the nurse of my son going to France about some business of his wife, I write you this letter by him, believing that you will be very glad to ask him news of my son, of whom I think you have seen the portrait that I sent to the queen my mother. He is so ugly, that I am ashamed of him; but his size and fatness supply the want of beauty. I wish you could see the *gentleman*, for he has no ordinary mien: he is so serious in all that he does, that I cannot help deeming him far wiser than myself.'—p. 60.

In 1663 the Duke of York was born, and named James, after

savage persecutor of the Protestants. They would certainly have preferred a Protestant princess, and their existing discontents were undoubtedly augmented and exascerbated by the consequences of the Catholic alliance. Pope Urban VIII. in some respects one of the best pontiffs who had ever filled the papal throne, and who had been one of the sponsors for the infant Henrietta, during his residence in France, when Cardinal Barbarini, was greatly averse to the match, from which he prognosticated nothing but misfortune: acutely enough foreseeing, on the one hand, from the temper and sentiments of the English nation, that if the Stuarts should relax the penal laws against the Catholics, they must do it at the peril of their crown; and on the other, that if they followed out and enforced those enactments, the queen, as a Catholic herself, could enjoy no happiness in her adopted country. The two courts resolved, however, on the marriage, and the treaty contained two articles from which resulted the most lamentable consequences. The first was, that the children of the marriage should be brought up under the care of their mother till their thirteenth year; the other stipulated for a relaxation of the laws against the Catholics; and James I. immediately acted on it, by ordering the release of all persons imprisoned for religion; the return of all fines levied on recusants; and the stoppage of the execution of all Papists convicted under the penal laws. To the former article we shall have occasion to refer hereafter; the enforcement of the latter was, as Pope Urban had predicted, the virtual commencement of the civil war. The objections of the pontiff appear to have been so strong, that he would not permit his nuncio to deliver his breve of dispensation for the marriage, till the queen-mother of France resolved to act without it. Had the first measures of Henrietta and her party in England been dictated by common prudence, much of the uneasiness which followed might have been avoided. It seems, however, to have been the intention of her mother, and the object of all her Roman Catholic attendants, to prevent the slightest concession on the part of the young queen to the opinions of her husband, or the wishes of his people. Though her mother could not accompany her, she put into her hand, at parting, a letter, of a tendency the most unwise, and containing directions the most inimical to her future peace and well-being, and of course to those of her husband.

The blame of Henrietta's conduct attaches most to her weak and bigotted mother, and the mischievous imbeciles with whom she surrounded her daughter; who at that period was a mere girl of sixteen, of unformed judgment and somewhat capricious temper, but capable under wiser management of better things.

Such too were the state and disposition of the United Kingdom at that time, with regard to politics and religion, that we much doubt whether Solomon himself, had he been a Roman-catholic, could have exercised an influence over Charles I. without serious detriment to his affairs.

Though the French attendants of the queen were dismissed, a good understanding between her and the king was not immediately established; and the complaints of Henrietta to her mother, were so frequent and serious, that the latter at length sent over the Duc de Bassompierre, a brave old comrade of Henri IV., and a man of talents and prudence, to inquire on the spot into the causes of the queen's dissatisfaction, and to take all necessary measures for removing them. He had so much regard for the daughter of his old friend, that finding the fault to be principally on her side, with perfect candour, and without regarding for the time her royalty, he treated her as a woman, remonstrated with her on her folly in constantly picking quarrels with the king, and treated her to a good sound lecture on the duties of a wife; and she, on her part, when her anger was over, had the good sense to perceive the value of his counsel, and to act accordingly: in consequence of which she secured the affections of her husband, and a life of uninterrupted domestic happiness for the next sixteen years.

In 1628 the queen gave birth to a son, who died, however, on the same day; but on the 29th of May, 1630, Henrietta presented her royal consort with another prince, afterwards Charles II., a remarkably plain child, who, with more consistency than he showed on most other points, grew up as ugly as he was born. The queen, herself, was fully conscious of his lack of comeliness; and there is an amusing letter written by her, to her former attendant, Madame St. George, in which she very candidly describes what Miss Strickland not unaptly calls 'the solemn ugliness of her fat baby.' As this is the first record extant concerning Charles II., having been written by his own mother in the first year of his life, we give the few lines of her letter in which it is embodied.

'MAMIE ST. GEORGE,—The husband of the nurse of my son going to France about some business of his wife, I write you this letter by him, believing that you will be very glad to ask him news of my son, of whom I think you have seen the portrait that I sent to the queen my mother. He is so ugly, that I am ashamed of him; but his size and fatness supply the want of beauty. I wish you could see the *gentleman*, for he has no ordinary mien: he is so serious in all that he does, that I cannot help deeming him far wiser than myself.'—p. 60.

In 1663 the Duke of York was born, and named James, after

his grandfather. From this time the royal pair lived happily together; the queen learned English, and studied to please her husband, and was rewarded with that success which ladies generally achieve when they make it their business to do so.

The destiny which overshadowed the house of Stuart, appears to have directed their good, as well as their bad, actions, to their disadvantage. The reception given by Charles to Mary de Medicis, the mother of his queen, when she was driven from France by the tyranny of her former creature, Richelieu, appears to have excited the hatred, and, of course, the uncompromising hostility of that base and cruel churchman. It operated to the disadvantage of the king in another and more important quarter, also—that of the people of England. The plague of French locusts, which had accompanied Henrietta to this country, had made its second advent in the train of her mother.

'Henrietta related, with tears, to Madame de Motteville, 'how dreadfully the king was embarrassed by the extravagance of her mother's attendants; and when he could not find means to satisfy their rapacity, they had the folly and malignity to carry their complaints to parliament, and petition for larger allowances—that parliament which had viewed the visit of the queen-mother with inimical feeling, and had considered the circumstance of a second establishment for the Catholic worship at court with angry disgust.'—p. 75.

In after life, Henrietta Maria dictated to her friend, Madame de Motteville, a tract, entitled, 'Abrégé des Revolutions d'Angleterre;' from which the following statement is taken by Miss Strickland, and to which we beg the attention of our readers, as shewing the opinion of Charles I., of the book of Common Prayer:—

'Henrietta declares, that when a vast number of books of Common Prayer were prepared to be sent to the Scotch (at the time of the liturgy being forced on that unwilling people), her husband, glad to take the opportunity of her attention being then forcibly drawn to the subject, brought her one of the Common Prayer Books, and sat down by her for a whole evening, and prevailed on her to examine it with him. He pressed on her notice the fact, which no living creature can deny, that though there is much in the mass-book not to be found in the Common Prayer Book, yet there are very few pages in the Common Prayer which are not supplied from the mass-book and breviary. Henrietta's prejudices were scarcely neutralized by this conviction, for she adds directly, 'it was this *fatal* book which occasioned the first revolt in Scotland.'—p. 76.

In the critical aspect which the king's affairs began to assume, his difficulties were, on more than one occasion, much enhanced by the unguarded manner in which the queen allowed

herself to speak of state affairs. Perhaps no single incident contributed more to the final rupture between the king and the parliament, than the attempt of the former to arrest the five members of the commons, and its failure—and that failure was brought about entirely by the imprudence of the queen.

She only, was aware of the intention of the king to arrest the five members: to her he had said on leaving her, 'If you find one hour elapse without hearing ill news from me, you will see me, when I return, the master of my kingdom.' The queen sat with her watch in her hand till the hour had expired, and then, no longer able to contain herself, exclaimed to the lady in waiting, the Countess of Carlisle, 'Rejoice with me, for at this hour the king is, as I have reason to hope, master of his realm; for Pym and his confederates are arrested before now!' Lady Carlisle happened to be connected with, and in the interest of, some of these members of the parliamentary party; and having reason to believe that the king had not yet accomplished his treacherous and unconstitutional purposes, gave prompt notice to the parties concerned, of his intention. They escaped, and the king succeeded only in exposing himself to the opened eyes of his parliament, in all the nakedness of baffled tyranny. 'It would have been well,' says Miss Strickland, 'if Henrietta had heard and heeded the warning axiom of the Countess Tertsky, in Wallenstein, regarding the portentous nature of 'shouts before victory.'*

Affairs soon afterwards took such a turn, that the king, on 23rd February, 1641-2, accompanied the queen to Dover, on her way to Holland, whither she betook herself, for the purpose of raising supplies for her husband, to enable him to resist the measures of the parliament. It was during her absence that Sir John Hotham refused to admit the king into the town of Hull, on which he had marched, for the purpose of securing the stores and magazines. This was the first overt act of the parliament against the king.

Into the politics of the day, or the course of the civil war, we cannot enter; but shall select a few of the most striking incidents in which the queen was concerned, by way of illustrating her character. Two of these incidents may serve to show us, the one, that she inherited some portion of that magnanimity which characterised her illustrious father; the other, that the influence of a Stuart atmosphere had somewhat clouded her perceptions as to the difference between *meum* and *tuum*.

On her return to England, under the convoy of Van Tromp,

* They are not the words of the Countess Tertsky, but those of Wallenstein himself, addressed to the Countess. Vide the 'Piccolomini,' act fourth, scene seventh—the end.

she landed at Burlington bay, and took up her quarters in the town. The parliamentary admiral, Batten, who had been cruizing off Newcastle with five ships of war, entered the bay during the night, and at break of day opened a furious cannonade on the house in which the queen was sleeping. She escaped in haste, through considerable peril, to the outside of the town, and sheltered herself in a ditch till the cannonade was over, the admiral retreating at the ebbing of the tide. Soon afterwards, one of the captains of Batten's squadron, who had directed the cannon against the queen's house, was seized on shore, tried by a military tribunal (royalists, of course), and condemned to be hanged. The queen happened to meet the procession, when he was being conducted to execution, and insisted on knowing what it meant. She was told: 'Ah,' said she, 'but I have forgiven him all that; and, as he did not kill me, he shall not be put to death on my account.' The captain was set at liberty by her command, and she entreated him 'not to persecute one who would not harm him when she could.' 'The captain,' adds the narrative, 'was so deeply touched by her generosity, that he came over to the royal cause, and moreover persuaded several of his shipmates to join him.' This act, if true,* was worthy of a queen—of the daughter of Henry the Great; what follows was unworthy of the daughter of a pawnbroker.

Henrietta, while in Yorkshire (according to tradition), established her head quarters at Boynton Hall, near Burlington, the seat of Sir William Strickland, a stanch leader of the puritan party, whose brother Walter had recently been ambassador from the parliament to the States of Holland, where he had fiercely argued against the queen's being furnished there with the munitions of war. Notwithstanding, the queen asked and received hospitality and shelter for herself and her train, at the native hall of these inimical brethren (no small practical compliment, by-the-bye, to the honour and gentlemanly feeling of the 'puritans.')

How did she repay this chivalrous hospitality? As follows:—

'During her majesty's entertainment a great display was made of heavy family plate, for the honour of the house. This the queen observing, took occasion, at her departure, when she returned thanks for her entertainment, to say, 'that she feared it would be thought that she was about to make an ungenerous return for the courtesies she had received; but, unhappily, the king's affairs had (through the

* It rests on the authority of Bossuet, intellectually a great man, but morally a great Jesuit. It was he who was employed to satisfy James II., that he might lawfully swear to uphold the English church, though at the same time it was his fixed intention to subvert it.

disaffection and want of duty on the part of some of those who ought to have been among his most loyal supporters) come to that pass that he required pecuniary aid. The parliament had refused to grant the supplies requisite for maintaining the honour of the crown, and therefore money must be obtained by other means, and she was sorry to be under the necessity of taking possession of the plate she had seen during her visit for his majesty's use.' (So much for the *honour* of the crown!) 'She should,' she added, 'consider it as a loan, as she trusted the king would very soon compose the disorders in those parts, when she would restore the plate, or, at any rate, its value in money, to Sir William Strickland; and, in the meantime, she would leave at Boynton Hall her own portrait, both as a pledge of her royal intentions, and a memorial of her visit.'—pp. 98, 99. '*Unfortunately*,' says Miss S., 'Boynton Hall was soon afterwards completely pillaged by a marauding party, who followed on the Queen's track; and Sir William Strickland and his brother became confirmed roundheads.'

We are not sure whether the residence of the queen in France, both before and after the death of her husband, may not be looked upon as those parts of her life which show her to the greatest advantage; though sullied in one remarkable instance by a degree of bigoted intolerance, which was not only highly blameable in itself, but which compromised, in an eminent degree, that love and respect for the memory of Charles I., which is represented as one of the brightest ornaments of her character. We shall presently advert to this. In other respects, and while the king was living, Henrietta appears to have shunned no sacrifice which would contribute to his welfare. Her sister-in-law, Anne, of Austria, conducted herself in the most feeling and generous manner towards her; supplying her wants in a truly royal style, though to little purpose as far as Henrietta was concerned, as she systematically devoted her utmost means to the assistance of her husband, then engaged in the civil wars at home. That she suffered for a time under absolute and great privations, is not to be attributed to any want of sympathy or liberality on the part of her relation, nor was her state of destitution of that long continuance which many have supposed; it lasted only during the wars of the Fronde or a part of them, for which period the royal family of France itself was subjected to the same necessities. After the death of Charles her occupations were chiefly such as might have been expected from her education and associates. She founded a convent of nuns at Chaillot, and with them the greater part of her time was passed; at least, at all those seasons in which the human heart is forced to cast itself upon its ultimate resources. However highly the queen may have appreciated the conso-

lations of religion, when flowing from a source to which her training, and we are willing to believe, her conscience also had attached her, she seems to have been decidedly opposed to the enjoyment of the same advantages by others, who sought them in a different manner. Wherever her authority extended, it appears that her proselyting zeal was exercised, and her own family, as most nearly within its influence, were those who suffered most severely from it. Her course of conduct was not more discreditable to herself than injurious to the memory of the king; with whose wishes with regard to his children, and with whose injunctions to them, she was perfectly acquainted. She had from the beginning made up her mind to educate her youngest daughter, the princess Henrietta, in the Romish faith; and had, moreover, clandestinely endeavoured to subvert the principles of her daughter Mary, while the latter was a child, having gone so far as to give her a rosary and cross, and to teach her the use of them, desiring her to hide them in her pocket:—in this attempt, however, she failed. To the unnatural severities which she practised towards her youngest son, the Duke of Gloucester, after his father's death, she was principally stimulated, no doubt, by her confessor Montague (brother to the Earl of Manchester, the Lord Kimbolton of the civil war), who had been perverted to popery by the Jesuits, during a former stay in France; a furious papist, like all other renegades, violent and unscrupulous. By the advice, and with the assistance of this priest, the queen proceeded, according to the prescriptive usages of popery, first by cajolery and casuistry, and then by persecution, to attempt the conversion—so-called—of the young duke of Gloucester. But, though quite a boy, the duke had a conscience and a spirit, and neither casuistry, nor the promise of a cardinal's hat, nor persecution, could bend his neck to the yoke of Rome. His unnatural mother and her 'Luciferian confessor' proceeded so far as to threaten the young duke with the maternal malediction (he was a dutiful and affectionate son, and this was therefore a poisoned arrow aimed at his peace of mind), and they actually dismantled his lodgings during his absence, forbade his household to prepare his food, turned his horses out of the stables, and himself into the street, without a sou; and the Earl of Ormond, the attached friend of his father, was obliged to part with the last jewel he possessed to procure the necessaries of life for the son of his old master. They were about to immure him in the Jesuits' college, that, to adopt the phraseology of those candid and veracious fathers, he might be 'tamed;' a consummation which they were accustomed to bring about, by means of so unscrupulous a nature, that not only the will, but the intellect itself was oftentimes

subverted by the process;—when the dispute was terminated by a letter from Charles II. (who had assumed that title on his father's death, and was then residing at Cologne), in which he demanded that the young duke should be given up to him as his brother and subject, a requisition which neither Montague nor the queen could venture to refuse. Charles appears to have been at that time steadily attached to the Church of England, His multiplied enormities had not, as yet, made it a matter of necessity that he should be provided with a religion which would wipe out his sins as fast as he committed them.

Henrietta returned to England after the restoration of her son, and would, to all appearance, have fixed her permanent residence in this country, had not her health prevented it. Her complaint appears to have been an affection of the lungs—probably of the asthmatic kind—for which the warmer and purer atmosphere of France was at least a palliative, though not a cure. She had, however, the worldly wisdom to remain in England till her jointure, as queen dowager, had been secured to her, and until her youngest daughter had been portioned by the country, previous to her marriage with the Duke of Orleans, the younger brother of Louis XIV.

Miss Strickland has taken a very favourable view of the character of Henrietta Maria throughout, and appears to us to have laid rather too great a stress on the testimony of the authors of the inedited manuscripts from which she quotes so largely. Père Cyprian Gamache—one of her principal authorities—a Capuchin priest, attached to the queen's household both in France and England, may have been a worthy man, and an honest ecclesiastic; and Madame de Motteville may have had opportunities of observing the character and actions of Henrietta; and both may have written without any intention of flattering the royal object of their encomiums; or the most remote idea that their manuscripts would ever see the light; but the former evidently considered his mistress as half a saint at least, on account of her injudicious and bigoted attachment to her religion, and the obstinacy with which she paraded it in the eyes of the English people, regardless of all consequences. What reliance can be placed on the judgment of a man, who has recorded in so many words his opinion, that Providence had ordained the troubles of the civil wars, the removal of the king by a violent death, and the dispersion of his family, solely in order that the queen might have the power and opportunity, in spite of her solemn promises to her husband, to educate her youngest and favourite daughter as a Roman-catholic? Objections to the same purpose, though differing in kind, might be urged against the panegyrics of Madame de Motteville, had

we time and space to make them, but we have not; they will suggest themselves to Miss Strickland's readers.

A graver fault, and one which it is necessary to notice, attaches to this narrative: the one-sided view of the character of Charles, which Miss Strickland has thought proper to present. To one unacquainted with history, and who should take his opinions solely from the biography before us, that monarch would appear to have been the best man and king that ever existed. Every thing connected with the latter part of his life, his sufferings, his trial, and his death, are given at length, and dilated on; together with a running accompaniment throughout in praise of his domestic character; while his political tyranny, his crimes, and his utter faithlessness, which made his death a matter of apparent necessity, are never once adverted to. We do not justify his death in a *legal* point of view; but, he had annihilated law as regarded others, and could not recreate it to preserve himself. It was by power beyond and without the law that he had ruled the nation; and the only way to put him down was to fight him with his own weapon. Nobody disputes that in his own family he was what he should have been; but was he therefore to be allowed to carry oppression and ruin and devastation into all others, at his pleasure? A very pathetic account is given of his parting from his family before his execution. Why did not Miss Strickland give as a counterpart to this, his treatment of Sir John Elliott and *his* family? The sole offence of that gentleman was words spoken in parliament, where he had a right to speak them; and for this he was closely imprisoned in a place unsuited to his health, (the Tower) and kept there, notwithstanding his petition for a change of prison, till he died by inches; and when his wife and family petitioned the king and martyr at least to bestow on them the dead body of their husband and father, that they might bury it with his ancestors, he refused their prayer, and wrote his refusal on the back of their petition with his own hand. He did not then anticipate the possibility that his own measure might be meted to himself; but what right had such a man to complain, when his poisoned chalice was returned to his own lips?*

In another instance, page 116, *et seq.*, a still more unwarrantable course has been adopted; a long quotation is given from the Eikon Basilike, in which Charles is represented as giving a description of the virtues of his queen, and setting forth his own feelings respecting her, and this description is clenched by the following comment:—

* The Christian king and martyr also refused forgiveness to his executioner, who knelt on the scaffold to ask it.—p. 173.

'Surely, surely, every woman must feel that it was a brighter lot to have been loved and mourned for by a man, whose mind was capable of these feelings, than to have shared the empire of a world, with a common character, in common place prosperity.'—p. 118. It is doubtful whether the mind of Charles *was* capable of these feelings; a quotation from the Eikon Basilike, is, at least, no proof that it was so. It is now established almost beyond the possibility of doubt, that not a syllable of the Eikon was written by Charles; Miss Strickland ought to have been aware of this; and, even if the matter were far more doubtful than it is, she has no right to promote a controverted opinion into an undoubted fact, and then to argue from it as such, to suit her own purposes.* The whole matter amounts to this; that Miss Strickland should have left untouched the character of Charles, or, have given both sides of it. She should have exhibited the aspect with which he looked upon the nation, or not have given that which he turned upon his queen and family: and in both cases, she should have used legitimate means and none other.

We intended the last sentence for the conclusion of our remarks on this part of the volume; but our eye has glanced again on a copy of verses, which Miss Strickland has given as one of the many elegies written on the death of Charles, and which she calls 'valuable;' which proves, beyond all doubt, that however the royalists might charge on their opponents (and, in many individual instances, perhaps justly), a want of real religious feeling, they were far from having a superabundance of it themselves. This elegy is neither more nor less than a parallel between Charles I. and—our Saviour! The place of the King's execution was 'Golgotha;' the Protector's lady was 'Pilate's wife; he (Charles) was sent to death by the cry of 'crucify,' and condemned because 'it was expedient he should die;' while, to make his sufferings 'more complete,' more like our Saviour's, we presume, 'he suffered, too, without the gate!' meaning Holbein's gate, at Whitehall. Whatever Miss Strickland may think of this, *we* think it blasphemous, and are at some loss to imagine where her moral perceptions could have been sleeping, when she copied such a thing for the press with commendation.

The remaining part of the volume is occupied by the life of Catharine of Braganza, queen of Charles II. There is no tragic

* By the bye, why does Miss Strickland write Basili*con?* It is somewhat pedantic in a lady to alter the received title of the work, and that which its author gave it. Prynne's 'Histriomastrix' is also spoken of in four or five different places; in almost every one of them it is spelt differently, and in all wrong.

interest in her story, but much of quiet pathos and domestic feeling. It was not the enemies of the king that embittered the life of his consort,—unless, indeed, he may be called his own enemy,—for the contrivers of the popish plot were not the enemies of the king. But for his own faults and follies he might have enjoyed an average degree of happiness in the society of his consort; perhaps even more; and the devoted affection which she felt and expressed for him, would lead us to believe that the possession of his heart would have been all that was necessary for her. This, however, she never had, or, but for a little time; yet, when her life was aimed at by the patrons of Titus Oates, the king's honour and his conscience were so far roused, that he became her detetermined and consistent protector.

This, if not the most uneasy, was the most dangerous portion of the life of Catharine; yet, even then, the evil approached her in such a shape, that it did but call forth, though in a greater degree, the same virtues which she before exhibited, the true womanly virtues of quiet resignation and passive heroism. Her conduct throughout appears to have been swayed by three principal motives;—her love for Charles, which continued to the last; her attachment to her religion, which, though amounting to bigotry, yet took no overt or offensive shape; and her deep and commendable interest in the welfare of her family and of her native country, which had just struggled into independence. She appears also to have been of a disposition radically and exceedingly amiable; and these different agencies, when borne in mind, may elucidate and account for some apparent discrepancies and weaknesses in her conduct.

She needed all the motives which personal affection, or religion, or patriotism could supply, to enable her to conduct herself with dignified forbearance in the difficult position which she occupied. Placed as she was, in the society of those to whose ill-will her very virtues rendered her obnoxious; and cast for protection on a man whose principles habitually succumbed before his passions; whose affections were engaged to another before he saw his wife; and could not, or would not, be withdrawn from this unworthy object, at least not for a long time, and then only to be bestowed on others as unworthy; far from her native country, and among a people who looked on her religion, and on her as professing it, with no friendly eye; she yet conducted herself in such a manner as to secure the respect and esteem of all but the profligate associates of her husband. His own esteem she had, though nothing more; for, as he himself said truly, 'though *he* was not virtuous, he could respect those who were.' And he afterwards gave undoubted proof that

he did respect her. And when it is considered that she was educated in the seclusion of a convent, and was profoundly ignorant of the world, its usages, and its history, till she became the wife of Charles, and therefore must have depended solely on the intuitive instincts of her own head and heart—her own good sense and feelings—to direct her course; for counsellors she had none, or such only as would, if they could, have led her to her ruin; we think it no common praise to say, that that course was not only blameless but highly honourable.

We have spoken of some discrepancies in her conduct; we might have confined ourselves to the singular number, for, with the exception of her sudden and unexpected familiarity with Lady Castlemaine, we recollect no other; and for this we think Miss Strickland has suggested not only a sufficient, but even a favourable solution; in the fear which Catharine might have entertained, that if she furher opposed the will of her unreasonable husband, she might have endangered the permanence of his good-will to Portugal, and that, too, at a crisis when the withdrawment of his friendship would have been a death-blow to the new-born independence of the country. If the action were blameable, the motive may excuse it; with all who are fallible themselves it ought to do so.

The queen, of her own free will, was not entangled in the maze of politics; but the peculiar circumstances of the king and kingdom, the objections of the nation to the accession of the Duke of York, and the unscrupulous proceedings of his enemies and her's, have invested a part of the life of Catharine with a political importance which it would not otherwise have attained. As she brought no heir to the kingdom, nothing of course intervened between the accession of James, but the life of King Charles; and it became the object of those statesmen who wished to exclude the duke from the succession, to provide the king, if possible, another heir. This, they concluded, was only to be done by procuring for the king another wife; and as Charles had steadily refused to countenance their scheme for divorcing him from Catharine, for that which he justly said was no fault of hers, and for the sole and sufficiently obvious purpose of excluding from the throne a brother to whom he was strongly and steadily attached, they did not scruple to attempt the gaining of their end by implicating Catherine in the popish plot. In this case also, the king, much to his credit, stood forth as her defender; till, the credit of Oates and Bedlow being lost, and the practices of Shaftesbury exposed, the poor queen was at length allowed to live in peace,

On the death of Charles, which took place unexpectedly, in February, 1685, the relative position of Catharine was of course

completely altered; she could be no longer an object of animosity or jealousy to any party; and James II. and his queen appear to have treated her with the greatest kindness. She remained in England for some years after the accession of William, and quitted it finally in the Spring of 1692, having lived in it for seven years after her widowhood, and thirty years altogether, wanting seven weeks. After her return to her native country, she proved herself to be possessed of powers of mind, and talents for government, which had been held so completely in abeyance during her residence in England, that the existence of them was not even suspected. She governed her native country with such success during the temporary withdrawment of her brother, Don Pedro, that in the following year, when he was laid aside by dangerous illness, she was constituted Queen Regent of Portugal, and carried on a most successful war against Philip of Anjou, the French King of Spain. She survived till 1706.

We have no particular objection to make to any of the authorities on which this latter biography is founded; though we consider it necessary to notice some of the inferences which Miss Strickland has deduced from them. There are two or three persons against whom she appears to be determined to discharge a shaft, whenever she can find one; and the party historians of the times on which she has been writing, will furnish her with plenty: but this does not appear to satisfy her, unless she adds a barb or two herself. William the Third, Bishop Burnett, and Algernon Sidney, are especial marks for her archery. Perhaps, William the Third is no great favourite of ours; he might have little head, and still less heart: but though a man may have but little heart, it does not follow that that little should be altogether bad; and where the proof of its depravity is offered in the shape of a proceeding which would militate against his own interest, the fact is doubly questionable. Catharine had sent a message by our ambassador to the prince and princess of Orange, instead of writing to them; and this, says Miss Strickland,

'May appear somewhat cool, considering the nearness of the connexion; but Catharine was no dissembler, and she had little reason to feel kindness for those who had encouraged the fabrications of the murderous false witness, that had so recently been aimed against her life, in the business of the popish plot. Catharine had probably pretty correct information of the share the prince of Orange had in that great iniquity, which he afterwards proclaimed to the whole world, by pensioning the notorious tool of the exclusionists, Titus Oates.'—p. 429.

Now, in the first place, it does not follow, that if William

'encouraged' the exclusionists in their policy, he also 'encouraged them in procuring 'false witness' to carry out their plans; he might not even know that they employed it; he left, in all probability, the details to them: and whatever might have been his object, it never would have been the destruction of Queen Catharine, unless he was labouring with one hand to prevent that which he was forwarding with the other. The setting aside of James from the succession he might have wished, in order to secure his own; but for the very same reason it was his interest to prevent both the death and repudiation of the queen; since the immediate effect of either would have been, that Charles would have taken another consort, by whom, in all probability, he might have had children, who would have excluded William from the throne. As to the pensioning of Oates, the case is not fairly stated. The pension was conferred in the first instance by Charles the Second, to the amount of £1,200; James the Second took away the pension, and subjected Oates to deprivation and severe corporal punishment; which, though richly deserved, were nevertheless a violation of the constitution, and of the laws of the land; while they were endured by Oates with a calmness and firmness of mind, which almost entitle him to something like respect.*

William the Third restored to Oates, not his original pension, but little more than one half of it, £700 we believe; with which that worthy himself, and his party were so little satisfied, that it was made for some time a constant cause of complaint. It is idle to say, that Charles did not wish to pension Oates, but that William did it willingly; because there is no authority for the assertion;—if the two monarchs rewarded Oates of their own accord, Charles was worse than William, for he gave the larger pension; if it was the work of their respective ministers, William was no worse than Charles: probably they both yielded to the clamour of the times.

Algernon Sidney has of late years been made the object of attack by every jacobite, tory, conservative, protectionist, '*aut quocunque alio nomine vocatur*,' who delights in bolstering up the cause of arbitrary power.

They have tried their best to support it, and have verified the old proverb that 'bad is the best;' and now comes Miss Strickland, and, in addition to the props and buttresses already applied, with her little lady-like hammer, and some small complacency, drives in *two tin tacks*, to assist in keeping up the fabric.

That Sidney was not perfect we are quite ready to admit, but he was much more so than the majority of the public men of

* Dr. Calamy, who was an eye witness of part of his public sufferings, is our authority for this statement.

his day. Against his private character no one can cast reflections; and we see no reason why his political morality should be tried by another test than that of his contemporaries. They seemed to consider that the end sanctified the means, and most of them, it must be granted, acted in conformity with the maxim. We were quite aware that Sidney accepted money from the king of France; but the admissions of Miss Strickland herself, (for we will try her on her own merits, without reference to any graver authority,) are quite sufficient to show for what purpose he accepted it.

'The following passage, quoted by the present accomplished premier of France, M. Guizot,' (we knew it all before, without M. Guizot,)* 'in his noble work, the Course of Civilization, from the notes kept by Louis XIV. of the personal transactions of the year 1666, will show the principles of the all but deified Algernon Sidney in their true colours.' It will so: and we beg the attention of the reader to our italics.

'I had this morning,' says Louis, 'a conversation with M. de Sidney, an English gentleman, who has made me understand the possibility of *re-animating the republican party in England.* M. de Sidney demands of me, *for that purpose,* 400,000 livres. I have told him that I could not give him more than 200,000. He has engaged me to draw from Switzerland, another English gentleman of the name of Ludlow, *and to confer with him on the same design.*' Ludlow himself, in his memoir, says, 'I have received from the French government an invitation to come to Paris, *to discuss the affairs of my country,* but I distrust the French government.'—p. 365, and note. Barillon, who informs Louis that he has given the money ordered, to Sidney, bears testimony to his consistency, by saying, 'he always appeared to me to have the same sentiments, and not to have changed maxims.'—p. 422, note.

Sidney was an enthusiastic republican, a hater of tyranny, civil and religious. Granted, that he did not pursue his ends in accordance with the stricter and better maxims of the nine-

* Miss Strickland takes another opportunity (p. 158, note) of lauding M. Guizot, for having made a discovery which (she says) has escaped the research of our English writers, viz., that President Bradshaw, fearing an 'inbreak' of the people, at the trial of the king, had his 'high-crowned puritan hat lined with iron.' Why, everybody knows that: the hat itself is in existence; we have seen it ourselves, we believe in the museum at Oxford:—if our memory serves us rightly, a black hat with a narrow brim, and a crown somewhat high and tapering, lined inside with strips of iron vertically arranged. Whether it is the *real* hat, we cannot pretend to say—nor does it signify: the very circumstance that such a hat is shown in one of our national depositories, is sufficient proof that the fact itself is perfectly notorious.

teenth century; but if he is to be judged of fairly, it must be by comparing him with the opinions and practices of statesmen of his own age, and not with those of another and a more enlightened era. In his accession to the Rye-house plot we do not believe; but even if he had participated in it, his trial, the manner in which he was convicted, and his execution, were violations of law and justice quite as flagrant as those which were committed in the case of the Viscount Strafford; on whose hard and unmerited fate Miss Strickland is so pathetic:—we do not blame the pathos, but only the partiality with which it is bestowed.

The following short extract may serve to show the animus of Miss Strickland towards Algernon Sidney; and therefore to determine, *quoad hoc*, the value of her strictures on him.

'This change (to confidence and kindness between Charles and Catharine,) was contemplated with uneasiness by men whose hearts the demon of party had hardened against every good feeling and virtuous sympathy. Mr. Sidney, in a letter to the Prince of Orange, dated June 28th, says, 'I delivered a compliment from your Highness to the Duchess of Portsmouth, which she took extremely well; but it will do you little good, for she hath no more credit with the king; and these ministers are persuading the king to send her away, and think by it to reconcile themselves to the people. 'Thus we see,' says Miss S, 'the decline of this vile woman's political influence, which had been no less disgraceful to the king, than pernicious to the realm, is *regretted* by the tool and spy of William, &c.'—p. 438, 439.

If our readers can see any thing like regret in this sentence, or any thing more than a plain statement of facts, their perspicacity must be much greater than ours. If 'the demon of party' has not hardened Miss Strickland's heart, he seems at least to have perverted her judgment. Of this we shall offer a concluding proof in one of her attacks on Bishop Burnet.

Describing the last illness and conduct of Charles II.—

'Burnet also affirms, that the king recommended the Duchess of Portsmouth, *over and over again*, to his brother, saying, 'he had always loved her, and now loved her to the last' Now, Barillon, the only person present who mentions the name of this woman at all, *merely says*, 'that the king *twice* recommended the Duchess of Portsmouth, and her son the Duke of Richmond, to his brother, and also his other children.'—p. 454.

That is, Barillon 'merely says,' *just the same thing* as Burnet; for unless Miss Strickland means to shelter herself behind some such miserable subterfuge as saying, that the word 'over' premises that the matter had been mentioned before, and that therefore 'over and over again' must mean at least *three* times,

while Barillon asserts that it was mentioned only *twice*, there is no difference between the two accounts. *Had* they differed, we see no reason why Barillon should be credited rather than Burnet, he was not a more veracious person. But in fact Barillon, 'the only person present,' so far from impugning the testimony of Burnet, has, upon the showing of Miss Strickland herself, completely confirmed it; leaving on our minds the unavoidable impression, that in other instances also, the account of the bishop must be true.

We do not presume to account for Miss Strickland's apparent likings and antipathies; perhaps her prejudices are strong, or, perhaps, she intends to exemplify the most generous of all precepts, in returning good for evil, by lauding all the friends, and abusing all the opponents, of the family who stole her plate.

Nor do we quarrel with her for having opinions of her own—only—those opinions ought not to be allowed to give their colour to a semi-historical work, nor to influence an author in the setting forth of character.

Art. VIII.—1. *Tracts and Treatises of John de Wycliffe, D.D., with Selections and Translations from his Manuscript and Latin Works.* Edited for the Wycliffe Society, with an Introductory Memoir, by the Rev. Robert Vaughan, D.D. 8vo.

2. *Select Works of the Reverend and Learned David Clarkson, B.D.* Edited for the Wycliffe Society, by the Rev. Basil H. Cooper, B.A. With Historical Notices of the Life and Writings of the Author, by the Rev. John Blackburn. 8vo.

3. *Tracts on Liberty of Conscience and Persecution,* 1614—1661. Edited for the Hanserd Knollys Society, with an Historical Introduction, by Edward Bean Underhill. 8vo.

THE appearance of these volumes affords an opportunity for calling attention to the societies by which they are issued, of which we readily avail ourselves. We hailed their establishment as an era in dissenting literature: and, regardless of the denominational features by which they are distinguished, we cordially wish them success. Something of the kind has long been wanting. The deficiency has been felt by the more reflecting and better informed Nonconformists, and a variety of schemes have been suggested with a view to supply it. The difficulties anticipated have, however, prevented the

adoption of any plan, and nothing has in consequence been done. Purchasers, it has been assumed, would be wanting, and the fear of pecuniary loss has therefore deterred several from the enterprise, who would otherwise gladly have embarked in it. It is disgraceful that it should be so. It reflects surely no credit on the dissenting body, that there should be any ground for such an apprehension. Considering their number and wealth, the significance of their history, and the importance of their principles, an adequate demand to place loss out of the question, ought to exist, and in many cases an intense curiosity might have been expected to operate. However, so it is. Our men are the men of a day. They have forced their own way upwards amidst many difficulties, and under the necessity of continued secular exertion. We have few of inherited wealth whose youth afforded leisure for the cultivation of literary tastes. Most of those who have been enriched by the exertions of their fathers, have yielded to the seductions of a secular establishment, and have, in consequence, either left us wholly, or been greatly estranged from an enlightened and earnest sympathy with our principles. Their aid has therefore been withdrawn from a generous patronage of our cause, at the very time when their circumstances specially qualified them to render it. Our historical and ecclesiastical literature has thus been sadly neglected. Vast stores, deeply interesting and important, on which our forefathers prided themselves, and by which they manfully served the cause of truth, have lain neglected. They exist in various forms, from the brief tract to the ponderous folio; but their voice, though the clear utterance of truth, is not heard; their very existence is known only to a few; they lie unheeded and forgotten, the glory of a past, and the disgrace of the present generation.

We have long mourned over this state of things, and have asked, if it were always to continue. In very bitterness of heart we have contrasted the excitement, and stir, and noise, created by some modern ephemeral productions, with the apathy and contemptuous indifference evinced towards the nobler works of a former age,—works instinct with life, through which the human soul acting under the loftiest inspirations, has sought the instruction and benefit of its fellows. When surrounded with these living memorials of the dead, listening to their voice, gazing on their expressive forms, we have involuntarily inquired, Can it be that such companionships are relinquished without a sigh; that these oracles are unheeded; these master spirits forgotten, while the feeble voice and confused teachings of many modern instructors are regarded. We refer not now to the outward form or garb of truth. The more

modern may, in this respect, be preferable. We allude to the power of the teacher; the intellect that was concentrated; the vital strength and moral energy which characterized those who were as lights in a dark place,—God's champions against an impious and persecuting world. Improbable as the case may be, it is matter of fact, and the solution of the problem is not difficult. This, however, we shall not now attempt. It is sufficient for our purpose to remark, that what individual enterprize was incompetent to, has been undertaken by a combination of the parties most deeply interested. Combination is the order of the present day. It is the new element which is working such marvels around us, and before which the most gigantic and formidable forces are giving way. Its power is recognised in politics and in literature. We rejoice in its application to the objects specially contemplated by the societies whose publications are before us.

The Wycliffe Society was the earliest in its for [illegible] the most comprehensive in its plan. It o[illegible] morial presented to the autumnal meeting o[illegible] Union, held at Liverpool, in October, 1842, '[illegible] formation of a society that should rescue from [illegible] scarce and almost extinct tracts and treatises of [illegible] vocates of further reformation, from the time t[illegible] abolished till the revolution was effected.'

This memorial was favourably received, and vigorous efforts were resolved on, with a view of securing an adequate number of subscribers. The subject was referred to the executive of the Union, which adopted the present title of the society in honour of our first reformer; and 'appointed a distinct committee for the more efficient accomplishment of the object proposed.' The subsequent history of the society, prior to the appearance of its first volume, is thus detailed in the printed abstract of the committee's report for this year. The narrative is disgraceful, and we could willingly suppress it, but the interests of truth require its publication, and we therefore give it in the words of the report.

'The first prospectus was issued early in that year, in which it was stated that they could furnish three volumes, with an aggregate of 1,500 octavo pages, if they should succeed in obtaining not less than 1,500 subscribers; this was followed by a second in the autumn, in which their need of 1,500 subscribers, to enable them to fulfil the engagement to give *three* volumes for every pound subscribed was distinctly repeated,—'No work will be put to press till the list contains that number of names.'

'At that time not 700 subscribers had been registered; the committee therefore continued to use all the appliances of the press and

the post-office; and by public advertisements, and private circulars, sought to augment their number. Most languid was the response to these appeals, so that in a fourth prospectus, dated July 1844, they could only announce that 'Nearly *eight hundred members* have enrolled their names, and the subscription list will be kept open until at least fifteen hundred subscribers have been obtained. No considerable augmentation having followed these oft-repeated appeals, it became a grave question with the committee whether they should not publish the failure of the project, pay off the expenses already incurred, and return to the subscribers the balance due to each.

'Anxious, however, to avoid a course which would so signally dishonour the Congregational body, they were willing to hope, from the experience of similar societies, that the publication of the first volume would immediately produce a great augmentation of subscribers. They therefore resolved to proceed, and to print 1,500 copies, that they might be ready for the anticipated influx of new members.'

The first volume issued consists of 'The Tracts and Treatises of John de Wycliffe,' under the editorship of Dr. Vaughan, than whom, no man could be found more eminently qualified for the task. His previous labours in this department of ecclesiastical literature, his extensive and thorough acquaintance with the writings of Wycliffe, and his knowledge of their influence, in moulding the views and policy of our subsequent reformers, pointed him out to the committee, and precluded the possibility of the work being devolved on any other. The publication of Wycliffe's Tracts and Treatises being resolved on, Dr. Vaughan's editorship followed as a matter of course. The volume consists of three parts, the first of which is biographical, 'containing facts and observations concerning the life of Wycliffe.' To those who are acquainted with Dr. Vaughan's more extended Life of Wycliffe, the assurance will not be needful that the ninety-four closely printed pages, of which this portion of the volume consists, contain the results of extensive research, conducted in the best temper, and with a view to an honest elucidation of the great reformer's history and opinions.

The second part of the volume is analytical, supplying a brief account of the writings of Wycliffe still in manuscript, with numerous extracts, and a translation from the original Latin, of the most important chapters of the Trialogus: whilst the third part contains 'those tractates of the reformer which have been already printed at different periods and in various forms.' The liberties taken with the text of his author, are thus candidly stated by the editor.

'In the extracts presented in the first section of the first book, I have not retained every obsolete word, and in a few instances, an

illegible or obscure sentence has been omitted; but those passages exhibit throughout the substantial and idiomatic language of the reformer, and cannot fail to make precisely that impression on the reader, which would be made by them if read from the original manuscript. It has not appeared to me necessary, or desirable, that I should affect greater accuracy in that portion of the work.'

As a whole the volume is highly valuable, though, as we shall presently remark, its selection as the commencement of the series was, in our judgment, scarcely expedient.

The second volume, issued by the Wycliffe Society, has been edited with great care by Mr. Cooper. This was a work of no trifling difficulty, on account of 'the extremely defective and inaccurate state of the posthumous treatises' of the author. An historical notice is prefixed by Mr. Blackburn, in which a large amount of interesting information is brought together, and full justice is done to the learning and piety of Mr. Clarkson. He was born at Bradford, in Yorkshire, in the month of February, 1621-22. Nothing is known of his early training: but about 1640 he entered Clare Hall, Cambridge, 'where he distinguished himself as a scholar and a Christian, and secured the friendship and confidence of his associates.' He was in his native town when it was invested by the Earl of Newcastle in the early part of the civil war, and a contemporaneous piece of biography, written by Joseph Lister, an apprentice of Mr. John Sharp, the brother-in-law of Clarkson, gives an interesting account of the capture of our young divine by the royalist forces.

''My master,' says Lister, 'being gone, I sought for my mother, and having found her, she, and I, and my sister, walked in the street, not knowing what to do, or which way to take. And as we walked up the street, we met a young gentleman, called David Clarkson, leading a horse. My mother asked him where he had been with that horse. Says he, 'I made an essay to go with my brother Sharp, and the army, who broke through the enemy's leaguer; but the charge was so hot I came back again, and now I know not what to do.' Then I answered, and said, 'Pray, mother, give me leave to go with David, for I think I can lead him a safe way;' for being born in that town, I knew all the by-ways about it.

''David also desired her to let me go with him, so she begged a blessing on me, and sent me away, not knowing where we could be safe. So away we went, and I led him to a place called the Sill-bridge, where a foot company was standing; yet I think they did not see us, so we ran on the right hand of them, and then waded over the water, and hearing a party of horse come down the lane towards the town, we laid us down in the side of the corn, and they perceived us not. It being about daybreak, we stayed here as long as we durst for being discovered, it beginning to be light. Well, we got up, and went in the shade of the hedge, and then looking

about us, and hoping to be past the danger of the leaguer, we took to the highway, intending to go to a little town called Clayton; and having waded over the water, we met with two men that were troopers, and who had left their horses in the town, and hoped to get away on foot, and now they and we walked together, and hoped we had escaped all danger, and all on a sudden a man on horseback from towards the beacon had espied us and came riding towards us, and we, like poor affrighted sheep, seeing him come fast towards us, with a drawn sword in his hand, we foolishly kept together, and thought to save ourselves by running. Had we scattered from one another, he had but got one of us. We all got into a field; he crossed the field and came to us, and as it pleased God, being running by the hedge-side, I espied a thick holly-tree, and thought perhaps I might hide myself in this tree and escape, so I crept into it, and pulled the boughs about me, and presently I heard them cry out for quarter. He wounded one of them, and took them all prisoners, and said, 'There were four of you; where is the other?' but they knew not, for I, being the last and least of them, was not missed; so he never looked after me more; but I have often thought since how easily we might have knocked him down, had we but had courage; but, alas! we had none.'—pp. 10, 11.

He was probably included in some of the exchanges of prisoners which subsequently took place, as he speedily returned to Cambridge; and, on the visitation of the Earl of Manchester, in the early part of 1644, was appointed to a fellowship of Clare Hall, in the place of Mr. Peter Gunning, who was ejected by the parliamentary commissioner. Mr. Clarkson's views of church government were congregational, and to this circumstance may probably be attributed much of the tolerant spirit of the celebrated John Tillotson, subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury, who became his pupil at Clare Hall in the spring of 1647. Mr. Clarkson was ejected from the living of Mortlake, in Surrey, by the Act of Uniformity, which, with a refinement of cruelty worthy of Clarendon and the bishops of the Restoration, came into operation on Bartholomew's day, August 24th, 1662. We are surprized at the mild terms in which Mr. Blackburn refers to this atrocious act. Surely it merited a severer reprobation than he has passed on it, for it added to the guilt of persecution, the treachery of deceit, and a wilful violation of the most solemn promises. History records few cases short of open murder which bespeak more reckless cruelty. For twenty years Mr. Clarkson continued in comparative obscurity, moving from place to place to avoid persecution, and only at very rare periods exercising his ministry. The Declaration of Indulgence afforded him some respite, though he does not appear to have availed himself of the royal ordinance, like many of his brethren.

In 1682 he was elected co-pastor with Dr. John Owen, and four years afterwards, June 14th, 1686, he peacefully departed from his sphere of labour, in the clear recognition and confident indulgence of Christian hope. 'His clear and comprehensive mind,' says John Howe, 'his excellent learning, his reasoning, argumentative skill, his solid, most discerning judgment, his indefatigable industry, his large knowledge, and great moderation in the matters of our unhappy ecclesiastical differences, his calm dispassionate temper, his pleasant and most amiable conversation, did carry so great a lustre with them, as that, notwithstanding his most beloved retiredness, they could not, in his circumstances, but make him be much known, and much esteemed and loved by all that had the happiness to know him, and make the loss of him be much lamented. But he was, by the things that made his continuance so desirable in this world, the fitter for a better and more suitable world. He lived here as one that was more akin to that other world than this; and who had no other business here but to help in making this better.'

Such was the man whose 'select works' the Wycliffe Society has issued as the second volume of its series. They are worthy of his reputation, and may be studied with great advantage. His learning was profound and accurate, his research most extensive, and his piety both enlightened and fervent. He united the best qualities of many of his class, and was deterred by his extreme modesty only from occupying a prominent and commanding position amongst his brethren. The works included in this volume are, 'No Evidence for Diocesan Churches, &c.,' 'Diocesan Churches not yet Discovered,' 'Primitive Episcopacy Stated and Cleared, &c.,' 'A Discourse Concerning Liturgies,' 'A Discourse of the Saving Grace of God,' and three miscellaneous sermons.

After what we have said respecting these volumes, we need not be apprehensive of being supposed to underrate their value. For ourselves, we are more than content with them; and if the spirit we desire to create were already prevalent, we should see no objection to their selection. But this is far from being the case. Our people are disinclined to what they term dull and heavy reading; and, though the Wycliffe Society has not promised—and we perfectly approve their abstinence in this matter—'to produce *popular* books, adapted to the prevailing taste of the age,' yet some condescension to the existing state of things, something adapted to allure to a better and more healthful taste, might wisely have characterized their earlier issues. It was surely inexpedient to select the driest, and what the generality of readers will esteem, the least attractive works, when the

thought to save ourselves by runn
another, he had but got one of
crossed the field and came to us
running by the hedge-side, I espie
perhaps I might hide myself in th
it, and pulled the boughs about me
out for quarter. He wounded one
soners, and said, 'There were four
they knew not, for I, being the
missed; so he never looked after m
since how easily we might have kn
courage; but, alas! we had none.'

He was probably included in s
ers which subsequently took pl
Cambridge; and, on the visitatio
the early part of 1644, was app
Hall, in the place of Mr. Peter G
parliamentary commissioner. M
government were congregational,
probably be attributed much of th
brated John Tillotson, subsequen
who became his pupil at Clare Ha
Clarkson was ejected from the livi
the Act of Uniformity, which, w
worthy of Clarendon and the bishop
into operation on Bartholomew's day
are surprized at the mild terms in wh
to this atrocious act. Surely it me
than he has passed on it, for it added

local or general, to develope the growth of
l to exhibit in their true light the character
fathers. A generous forbearance might pos-
this, and there would have been considerable
ing it. But the difficulties connected with
on would not have been trifling, and we are
o receive the publications of both societies as
ons, in their several departments, to our his-
cal treasures. The value of the works pro-
hed by the Hanserd Knollys Society is very

marks the prospectus issued by the Council,
influence on the course of national affairs
Cromwell's protectorate, and they became in
as they had been in times preceding the
especial objects of ecclesiastical and political
roductions form therefore an important element
entful and stirring time. But especially inter-
appear, as the documents from which may be
l the bitter trials of those men to whom the
existence in this country:—in whose stripes,
was laid the foundation of that liberty we now

lude the works of both General and Particular
l Manuscripts relating to the rise and forma-
hurches; Translations of such works as may
s of the Baptists and the extension of their
th such Documents as are to be found only in
ons, or may not yet have appeared in an ac-
e baptismal controversy only those treatises
s of acknowledged worth or historic value.
companied with biographical notices of the
notes and illustrations as may be essential to
publications will consist of works produced
venteeth century.

r and scope of the works which the So-
and the volume already published does
ment both of the council and of the
st valuable contributions to ecclesi-
n times have witnessed, and only
n in order to secure a place in
dom. Whatever opinion may
ws which are broached, all
attaching great value
number, of which
peace, a plea
ion judged

object was to create an interest, and to fill up a subscription list. Nothing can well be imagined less likely to do this than Wycliffe's volume, the very fragmentary character of which was, in itself, sufficient to place it under the ban of common readers. We are not, therefore, surprized, when informed by the committee that,—

'Although there does not exist any collection of the great reformer's writings, at all equal in extent or information to that volume, yet, from causes which the committee cannot explain, its appearance did not produce the expected augmentation of the number of subscribers; and their fond hope of seeing £1,200 or £1,500 contributed was disappointed, as the list never contained more than 950 names, and from several untoward circumstances the amount actually received by the treasurer did not exceed £873.'

This is precisely what we should have anticipated, and our astonishment is great that the committee did not perceive their error, and seek to correct it in their second publication. If the name of the society necessitated—of which we are by no means convinced—their commencing the series with the Treatises of Wycliffe, immediate steps should have been taken to follow them up by a second volume of a more popular and attractive character; such as the Trials of Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry, the Troubles at Frankfort, the Conferences of Hampton Court and of Savoy, the Parte of a Register, or some similar publication.* Instead of this, however, works were selected, the very name of whose author was known only to a few, and the qualities of which, however sterling, were utterly foreign from the mental aptitudes of our people. This fact will go far, in our judgment, to account for the difficulties which have been experienced, and we earnestly council our friends to review their plan. It is in no unfriendly spirit that we make these remarks, but from a deep solicitude to insure the accomplishment of a scheme which has our heartiest approval. Let the error be corrected in time, and our hopes may yet be realized.

The Hanserd Knollys Society, as already intimated, was formed subsequently to the Wycliffe, and is more restricted in its range. The sphere of each is perfectly distinct, and we shall be glad to find that both are duly sustained by the denominations to which they respectively belong. Had it been practicable, we should have preferred one society, having respect to the objects common to both bodies, adapted to illustrate our

* In the case of the Troubles at Frankfort, the committee have been anticipated by the enterprize of Mr. Petheram of Chancery-lane, London, whose edition of this invaluable work, together with his *Puritan Discipline Tracts*, we strongly recommend to the patronage of our readers.

history, whether local or general, to develope the growth of our principles, and to exhibit in their true light the character and services of our fathers. A generous forbearance might possibly have secured this, and there would have been considerable advantages attending it. But the difficulties connected with such an organization would not have been trifling, and we are therefore content to receive the publications of both societies as valuable contributions, in their several departments, to our historical and theological treasures. The value of the works proposed to be republished by the Hanserd Knollys Society is very great.

'Their authors,' remarks the prospectus issued by the Council, 'exercised no mean influence on the course of national affairs during the period of Cromwell's protectorate, and they became in subsequent reigns, as they had been in times preceding the Commonwealth, the especial objects of ecclesiastical and political persecution. These productions form therefore an important element in the study of that eventful and stirring time. But especially interesting do these works appear, as the documents from which may be learnt the opinions and the bitter trials of those men to whom the Baptist body owes its existence in this country:—in whose stripes, and bonds, and death, was laid the foundation of that liberty we now enjoy.'

'The series will include the works of both General and Particular Baptists; Records and Manuscripts relating to the rise and formation of the Baptist churches; Translations of such works as may illustrate the sufferings of the Baptists and the extension of their principles, together with such Documents as are to be found only in large historical collections, or may not yet have appeared in an accessible form. On the baptismal controversy only those treatises will be given which are of acknowledged worth or historic value. The whole will be accompanied with biographical notices of the authors, and with such notes and illustrations as may be essential to their completeness. The publications will consist of works produced before the close of the seventeeth century.

Such are the character and scope of the works which the Society proposes to issue; and the volume already published does great credit to the judgment both of the council and of the editor. It is one of the most valuable contributions to ecclesiastical history which modern times have witnessed, and only requires to be extensively known in order to secure a place in every historical library in the kingdom. Whatever opinion may be held respecting some of the views which are broached, all candid and intelligent men will unite in attaching great value to the treatises it contains. They are seven in number, of which the following are the titles and dates:—Religion's peace, a plea for liberty of conscience, 1614; Persecution for religion judged

and condemned, 1615; An humble supplication to the King's Majesty, 1620; The necessity of toleration in matters of Religion, 1647; An humble petition and representation of the Anabaptists, 1660; A plea for toleration of opinions and persuasions in matters of Religion, 1661; and Sion's groans for her distressed, &c., 1661.

We shall not attempt an analysis of these pieces; our space precludes it, and it would be beside our present object. It is enough to remark, that their authors were the earliest advocates, and amongst the most able expounders of the doctrine of religious freedom. They placed it on a broad and stable footing, admitted of no exceptions, and scorned to avail themselves of delusive and partial pleas. What they asked for one sect, they demanded for all. The force of their logic was as applicable to others as to themselves, and their generous spirit asserted in its legitimate extent, the right of every human being to worship God according to his own conceptions of duty.

'I read,' says the author of the first treatise published—the capitals are from the original—published in 1614, 'that a bishop of Rome would have constrained a Turkish emperor to the Christian faith, unto whom the emperor answered, 'I believe that Christ was an excellent prophet, but he did never, so far as I understand, command that men should with the power of weapons, be constrained to believe his law; and verily I also do force no man to believe Mahomet's law' Also I read that Jews, Christians, and Turks, are tolerated in Constantinople, and yet are peaceable, though so contrary the one to the other.

'If this be so, how much more ought Christians not to force one another to religion? AND HOW MUCH MORE OUGHT CHRISTIANS TO TOLERATE CHRISTIANS, WHEN AS THE TURKS DO TOLERATE THEM? SHALL WE BE LESS MERCIFUL THAN THE TURKS? OR SHALL WE LEARN THE TURKS TO PERSECUTE CHRISTIANS? IT IS NOT ONLY UNMERCIFUL, BUT UNNATURAL AND ABOMINABLE; YEA, MONSTROUS FOR ONE CHRISTIAN TO VEX AND DESTROY ANOTHER FOR DIFFERENCE AND QUESTIONS OF RELIGION.'—p. 24.

The distinctive province and limited functions of the magistrate are clearly and ably pointed out in various passages, one of which we must quote for the information of our readers:—

'I acknowledge unfeignedly,' says the writer of the second treatise, published in 1615, 'that God hath given to magistrates a sword to cut off wicked men, and to reward the well-doers. But this ministry is a worldly ministry, their sword is a worldly sword, their punishments can extend no further than the outward man, they can but *kill the body*. And therefore this ministry and sword is appointed only to punish the breach of worldly ordinances, which is all that

God hath given to any mortal man to punish. The king may make laws for the safety and good of his person, state, and subjects, against the which, whosoever is disloyal or disobedient, he may dispose of at his pleasure. The Lord hath given him this sword and authority, foreseeing in his eternal wisdom, that if this his ordinance of magistracy were not, there would be no living for men in the world, and especially for the godly; and therefore the godly have particular cause to glorify God for this his blessed ordinance of magistracy, and to regard it with all reverence.

'But now, the breach of Christ's laws, of the which we all this while speak, which is the thing only I stand upon; his kingdom is spiritual, his laws spiritual, the transgressions spiritual, the punishment spiritual, everlasting death of soul, his sword spiritual, no carnal or worldly weapon is given to the supportation of his kingdom. The Law-giver himself hath commanded that the transgressors of these laws should be *let alone until the harvest*, because he knows, they that are now tares may hereafter come to repentance, and become wheat; they that are now blasphemers, persecutors, and oppressors, as Paul was, may, by the power of God's word, become faithful, and a faithful witness, as he was: they that are now fornicators, &c., as some of the Corinthians once were, may hereafter become washed, cleansed, and sanctified, as they were: they that are now no people, nor under mercy, as the saints sometimes were, may hereafter become the people of God, and obtain mercy, as they did. All come not at the first hour, some come not till the eleventh hour; if those that come not till the last hour should be destroyed, because they came not at the first hour, then should they never come, but be prevented.'—pp. 121, 122.

An historical introduction, of considerable length, is prefixed by the editor; and various notes are scattered throughout the volume, in illustration or proof of the points raised. The former, particularly the early part of it, might have been abridged with advantage; and, in the event of a second edition—which we deem by no means improbable—we earnestly counsel that this should be done. Mr. Underhill has displayed very considerable research, a sound and discriminating judgment, and a keen relish and candid construction of the legacies bequeathed by the worthies of a former age, whatever their name or denominational peculiarities. The present is, we believe, his first attempt at authorship, and it is highly creditable. He will do well to cultivate compression of style, and further practice will give him ease and flexibility. If rightly informed, his editorship is a work of love, and we shall be glad to find that other men are stimulated to imitate his honourable example.

Art. IX —1. *Report of Captain Sturt's and Dr. Leichard's expedition in* 1844, 1845, *and* 1846. *Sydney and Adelaide*, 1846.

2. *Address of the Legislative Council of Western Australia to Governor Hutt.* 1845.

3. *Speech of the Hon. F. Scott, the Agent of New South Wales, on the Waste Lands' Bill. House of Commons, 22d August*, 1846.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the intelligence of the discovery of another world in the west, was received throughout Europe with the deepest enthusiasm. A new era of human prosperity was foretold; and good men thought that hopes of happiness were on the point of being realized, which the most sanguine could not exaggerate. Nevertheless, after all which the Las Casas, and the Penns, and the Dupartrens,* the Berkeleys, and even the Missionaries of the seventeenth century,—over whom the best of modern times can claim no superiority,—could accomplish in favour of the natives of America—and notwithstanding the prodigious successes of the European Americans, the old colonists and their independent sons—all this proved a mere delusion. Perfection was not of course to be hoped for in America; and no one has ever in the proper way set about the indispensable reform of what is imperfect.

The delusion has been of long duration; and our greatest statesmen persevered to the last in the grossest neglect of the only system of policy fit for a new world,—a policy by which the spread of civilized and free communities among its uncivilized natives, might be zealously fostered, and carefully accompanied by sufficient guards against violences on both sides, and with adequate means to civilize the barbarous. They even neglected to acquire a competent knowledge of events to protect the best interests of the mother country, and the claims of humanity confided to them; and many are now content to accept the welfare of the white millions who swarm over the graves of the natives of the west, as a compensation appointed by Providence for the crime of their destruction. Yet in America there was ample room for us all, if measures had been adopted at the outset, and persevered in for the common good.

Another new world is opening to our view; and it remains to be seen, whether the lessons of experience are to be thrown away; and whether, in the nineteenth century, we shall in this

* This able and good man, the founder and first governor of French Grenada, devised and partially executed a system, which, fairly carried out, would have saved the Caribbs of the West Indies from extermination, and secured lasting prosperity to the colonies of France. His name deserves to be enrolled with those of Las Casas, Penn, Granville Sharpe, Clarkson, and Wilberforce.

new world only retread the steps which for four hundred years have elsewhere led to so disastrous an issue.

The veil, hitherto hanging over the interior of Australia, is obviously on the point of being raised from a very large portion of that fifth continent. It is also clear, that the British race is about to take full, corporeal possession of vast regions there, surpassed by none upon earth in the proved abundance of every kind of agricultural resources, in the promise of mineral riches, or in the blessings of a healthy climate. Our fine woolled sheep, and our cattle,* prosper even within or hard upon the tropic in Australia; and whilst our adventurous travellers return from its wildernesses unharmed in the season of extremest heat, the natives so rarely assail them, that the killing of Mr. Gilbert in the last expedition, is perhaps the only instance of such an act in all New Holland discovery. The cause of the death of the kind-hearted Mr. Cunningham, the botanist, beyond Bathurst, is unknown; and the benevolent Captain Barker, put to death by the natives when bathing near the site of the present Adelaide, was a victim of their ignorant vengeance for the frightful sufferings inflicted on them and their women by our sailors.

A better return is due to the simple native of Australia for the *interest* he takes in our progress, than to destroy him as we are doing by measures more or less rapid, and only because the colonial office has refused to reduce into a system, and to apply on a proper scale, the ways *already tried with much success*, for his protection and improvement.

A grand error of the government has lain in its want of confidence in the good feelings of the Colonists on this subject. Some years ago, the late Sir George Murray, when secretary of state, exhibited an instance of this. His own good intentions are not to be disputed, as could be shown in some of his despatches respecting the Canadian Indians; but he was ill acquainted with the colonies; and when speaking upon reforms claimed on behalf of the Aborigines, he objected to them on the ground of the government being bound to consider the *prejudices* of the Colonists. The caution was misapplied even at that time; for colonial history proves that an active, zealous party, has always existed in the colonies, whose countenance could be depended on in support of prudent measures of benevolence, whilst the mass of the people would respect whatever of that kind the government might do. This may be asserted with the greatest confidence in reference to New South Wales, during the whole of its sixty years existence as a British settlement.

* Wild cattle, from the old colony of New South Wales, have been found in 'millions' west of the Darling River; and it is said that they have penetrated as far west as the back of the Swan River colony.

At present there may be adduced very remarkable evidence to the same effect. The legislative assembly of the colony, among its earliest proceedings, after being made elective, entered upon a serious inquiry into the questions of the Aborigines; and the agent of the colony, Mr. Scott, in a laboured address to the House of Commons in August last, on behalf of the remote settlers, places the interests of the Aborigines among the prominent objects of their sympathy. The energy of these men is unparalleled in the annals of peaceful enterprise. In fourteen years they have covered a region, 1,600 miles by 300, with their flocks and herds; and their representative in Parliament declares boldly that it is safe to look to them 'for the civilization of the natives,' if they are themselves treated with justice. On the other hand, it is certain to demonstration, that if the government do not take the lead in this case, and adopt measures proportioned to its necessity, these men will gradually destroy, the very natives whom, under proper guidance, they will best protect.

The government, then, must delay no longer to establish a wise system of justice and beneficence on behalf of the natives of all the Australias.

That such a system may be established there is no reason to doubt. Something like it has succeeded at the Swan River, where, according to the solemn declaration of the Legislative Council in September of last year, Governor Hutt had taken 'a deep interest in the welfare of the Aborigines, and adopted humane and judicious measures for their improvement.' To those measures the Council expressly attributed 'the friendly intercourse which had long subsisted between the Colonists and them, and their advancing civilization.'—(*Colonial Gazette*, 16th May, 1846.)

When the colonial office shall be fairly awakened by the call for administrative reform, now ringing in the ears of its terrified subalterns,—or rather when Earl Grey and Mr. Hawes shall have fairly worked out their loudly promised and wisely begun colonial regeneration, there will be produced to Parliament a good analysis of all that has been doing for and against the Aborigines, not in Western Australia only, by Governor Hutt and and his predecessors; but also in South Australia, which has lately been held forth as a pattern for administrations on this head; at Port Philip, under Mr. Latrobe, an honoured name in the annals of colonial philanthropy, in Van Dieman's Land, before the natives were utterly swept away; in New South Wales, with its most remarkable native experience since 1787; and finally, in North Australia, where successions of respectable and enterprising men have been silently preparing

for England a new and bright link in the chain of settlements, which are fast binding the ends of the earth together.

The few and scattered glimpses afforded to Parliament on the affairs of the Aborigines of the Australias, even during the last nine years, do not justify the common despondency as to the possibility of civilizing those hitherto untrained and unprotected people. Still less do even these slight notices encourage the fatal confidence placed by Parliament in the manner in which the colonial office has from first to last administered their affairs. How can ends be attained, if the means at command for their attainment be obstinately rejected?

But the time is come for all parties to give up their culpable apathy upon this case; and the government, the philanthropists and the colonists will find a great reward in combining their efforts to turn to the best account a race, whose improvement has always corresponded with the pains prudently taken to improve it. The whole range of human history offers nothing more interesting than the picture which this race presents to the philosophic observer and the Christian. Few people are better known to us—none are really more docile—and the disgrace will be heavy indeed upon Great Britain, if we continue our heartless neglect of them.

The two last expeditions of discovery throw so advantageous and so strong a light upon the natives of Australia, that the simple narratives of the two respectable travellers will not fail to excite a warm sympathy in their cause.

It is due to the older explorer, Captain Sturt, to give his strange adventure in the heart of New Holland, the precedence, although he seems to rate low the facts he has brought to light. The expedition of Dr. Leichardt from Moreton Bay to Port Essington, opening a huge block of the north-east of the continent with every attraction to the settler, will certainly produce the more profitable results. It establishes satisfactorily that we have at least half a dozen fresh colonies to found there under auspicious prospects, in reference to the eastern Archipelago, and of inestimable value in themselves. But more than one point in the veteran Sturt's journey will be found to deserve deep and early attention.

In the middle of 1844, Captain Sturt took a considerable party to explore the centre of New Holland. He passed the Darling, which he had himself traced long ago from New South Wales to the eastern ocean, and then as now, he avoided any rupture with the natives. On this occasion he met with one of those reports not uncommon with tribes whose registers of events are not kept with the correctness of civilized life. A party of Europeans, it was said, had been recently massacred in the interior.

Arriving, however, at the remotest spot at which it could have taken place, he ascertained that the rumours related to a fact known to have occurred eight years before. In the paucity of their topics of conversation, the native Australians, are driven to the expedient of dressing up the few that do occur, with great diligence and ingenuity, for frequent repetition to those who seek for news.

Before the end of 1844, the party had traversed the country in various directions above twenty-five degrees to the north-west of the Darling river. They traced the head of Lake Torrens, in lat. 29° 44′, opposite three remarkable peaks laid down by Mr. Eyre, the enterprising Australian traveller, from another side. At this end, it seemed to consist of a succession of lakes, formed by the drainage from the hills. This lake, and the creek upon which Captain Sturt ultimately established his permanent station in long. 141°, 30′, lat. 29°, 40′, seemed to be the only waters to be depended upon in a circuit of many hundred miles.

The atmosphere, upon the excursions made from this depôt to the west, north, and east, was overpowering. 'The wind,' says the report, 'blew in our faces with the constancy and intensity of a hot blast from a furnace.' The party suffered from scurvy.

The character of the country, penetrated at this period of the expedition, may be judged of from the following passage:—

'On the 11th of February, 1845, we proceeded on our journey in a course of 5 degrees W. of N., through a country alternating with long, narrow flats, and sandy ridges. As we advanced, the flats became narrower, and the sandy ridges appeared closer, succeeding each other like the waves of a tempestuous sea. There was at the first a little grass on the flats, but at length they became sandy, and the ridges less elevated. The whole region was now sand, on which spurifex alone was growing; so that if I had not brought a few oats with me for the horse, he would have starved. On the 13th, at noon, my observations and reckoning placed me in lat. 28° 11′ 15″, and here my horse failed. I therefore took him out of the cart, and, with Joseph, walked above twelve miles, as I wished, if possible, to pass the 28th meridian. I was then more than two hundred miles to the westward of the Darling, and in long. 141° 22′, as near as I could judge. And as I looked around me from the top of a small sand-hill, I could see no change in the terrible desert into which I had penetrated. The horizon was unbroken by a single mound, from north round to north again, and it was as level as that of the ocean. My view to the north extended above eight miles; but I did not venture to compass the distance, only perhaps to have a similar heart-rending and desolate scene to look over.'

Not far, however, from the desert, Captain Sturt found a

creek, which led to 'a beautiful enclosure, of about seven miles in circumference, studded with fine trees, and covered with grass, in long. 120° 44′, lat. 28° 6′, within the colony of South Australia.

The heat was here intense, the thermometer being 135 degrees of Fahrenheit, in the shade, at half-past two P.M.; and it rose to 157 degrees in the intense rays of the sun. The birds were observed to be migrating from this region.

Of the natives, Captain Sturt says,—

'We had seen very few; but our kindness to those few had been such, that I hoped it would have engendered a confidence; but they have not dared to approach us. Aware that there was a general scarcity of water in the country, I could not think that we were putting them to great inconvenience by occupying so important a post. I had found a large sheet of water at the termination of a large creek near us; and, in hopes that I should have found nearly the whole of the population of these regions assembled there, I rode to it with Mr. Browne; but we were disappointed in finding any number of natives. It was clear that they were dispersed at the different water-holes unexhausted, in families, as the country is too poor to maintain any number of inhabitants in any one place. One family, indeed, came in from the south whilst we were at this water, having been driven in from the failure of their own supplies.

'About three weeks ago, a solitary native came to the camp, and remained with us for a week. He was a stranger, from the northward and westward, and spoke a different language to the natives hereabouts. What led him to wander to the hills it is impossible to say; but it almost appeared as if he had been sent to encourage us. He guessed the use of the boat the moment he saw it, and pointed to the N.W. as the quarter to which we should go to use it. He examined the sheep-netting, and, putting his head to the meshes, intimated to us by signs, that the fish we should find were too large to get through them. He recognised the turtle, the hippocampus, and several sea-fish figured in Cuvier's plates, naming them respectively; but he put his fingers on all the others, and gave them a general name.

'Putting my observations and these facts together, I cannot but think that we are within 150 or 200 miles of some remarkable feature; but whether a river or a sea it is impossible to say.'

The whole of the next ten months were passed in attempts to make out this 'remarkable feature,' which the sanguine traveller had reckoned upon.

After trying, to no purpose, the west country towards Lake Torrens, he set out to the N.W., and reached lat. 24° 30′, long. 138°; but was compelled to return, from the failure both of water and grass. After passing through a succession of sandy wastes, and desolate flats whence recent floods had sub-

sided, at a distance of 110 miles from the depôt, they reached a region of salt formation covered with samphire, and other subsalaccous productions, with numbers of dry beds of lagoons, white as snow with salt. Passing this, they found themselves among sand ridges, perfectly insurmountable, and of a fiery red, running for miles in parallel rows, with points like the vanishing points of an avenue. But there was neither grass nor water to be found; and, 'after trying all points of the compass,' says Captain Sturt, 'we gave it up.' They returned to the depôt after an absence of seven weeks, and a ride of 924 miles.

He soon set out again, due north for the tropic; and after travelling one hundred and twenty-three miles, he found a fine creek of water, from which he proceeded one hundred and seventy miles further, depending upon a quantity of surface water from a thunder storm. Here he was stopped by a stony desert, 'a dark and adamantine sea.' 'I was,' says he, 'forty miles advanced in the gloomy region, and fifty-two miles from water.' He was compelled to return after having reached lat. 25°. 48. and long. 139°. 13'.

But before arriving at the depôt again, the party went up the creek just mentioned. They traced it one hundred and twenty miles to its head 'in some extensive plains.' 'It was as large as the Darling, and was flanked by a box-tree forest, in grassy land.'

'Here,' says Captain Sturt, 'I fell in with a numerous population, passing three or four small tribes every day; but the news of our kind treatment of them had spread through the country, and they evinced no alarm, but did all they could to serve us.

'On the 3d of October I was at the head of the creek, and all at once found myself in presence of 270 or 280 natives, encamped on a rising piece of ground under a large sand-hill I had descended. On seeing us, they set up a great shout; but when I rode slowly down the hill there was a dead silence: then I dismounted, and, giving my horse to one of the men, walked over to the natives, who received me kindly, brought me troughs of water and baked seeds, and invited me to sleep at one of their fires; but, observing a small clump of trees about fifty yards away from the native camp, I told them I would sleep there; to which they gave a ready assent, and carried over firewood for our use, which was very scarce.

'These people were the finest I have seen in Australia. Many stood six, several more than six feet high. They were well made, and had not the pot-bellies of the natives in general. They were frank and merry people, and told me all they could. They assured me there was no water to the east, or north, and were quite distressed when I persisted next day on going to the eastward.

'The women were engaged to a late hour in bruising seed for cakes, and the noise they made was like the working of looms in a

manufacturing town. At ten all was hushed; and for the remainder of the night no one could have known that there were so many human beings near.'

From this spot, Captain Sturt went westward, but reached 'a scene of the greatest turmoil, where the water passed over the dreary waste, and left the shivered fragments of the mountains behind.'

Here again grass and water failed; and on the ninth of November, 1845, this attempt to penetrate the interior was reluctantly given up. In eight days more, Captain Sturt was again at his depôt, having ridden this time eight hundred and forty-three miles in four weeks, and four days. He got safe back to the banks of the Darling, although without a drop of water for the first hundred miles of the journey. After some weeks rest, he recovered sufficiently from the severe effects of this fatiguing expedition, to proceed to Adelaide, where an enthusiastic reception awaited him.

The important geographical fact, that there is no sea in the heart of New Holland, seems to be settled by the tenor of Captain Sturt's observations, as illustrated by the discoveries of Dr. Leichardt. The four hundred or five hundred miles between the extreme points of their south east, and west, do not admit of more than extensive lakes, into which, possibly, the western waters of the latter traveller may run; unless, as is more likely, they supply the rivers which reach the bottom of the Gulf of Carpentaria. The vast space westward of Captain Sturt's route is soon to be explored to the Swan River; when all mystery will be dispelled on the subject. But his discovery of a considerable native population in the interior, is of much more real importance than that of a greater or less quantity of available land or water, however worthy of investigation. It has been somewhere rashly denied, that such a population was to be found beyond the Darling; and their kindly dispositions so well met by Captain Sturt, and their physical growth are equally deserving of notice. The mysterious, single visitor seen some degrees further south, and apparently a native wanderer, from the *north west*, with his knowledge of boats and large fish, makes us regret that an intimate knowledge of the native languages does not form part of the acquirements of Australian travellers.

Dr. Leichardt's expedition left Moreton Bay in September, 1844, to penetrate the north-eastern of New Holland, direct to Port Essington, where they arrived the seventeenth of December, 1845. The party consisted of eight persons, of whom one was a youth, and two were Aboriginal natives. They had

fifteen horses, sixteen head of cattle, and four dogs. One of the party, a white, was killed on the journey by native plunderers. The rest arrived safe with eight horses, one ox, and the dogs. The other animals had either died on their way, or had been killed for food. Not being able to persevere in a north-west course, the party followed a line nearer the east coast, up to the centre of York Peninsula, to lat. 15°. 51′. They then went westward to the gulf of Carpentaria; and descending its eastern side, went round it to the west side, until they could find a route north-west to Port Essington.

They crossed, and named thirty-seven large rivers, all running *westward* except two, the Comet and the Mackenzie, in lat. 24° and 23′, which took an eastward course, and escaped also a few which go north to the Gulf of Carpentaria. The creeks crossed were innumerable, and distributed pretty equally along the whole way. Rich, elevated tracts, some of them from two thousand to 2800 feet high, and fertile vallies, well adapted for sheep and cattle, extended far within the tropics. Five distinct regions were observed to be peculiarly favourable to agricultural objects;—namely, the countries in about lat. 26°, and lat. 20° to 18°, and both as long, as that in York Peninsula in lat. 17°; thus at the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria, and other vast tracts west of these gulfs. Every variety of soil and rock was accurately traced; and good coal and slate found above the tropic. Towards the north new fruits and edible seeds were abundant. Two specimens of Dr. Leichardt's description will suffice to shew the character of his observations. They chiefly relate to the country not very remote from Captain Sturt's interior wilderness.

'Robinson's Creek, in lat. 25° 29′, comes,' says Dr. Leichardt, 'from a hilly country, which more to the N.W. rises into ranges of considerable elevation, giving rise to a great number of watercourses, creeks, and gullies. The whole country is openly timbered (the ridge at the upper part of it is part covered with silver-leaved iron bark), well adapted for sheep. Fine flats extend along its banks. In pursuing a N.W. course, I entered into a knot of mountains, from which the waters flowed in almost every direction, to the E., N E., N., W., and S.

'A creek in lat. 24° 45′ led me to a small river, lined with fine casuarinos and flooded gum trees. I called it Comet River, as I saw the fine comet (29th of December, 1844) in travelling along its banks. It comes from downs and plains to the westward. It joins the Mackenzie, which also comes from the westward. *They are the only two rivers I passed running to the east.*

'From time to time sandstone crops out on the banks of the Mackenzie. In one of these sections several layers of fine coal were found, identical with the formation of the Newcastle coal. ***Rounded*** pieces of coal had been found in the bed of the river, where we first

came to it, evidently showing that the coal formation extends high up the river. Its course is N E., according to the blacks, who are very numerous, and behaved very friendly to us.

'I do not think that the part of the Mackenzie we passed is well adapted for cattle or sheep. The scrub is too frequent and thick; but the grass, the fine plains, and open box forest are very inviting. I have reason to believe the scrub is less frequent down the river.

'At latitude 23° 21′ 30″ I left the Mackenzie for the N.W. For twenty-five miles we passed long stretches of thick scrub, of fine, open, narrow-leaved iron-bark forest, of box-flats, and of plains. The last were of a rich, black soil, strewed over with pieces of fossil wood, changed into iron-stone and silex. Here was some of the finest country, with rich grass and herbs, plenty of water, open forest and plain, with honey sweet as those of Hymettus, and plenty of game; and the air was fragrant with wild thyme and marjoram. The country was lined with dense acacia scrubs, extending more than twenty-five miles, interrupted only by creeks, which appear all to belong to the system of the Mackenzie. A fine range of peaks was seen to the N.W. from almost the only hill here. I followed one of the creeks to its head, and, going up a sandstone spar, I came to a fine table land, where plains with rich black soil, covered with luxuriant grass and herbs, were separated by narrow slips of sandy, iron-bark forest. The plains enlarged as I advanced, and a series of magnificent cones and ranges rose from this level. I called the range Peak Range, and gave to the most prominent peaks separate names. They are composed of domite, whilst the ridges to the E. and S.E. were of sandstone; and the ridges, varying the plains to the westward, were of basaltæ. Peak Range is in lat. 22° 56′ 84″, long. 148° 19′. The plains and downs extend far to the westward, where another range of peaks was observed. There was good water running S.W, but the plains were badly watered. The country is well inhabited. A closer examination would detect more water, and, this procured, no country would be better adapted for pastoral purposes. At latitude 22° 23′ fine open, undulating country, extends to the N. and N.W.'

Further north, the traveller reached a region of another character, in so warm a latitude, that its elevation alone renders it habitable for the important objects specified by Dr. Leichardt; and its situation between the Gulf of Carpentaria gives it a peculiar value in reference to North Australian colonization.

'In latitude 18° 49′ 9,"' says the Doctor, 'we entered into a large valley, with numerous lagoons, at the east side of which the river (Burdekin) came down, whilst a reedy brook swept along the basaltic ridge, which bounded it to the southward. The lagoonæ were covered by nympha (lotus), the seed vessels and rhizomæ of which formed the principal food of numerous nations.

'This valley is bounded by lofty table land; the whole of which is beautifully grassed, of great extent, well provided with water along

the creeks, the brooks, and the river; but in the dry season waterless in its centre. This country is a pattern for cattle and sheep stations. The elevation of it, (at least 2,000 to 2,800 feet above the level of the sea,) renders it cool and fit for sheep. The ground is sound, and the forest is very open. It is the centre of the York peninsula, equally distant from the east coast and from the Gulf of Carpentaria, to which a system of rivers, well provided with water, forms an easy communication, with the exception of some mountainous passages, which later travellers will change with easier roads for that of the rivers.'

Of the country directly between this high table land and the Gulf of Carpentaria, Dr. Leichardt says,—

'The whole tract from Gilbert's Lagoon to the Gappar, extending along the east coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria, is highly adapted for pastoral pursuits. Cattle and horses would thrive exceedingly well; sheep would not; neither the climate, the temperature, nor the nature of the soil would be favourable to them. Large plains, limited by narrow belts of open forest land, extensive box flats, and tea-tree flats openly timbered, changing with a more undulating country, fine grassy meadows along frequent chains of lagoons, and shady forest land along the rivers, render this country pleasing to the eye of the traveller, and inviting to the Squatter. After what I have learned of the cultivation of rice and cotton, I can add that long sketches of country would be adapted for both. The country is well inhabited by natives. We had three times intercourse with them. The first time they were hostile, when Gilbert was killed; the second time they were noisy, but withdrew at the approach of a horseman; the third time, at the Gappar, they were very friendly; and it was evident they had seen either Malays or white men before us. I called this whole country, *the Nonda country*, from a fine shady tree with a yellow eatable fruit, which we enjoyed very much.'

Numerous natives, or traces of them, were seen from the beginning to the end of this expedition; and, except in one instance, they gave no reason for complaint.* Often they were

* The only distressing incident on this expedition, the killing of Mr. Gilbert by the natives, deserves a special record; and in the absence of the *inquest, which it is to be wished could be held upon all such cases on the return of our travellers*, it will be convenient to state this case in the several versions published about it.

Dr. Leichardt's report:—'At one of the lagoons, in latitude 15° 55', not very far from a large creek, which I consider the upper part of the Nassau, Mr. Gilbert was killed by the blacks, who had sneaked upon us immediately after nightfall, just when most of the party had retired to their couches. They wounded Mr. Roper and Mr. Calvert severely; but Mr. Gilbert was the only one who received a deadly wound,—a spear entering the chest, between the neck and the clavicle, at the moment when he was stooping to get out of his tent. At the first discharge of his guns, the blacks ran away. The next morning they were wailing for one of their

useful, and intelligent; and near the settlement of Port Essington they were found to be unusually friendly,—thus giving proof of good treatment received by them from the British.

This expedition had not been heard of during many months; and last year disquieting rumours reached Sydney to the effect that the whole party was cut off by the natives. Another party, therefore, headed by Mr. Pemberton Hodgson, of New South Wales, set out in August, 1845, to the relief of Dr. Leichardt. They soon satisfied themselves that the rumours were unfounded; and the account published by Mr. Hodgson on his return contains some sagacious conjectures on the subject, and some interesting notes respecting the aborigines.

Mr. Hodgson had accompanied Dr. Leichardt a few miles on the original journey, and soon found again the spot at which he had quitted the party to return in lat. 26° 4′, long. 15°. After several days patient search their tracks were recognised in advance of that spot, and proof obtained of their safety beyond one of the scenes of their rumoured destruction. That was the course of a furious hurricane which had swept the country for a breadth of three miles, uprooting the loftiest trees, and covering the vallies with a deposit of six inches of fresh earth from the hills. But the same tracks, and trees branded L, were found beyond it, disproving one of the rumours of the party having been "buried asleep under the inundation." The next

number, who, it seems, had been severely wounded. They left the country, and we did not see any more of them.'

The report of Captain M'Arthur, commandant at Port Essington:—'They were now in the meridian of Cape York, where they say the natives treacherously attacked the party. The Malays speak unfavourably of the tribes on this coast. Mr. Gilbert was killed, and two of his companions severely wounded; one lost an eye. It appears they were saved by the intrepidity of the youngest of the party. All had neglected their fire-arms, having hitherto experienced nothing like hostility from the natives. Consequently, it required some time before effectual resistance could be offered. This lad only discharged one barrel, and it is believed killed a man, as the assailants quickly retired, and did not attempt further molestation.'

Report of 'Viator' in the *Colonial Gazette*, July 28, 1846:—'In the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Carpentaria, Mr. Gilbert, the naturalist, and Mr. Calvert, having been separated from the main body, went to sleep on the ground without keeping watch. They were surprised by the natives, and Mr. Gilbert was first speared, and then his brains were dashed out with a club. Mr. Calvert, although speared through both legs, managed to rejoin his party.'

There are material differences in these reports; which are now reproduced not from any distrust of Dr. Leichardt, for whom it is impossible to have any but feelings of sincere respect; but his apparent want of caution, as the party was in a doubtful neighbourhood, is deeply to be regretted. It may be hoped that, in this more formal publication of this expedition, this incident, and his more satisfactory intercourse with the natives, will have the more careful development.

rumour, that the party had been massacred, was thought to be unfounded, because some of the natives met with, admitted they had seen the travellers, from one of whom they had received a present; and others exhibited entire confidence in the white people.

'We frequently met the blacks,' says Mr. Hodgson, 'and they always came to us grinning, unarmed, and evidently relying on our kind treatment. They generally brought their wives and children with them; and their civil behaviour convinced me that they must have experienced kind treatment from the doctor. Had they committed the murder, their wives would have been kept back; and the natural idea is, they would either have avoided us altogether, or, emboldened by former success, assumed a bouncing air, and impudent line of conduct. They often supplied us with animal food, which was not despicable'

'The furthest point we reached was lat. 25°, long. 148° 47′, without making out any thing satisfactory. Returning to the spot where the tracks were last seen, the natives again made their appearance; and after a great deal of explanation, we made them understand what we wanted. They conducted us to one of Dr. Leichardt's camps. He had been fortunate in crossing a river here; and had found a second running into from the north-west. We followed this creek twenty-five miles in that direction, but without seeing more of his route.

'We returned satisfied that the rumours were without foundation; and the behaviour of the blacks to us here, when only four in number, banished all remaining fears. During one whole day, we had upwards of fifty men about us from sunrise to sunset, without a single weapon, and all they seemed to require was, permission to gratify their curiosity. They all admitted having seen Leichardt, and all pointed to the north-west, as the tour he had taken.

'I returned, after having travelled 800 miles in eight weeks.'

The zeal with which this gentleman, and other colonists with him, followed the travellers, when thought to be lost, is characteristic. The whole expedition seems to have been popular and colonial, and was set on foot without the aid of government. The nomenclature of the discovered rivers accordingly forms a just tribute to Dr. Leichardt's friends and supporters.

The Mackenzie, the Isaacs, the Sutton, the Burdekin, the Lynd, the Nicholson, the Macarthur, the Mitchell, and the like, will do honour in Australian annals to the individuals who 'contributed so kindly to the expedition,' as Dr. Leichardt repeats with much simplicity, when he had some thirty or forty occasions of immortalizing his friends' names.

Other expeditions are in progress to complete discoveries in

New Holland. Sir Thomas Mitchell, the surveyor-general, is far away north of the Darkin, in a track opened by his son.

Dr. Leichardt is reported to be preparing to set out again to penetrate from Sydney to Port Essington, and thence perhaps for the Swan River.

Interior expeditions of a different character are spoken of. One of them, with cattle from the back of Port Philip and Adelaide, for Western Australia, will be followed with much interest.

Under such circumstances, it is not an exaggeration to say, that Great Britain is destined early to colonize the whole of New Holland; so that it is high time to set about saving the aborogines from being sacrificed to our indolence and want of consideration.

The first step in the good work, is to stop the settlement of convicts on the north-east coast. Their corrupt influence in the Eastern Archipelago is no small objection to them. But it is for the sake of the natives of New Holland that a strong appeal ought to be now made. Purer honours await Earl Grey and Mr. Hawes, and their vigorous colonial supporters, Lord John Russell, Mr. C. Buller, and the Earl of Clarendon, than to have their names put like the well-meaning, but imprudent Governor Macquarie, upon a 'Prisoner's Barrack'—a 'Chain Gang Station-house'—a 'Female Factory'—a 'Hulk'—or, at best, a 'Convict Hospital,' along the magnificent vallies and table-land, extending some twenty degrees from Moreton Bay to Port Essington. A better test could not be given of our real regeneration in colonial policy, than the above document of this convict settlement.

The next step is for the Secretary of State to acquire a knowledge of Australian affairs; and in this crisis to do by himself what all his predecessors, without any exception, for one hundred and fifty years, have done by deputy. Much more must follow.

Other measures are urgent to save the aborigines of New Holland. Institutions may be established for them with excellent effect. Such institutions prospered, in spite of every discouragement, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Cartwright, in New South Wales, and they might be improved. A careful inquiry into the proceedings of the protectors of recent times, with all other late proceedings, will furnish the necessary hints for their improvement.

If the government will set about the task of elevating those people from their present vagrant and destitute condition, to a *settled race of small proprietors of stock of all sorts*, the

missionary societies may be expected to be ready to second their effort. But there must be no cherishing of the foolish jealousy of missionaries betrayed some years ago in a despatch concerning the natives of New South Wales, written at the very moment when, in some other colonies, to their extreme peril, political power was given to them.

Many cases of aboriginal New Hollanders, more than half way advanced to civilization, have occurred; and it is no visionary project to propose that an effort should be made in earnest for their immediate relief from the scourges recklessly prepared for them; and to try the effect of suitable means for their improvement. The facility with which they have learned to speak English without teaching, and when grown men, suggests the advantage of devoting great pains to make the young familiar with our language. The very curious observation of Mr. Hutt, at the Swan River, as to their *laws* of landed property, although not new, suggest another point full of interest. Let all their peculiar laws be carefully noted, and respected if need be. This is now formally begun by the New Zealand Bill, and the principle may be extended usefully to Australia.

When this great reform shall be determined upon, as we are sanguine in believing it will be, the details will present themselves readily enough; and this sketch of the case of the natives of our new world may be closed, by the expression of a hope, that the cost of any measure will not be an obstacle to the introduction of humane policy in a region which already contributes twenty millions of pounds of fine wool to the common stock; and whose last realised productions are mines of gold and silver, of copper and lead of rare abundance, and rarer facility of acquisition. The appropriation of fifteen per cent. upon the price of Crown land sold is a delusion. In one year it may be too much; in another, too little. We must resolve to take the steps necessary for the purpose of trying to raise them, cost whatever it may; and there is no danger of our losing by the resolution.

One word more. The official protectors of the Aborigines of Australia must be continued, and checked by the publication of their reports. What can be effected by publicity is beginning to be felt; and the inestimable provisions in the New Zealand act, enjoining the insertion of Despatches of the Secretary of State, in the London Gazette, will soon do good service. But another class of Aborigines, protectors require another measure of justice—they are the volunteers, who, in bad times, braved every sort of persecution in opposing the policy which Earl Grey and Mr. Hawes have denounced, and are now changing. Such men have borne more than the heat and burthen of the

day of toil; and it will be a scandal if in this time of reform, they be put aside in favour of others who have come in at the eleventh hour to the work; and it will be worse, if they are still to be suppressed for the sake of those who have had a part in what has differed little from a system of corruption. They have deserved well, and we hope their merits will be duly appreciated.

Brief Notices.

Heidelberg. A Romance. By J. P. R. James, Esq. In 3 vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

Mr. James's works follow each other with such rapidity, that it is somewhat difficult to note them. The perusal of one is no sooner completed than another is announced, which in its turn is speedily displaced by a third. The common result of this rapidity of production is too obvious. We regret the fact, but it cannot be concealed, and the author, though the last probably to admit it, should have the truth candidly and honestly told him. The promise of his early publications has not been kept; and the failure, we are persuaded, has resulted from a too hasty composition rather than deficiency of power or want of skill He has not allowed himself time to elaborate his conceptions His draft has been imperfect, his picture incomplete,—an outline wanting finish and care, yet bespeaking the talent of the artist. His style also has become loose and vapid, and no inconsiderable portions of his more recent works are passed over hurriedly and without interest by every intelligent reader. This is not as it should be; but such speed cannot be obtained without loss of power. The quality must suffer when the quantity is so great.

The scene of the present fiction is laid in the court of Frederic the Elector Palatine, subsequently King of Bohemia, whose misfortunes awakened such deep interest in protestant England in the time of James I. Frederic had married Elizabeth, the daughter of the first of our Stuarts; and his struggles, though greatly prompted by ambition, were assigned by popular belief to much nobler and less suspicious origin. Two English travellers, under the assumed names of Algernon Grey and William Lovet, the former a nobleman by birth, young in years but deep in sagacity, of unstained honour, and of the most pleasant temper; the latter a baronet of gay and dashing exterior, reckless morals, and exhausted exchequer, gain admittance to the joyous court of the Elector; and the associations which they form there, give a colouring to their subsequent career. Some of the characters introduced are sketched with considerable power, and

parts of the narrative are in a style which deepens regret at Mr. James not doing justice to himself; but other parts of the work flag, many of the descriptions are tedious; the necessity of filling three volumes—very thin ones, by the bye—is perpetually felt; some of the incidents are grossly unnatural, and the catastrophe is announced in a hurried manner, savouring more of the joyousness of the school-boy on completing his task, than of the skill of the novelist or the experience of a profound observer.

The English Hexapla, exhibiting the Six important English translations of the New Testament Scriptures. The original Greek text after Scholtz, with the various readings of the Textus receptus, and the principal Constantinopolitan and Alexandrine manuscripts; and a complete collation of Scholtz's text with Griesbach's edition of 1805 *: preceded by a History of English translations and translators.* Part XII. London: Baxter & Sons.

THIS part completes the second and improved edition of a work, which we have frequently noticed, and cannot too highly commend. It is one of the few books for the possession of which we should be inclined to make large sacrifices, and which we urgently advise our friends to place amongst their choicest treasures. It is at once both handsome and useful, and will be found equally attractive to the scholar and the unlearned. The Greek text of Scholtz is printed in a clear, full, and handsome type; and the six English translations of Wycliffe, Tyndale, Cranmer, the German, the Anglo-Rheimish, and the Authorised, are printed in parallel columns on the same page, so as to be easily read with it. Altogether, the volume combines attractions which have rarely been equalled, and it ought to be found in the library of every intelligent Englishman. It brings together in a narrow compass, and arranges in the most convenient form for reference and comparison, a large amount of information, which all Englishmen should possess, and every lover of revealed truth should specially delight in A history of English translations and translators is prefixed, which supplies, in a condensed form, the substance of many volumes We thank Messrs. Baxter for the enterprize which has prompted the publication, and confidently anticipate that it will obtain such an amount of patronage as will remunerate their outlay, and encourage them in the execution of other analogous undertakings.

History of the French Revolution from 1789 *to* 1814. By F. A. Mignet. London: David Bogue.

IN our notice of M. Mignet's 'Antonio Perez and Philip II.' in May last, we gave, as by anticipation, our judgment on the work before us, and need, therefore, do little more than repeat our former statements. 'The history of the French Revolution, by M. Mignet,' we then remarked, 'though much shorter than that of M. Thiers, is

greatly superior; and exhibits the young author as a more acute observer, a more laborious investigator of events and of their causes, a more faithful adherent to truth, and a more sincere advocate of the great principles, the establishment of which, as the basis of government, was the object of the revolution. M. Mignet's work evinces an earnestness of principles and opinions, and a dignity of character which completely unfitted him for acting a principal part under the present government. Such is our estimate of the work with which Mr. Bogue here presents us. The selection reflects great credit on his judgment, for few productions are more entitled to a place in 'The European Library,' or will be more cordially welcomed by the intelligent and well informed. We shall be surprised if it do not prove one of the most popular volumes of the series, and we strongly recommend it to the favour of our readers. Within a narrow and readable compass, it presents the narrative of one of the most terrific and instructive revolutions which has ever occurred.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

The Evangelical Alliance: its Origin and Development. Containing Personal Notices of its Distinguished Friends in Europe and America. By J. W. Massie, D.D., M.R.I.A.

Patriotic Evenings. By Rev. John Birt.

A New and Cheap Edition of Life of Rev. John Williams. By Rev. E. P out.

An Introduction to the New Testament. By Rev. Dr. Davidson, of the Lancashire Independent College.

Essays on the Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament. By the same Author.

The Rev. William Wheeler will publish, early in November, a Volume of Sermons, preached in the Parish Churches of Old and New Shoreham, Sussex.

Just Published.

European Library. History of the French Revolution, from 1719 to 1814. By F. A. Mignet, Member of the Institute of France.

A History of Inventions, Discoveries, and Origins. By John Beckman. Translated from the German by William Johnston. Fourth Edition. Vol. II.

The Modern Orator: being a Collection of celebrated Speeches of the most Distinguished Orators of the United Kingdom: Part VIII., Edmund Burke. Part XXIII.

The Evangelical Alliance: a Letter to the Rev. Thomas Binney. By an Unsectarian Christian.

A New Universal Etymological and Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language, embracing all the terms used in Art, Science and Literature. Part XI.

Gilbert's Modern Atlas of the World for the People; with an Introduction to the Physical Geography of the Globe, and an Alphabetical Index of the Latitudes and Longitudes of 24,000 places. Part VII.

Political Dictionary: forming a work of universal reference, both Constitutional and Legal, and embracing the terms of Civil Administration, &c. Half Part XV., completing the Work.

The Pictorial Gallery of Arts. Part XXI.

The Pre-Adamite Earth; Contributions to Theological Science. By John Harris, D.D.

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. Edited by William Smith, L.L.D. Part XVII. Macedonius—Melito.

The Natural Poetical Companion; with Notes, selected by the Rev. Edward Wilson. Second Edition; with 57 illustrations by W. H. Prior.

The Horatii. A Tragedy.

The People's Dictionary of the Bible. Part XIV.

Switzerland and the Swiss Churches: being Notes of a Short Tour and Notices of the Principal Religious Bodies in the Country. By William Lindsay Alexander, D.D.

The German Reformation of the Nineteenth Century; or a Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Present Position of those who have recently separated themselves from the Church of Rome. With a short notice of the State of Protestantism in Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, and the Prussian Baltic Provinces. By the German Correspondent of the *Continental Echo*.

Marston; or, the Soldier and the Statesman. By the Rev. G. Croly, LL.D. Three Vols.

The Royal Favourite Annual, containing 36 highly-finished Engravings, elegantly bound, price One Guinea.

Fisher's Drawing-Room Scrap Book for 1847. By the Hon. Mrs. Norton; with contributions by Lady Dufferin, Lord John Manners, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Hon. Edward Phipps, R. M. Milnes, Esq.

The Gallery of Scripture Engravings, Historical and Landscape with descriptions, Historical, Geographical, and Pictorial. By John Kitto, D.D., F.S.A.

The Juvenile Scrap Book, 1847. By Mrs. Ellis.

New Year's Day: a Winter's Tale. By Mrs. Gore. With Illustrations by George Cruikshank.

Temper and Temperament, or Varieties of Character. By Mrs. Ellis. Vol. II.

Royal Gems from the Galleries of Europe, engraved after National Pictures of the Great Masters; with Notices Biographical, Historical, and Descriptive. By S. C. Hall, F.S.A. Part VIII.

The Christian in Palestine, or Scenes of Sacred History. Illustrated from Sketches, taken on the spot, by W. H. Bartlett, with Explanatory Descriptions by Henry Stebbing, D.D. Part VII.

Hogg's Weekly Instructor. Part XIX.

The Syrian Churches, their Early History, Liturgies, and Literature; with a Literal Translation of the Four Gospels from the Peschito, or Canon of Holy Scripture in use among the Oriental Christians from the Earliest Times. By J. W. Etheridge.

Wit and Humour, selected from the English Poets; with an Illustrative Essay and Critical Comments. By Leigh Hunt.

The Recreation. A Gift for Young Readers. With Engravings.

A Compendium of Ecclesiastical History. By Dr. Jahn, C. L. Gieseler, Consistorial Counsellor, and Ordinary Professor of Theology in Gottingen. Fourth Edition, revised and amended. Translated from the German by Samuel Davidson, LL.D. Vol. I.

The Evangelical Alliance: What it is, and what it ought to be.

Pauperism, whence does it arise? How may it be remedied? Being an Appeal to his Fellow-countrymen for a cheaper and better kind of Poor Law. By the Rev. R. B. Bradley, Incumbent of Ash Priors, and Cothelestone, Somerset.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR DECEMBER, 1846.

Art. I. *The History of Provençal Poetry.* By M. Fauriel. 3 vols. 8vo. Paris: 1846.

AN historian of the old Trou
no spectacle is more sublime tn: tl or
struggling successfully to attain a sta
struggle he calls a chaos in ferment, proc a

All the finer faculties which distingt ı
are then seen in gradual display, so far as tne circui
such a people permit their development. All ol s pro-
gress yield to the energy with which those faculti ıre exer ;
and notwithstandiug the fluctuations to which numan tnın
are subject, civilization has in the main, so steady
onward, as to justify our confidence in the good ects
every race. Though, therefore, reverses too ıollow t
most prosperous conditions of society, it is not ırratıc to
pose, that the career of great nations at least n , a
policy, be moulded into a system, capable of ı
and lasting results.

The subject which suggested the foregoing remark to M. Millot,—the history of the Troubadours,—has since his time been deeply investigated; and successive spectacles like that contemplated by him, occurring at long intervals in a period of at least two thousand years, have been presented in the history of the South of France, the original scene of Troubadour refinement, which, in its cradle, extended from the Alps to the Pyrenees. This period ranges from the sixth century, before

* M. Millot.

the Christian era, until the fourteenth century afterwards; and although at no portion of that time did a high degree of civilization utterly extinguish barbarism there in any class, still two epochs in particular have occurred at which extraordinary progress was made. The first connects the days of Cicero with those of Tacitus, and even of Lucian. During this time, Marseilles, one of the chief cities of the region in question, was not only the seat of a flourishing commerce, but also that of the fine arts, and of literature, spread by her example far and wide throughout Gaul, Spain, and probably Britain.* The success of Marscilles in architecture, for instance, is attested by ruins which are still the admiration of the enlightened inquirer; and the influence of her literature is even now perceptible in the language of the people, after seventeen centuries of political revolutions. The second example is that of the Provençals; who after resisting the power of the northern barbarians perhaps longer than any other nation of the west, created in the eleventh century by their poetry a new form of refinement, long the model of polite letters to every country of Europe.

Among the numerous writers who have examined the history of this period in various lights, there is one who deserves our continued and most attentive study. Endowed with great powers of discrimination, a prodigious extent of learning, and highly enlightened views, he has proved himself capable of unravelling *almost* all the perplexities of that eventful history.

This writer is M. Claude Fauriel, late professor of foreign literature in the faculty of letters in Paris, whose extraordinary capacity is here mentioned with a slight qualification, only in order the more correctly to open an application of his most admirable works to their best purpose—the universal spread of that civilization of which he appears to be the ablest commentator of our time.†

The numerous productions of M. Fauriel's pen attest how well he was prepared to be the historian of *all* civilization; and it is deeply to be regretted that the circumstances of his life, which, to the great honour of his character, compelled a distraction ruinous to his powers, did not permit him to devote those powers exclusively to the task he was so well fitted to discharge.

In his 'History of Provençal Poetry' he has traced the elements of that delightful and important subject with unwearied

* Agricola was educated in Marseilles; and one of his best acts in Britain was to establish schools for the natives.

† There are points, as, for instance, the influence of laws, upon which M. Fauriel is inferior to Herder. On other points he is superior to the great German.

patience, and with inexhaustible learning, to the Greeks, to the Romans, to the Arabs, to the Jews, and even to the several aboriginal races of Gaul, the Aquitanians, and Celts. But he has rendered a far greater service to the student and to the statesman, in disclosing, in this work, the great sources of European civilization, whilst appearing to be only busied in a deep literary inquiry. His explanation of the motives which led to the adoption of the 'History of Provençal Poetry,' as the commencement of his proposed examination of all foreign literature, places this point in a striking light.

'Our love of the sublime,' says he, 'encouraged as it is by polite letters and the fine arts, is developed like our other faculties, according to fixed laws, and under the influence of circumstances, generally difficult, and often impossible to be analyzed, but which it is of great importance to scrutinize with care.

'The intellectual pursuits of all nations having their common origin in the wants and feelings implanted in us by nature, share our common tendency towards improvement—the progress of the child to youth, that of the youth to manhood, and so on from one step to another in the scale of humanity. But this general tendency is diversly affected by different influences, being quickened by some, and checked by others. Climate, soil, the social condition of nations, their religion, commercial relations, wars, conquests, and many other things, modify the original foundations of every literature, so as to create in each a peculiar character, and give to each beauties or defects which settle its rank in the scale of art.

'This fact connects the history of the literature of a country with that of its civilization; in which point of view chiefly I propose to trace the history of Provençal poetry.

'I cannot hope to take an adequately minute survey of the whole of so vast a field; but I shall be at liberty to select certain portions of it, upon which I may be able to throw a new and satisfactory light. I may perhaps also be able to illustrate the subject with the aid of inquiries into the character of one or two systems of literature hitherto known only to a few scholars; or, if favoured with the public approbation, I may attempt to collect the grand characteristics of the literature of all nations into one compact body of observations, so as to offer a sketch of the general history of the human mind.

'In reference to these objects, peculiar circumstances have directed my attention in the first instance to the history of *Provençal poetry*.

'This literature is not only in itself the first in date of all others in modern Europe, but it is that which, from the earliest point of time, and for the longest period, most influenced the character of all other European literature; consequently, none of the others could be traced without leading directly to this. The study of the early German, Italian, and Spanish writers would have been incomplete,

except by the frequent use of those of Provençe, from whom they all borrowed so largely; so that upon several occasions I should of necessity have had to give an obscure and broken history of Provençal literature itself, which, therefore, it appeared to me to be wiser to draw up at once in a complete and connected form.

'This conclusion was adopted by me the more readily, inasmuch as Proven al literature has been of late much studied throughout Europe. M. Raynouard's collection of the Provençal poets has given them a new renown. His valuable works upon their language and style have produced analogous works of great merit in other countries, as in Italy, from the pen of Galvani of the Count Perticari, and of Monti, himself a distinguished poet; and in Germany, from Wilhelm Schlegel, and M. Diez, who have published a history of Provençal poetry."*

M. Fauriel's lectures do not in form realise this spirited sketch; but it will not be difficult from his rich materials, to give an analysis of his views in rigorous conformity to his own account of them. He sets out with a description of the Provençal literature in itself, and of its influence, and then returns to the history of Greek and Roman civilization in the south of Gaul, in order to explain the elevated character of that literature. It may be more useful to trace directly the history of all the various phases of the same period, from our earlier knowledge of it, so as to demonstrate how that Greek and Roman civilization happened not to have had a better issue, than each of them to become what must be called an awful ruin, however splendidly it revived in the middle ages.

The Greek colony of Marseilles was founded 600 years before our era; and during nearly 400 years it was engaged in a series of struggles and wars with the neighbouring tribes, and also with the Carthaginians and Etruscans; and in raising that vast commerce which placed it on a par with the most powerful nations of antiquity. About two centuries more passed in an intimate alliance with Rome, when Marseilles and its own colonies enjoyed the greatest prosperity. Those colonies extended along the Mediterranean into Spain, and into the interior of Gaul far beyond Arles and Nismes. The coins and statues of the Greeks attest their influence in these regions;† and their language, which was certainly known there in very remote

* Preface to the History of Provençal Poetry, vol. I, p. vi. viii.

† At Toulouse a coin which has a Greek inscription, and the mark of Greek worship, is common. It is found in no other place. Yet it is known that the people of Toulouse were barbarians. At Frejus there was found in the time of the learned Peiresc, in the ruins of a Massilian temple, a cameo, with a sort of parody of the gathering of the olives—a very common subject of Greek art. Young girls are represented in the trees beating down, not the fruit, but little cupids perched upon the branches.

times, may be familiarly recognised in some words used by the people to this day. The religious festivals of the Greeks were remarkable for the poetical and graceful character of the songs, and dances with which they were celebrated; and the adoption of this popular mode of worship by the Gauls, is proved by architectural remains on the one hand, and on the other by the length of time during which the people of the south of Gaul clung to those songs and dances. It is certain that the use of them survived for ages the regular establishment of Christianity by the state, and they thus became mingled with its observances, in defiance of the opposition of the clergy. In Limoges the people used to assemble in their church at the anniversary of their patron saint; and at the end of every psalm they chanted in the vulgar tongue the words, 'Saint Martial pray for us, and we will dance to you;' whereupon they danced together in a body within the very walls of the church itself. Upon Ascension day, the same thing occurred; but on that occasion the dance took place in an adjoining meadow. At Chalons the people long followed a similar practice; being the remains of paganism, which they preserved from their Greek and Roman forefathers besides other usages derived from the Celts.

Another instance is very remarkable. At Rome the goddess Flora was worshipped, in honour of the fruitfulness of the earth in Spring. In that season, therefore, her games were celebrated by a race of naked women, among whom prizes were distributed by the magistrates as in the other public games. Incredible as it may appear, it is, nevertheless, certain that in the south of France, and late in Christian times, those very sports of Flora were exhibited at the same season. At Arles they were long known, and they consisted of gymnastic sports, of wrestling, and leaping; and they closed with the races of naked women for prizes. These prizes were always given by the public authorities, and at the public expense. The whole of these ceremonies were regulated by law, and they were not abolished until the sixteenth century, through the influence of a sermon preached by a Capucin monk.

In 1551, a provincial council, at Narbonne, denounced these pagan usages, as they had been condemned by another council nine centuries before; and in 1645 a friend of the celebrated Gassendi Capucin published a similar announcement in a pamphlet, entitled 'A Complaint of the unchristian manners of the people of Provençe,' which entered into a long detail of the exhibition of dances, and theatrical lays, upon the Feast of St. Lazarus, as if the days of paganism were revived. Nothing proves more satisfactorily the deep traces the Greeks and Romans had left in the south;—of which parallels exist in England.

Greek inscriptions, of the purest taste, have been found near Marseilles. One, for instance, upon the tomb of an unknown pair, runs thus: 'Here are two bodies, but one spirit.' Another is more remarkable for its allusion to the Pythagorean opinions which were revived at the date of this inscription. It is an epitaph upon a young sailor, who addresses the passer-by in these words:—

'O thou, who wanderest along this shore, and listenest to the wave of the sea, hear my words. Like thee I was a wanderer; and young as the protectors of the sailor—the young gods of Amycles. I was not blessed by the ties of marriage—so dear to the immortals. A sailor, I roamed upon the waters; and now in the tomb, which I owe to my employers' piety, I am for ever free from toil and disease, from fatigue and from care—evils to which the living body only is subject. Among the dead, a portion come again upon earth, others are enrolled among the dancing stars of heaven. I belong to the latter choir, as my reward for following the will of the gods.'

So zealously did the early Massilians cultivate their national literature, that their Homer was celebrated among the ancients, who had adopted the plan of Solon, for multiplying extensively popular editions of his two poems. Thus the gloomy ideas of the Druids were shaken in Gaul by the livelier usages of the Greeks, long before the Roman conquest introduced great political changes, and gradually led the way to new manners, of which those of the Greeks continued to form an essential part, to a late period in the middle ages.

How long the Greeks of Gaul influenced even the manners of the Romans, may be inferred from the fact recorded by Tacitus concerning Agricola, that 'he had acquired both a taste for literature and a purity of character, at Marseilles, where he was educated, and where Greek refinement was combined with the simple manners of a province.'

Besides Marseilles, and its immediate Greek dependencies, the Romans founded in Narbonne, as early as one hundred and eighteen years before our era, a purely Roman colony, which was the source of a most influential Roman civilization in south-western Gaul, and concurred with the subsequent conquest of the whole country, to establish in it new manners, new learning, and a new religion, all of which were intimately moulded with those of Greece, as well as with the remains of the old religion, and with the manners of the aboriginal tribes.

M. Fauriel is quite aware that the influence of the Greeks in Gaul, however important, was inferior in power and consequences to that of the Romans; and he takes some pains to distinguish the respective characters and consequences of both of those influ-

ences, attributing the inferior progress of the Greeks to their inferior degree of sympathy with their barbarian neighbours; and the superiority of the Romans, as much to their greater humanity as to the predominance of their arms. The inquiry on these heads would have been carried further with advantage. It is capable of demonstration, that the hostile spirit which prevailed between the Greeks and the native Gauls was a mere effect of the prejudice and oppressive conduct of the former, and that it led necessarily to their isolation and helplessness, when in after times they needed native allies in their last fatal war against Julius Cæsar. The very same evil was experienced by the Romans in another form. Their system of universal conquest was defeated by its exciting feelings of deadly hostility on every frontier, when principles of humanity would have given permanence to a more extensive empire. All the victorious barbarians, says M. Fauriel, with truth, had no design to destroy Roman civilization. Many of them, on the contrary, respected the religion of the conquered, their mode of worship, their language, their laws, their municipal system, their arts, and usages of all kinds. For a century, at least, after their successful inroads, the literature of Gaul preserved its previously distinguished character; and, as he shows convincingly, whole nations of these barbarians, such as Visigoths and Burgundians, were strongly disposed to adopt that civilization; and whole lines of their kings were its zealous partisans. The ruin of the empire, and especially that of Gaul, came later. It was inflicted by the more barbarous Franks, whose violence might have been kept in check, if the prejudices of the Romans had not really alienated the tribes which they were unable to crush. M. Fauriel has examined too slightly his important subject in this point of view, which nevertheless seems to be its key-stone, and it could not have failed to produce instructive reflections in his hands. It is one of his defects to accept conquest as inevitable, and perhaps useful, in the progress of mankind.

Christianity was early introduced among the older complex elements of society in Gaul. But pure religious doctrines, and good usages, formed a portion only of the influences which prevailed after its establishment. Its corruptions even added to the previously existing causes of discord. New principles also were prevalent among the northern barbarians; and the ambition showed by their chiefs, in common with all conquerors, led to the frightful struggles between them and the people of Southern Gaul; which crisis was aggravated by the wars of both populations of Gaul with the invading Arabs. Towards the close of these sanguinary events, there grew up in the south new manners and a new literature; of which, especially M.

Fauriel, is the critic and historian; and which at length produced substantially the system of the times in which we live.

It is the able display of those struggles of races, and revolutions of manners, with their causes and consequences, until the fourteenth century, which constitute M. Fauriel's great merit. He has faults, but they are not numerous. His very intellectual riches lead to one of them—a defect in style. His mind is so full of his subject—so intensely alive to its multitudinous details, that he never seems to have completed his work. After all has been said by him that would give others the idea of completeness, M. Fauriel perceives that some important points are not thoroughly settled; and then, yielding to superior claims upon his attention, he merely notices the omitted points as he proceeds, and promises to take them up at a more suitable opportunity. The frequent occurrence of this practice raises a feeling of the imperfection of his labours, which would not belong to them but for his own habit of composition; and which, if removed by his vast resources being fully worked out as his topics arose, would have elevated him to the very highest rank as a writer.

The language of the inhabitants of the South of France is traced by M. Fauriel very distinctly to eight originals: the Gaulish or Belgian, the Celtic and its branches, the Aquitanian or Basque, the Greek, the Latin, the several branches of the German, the Arabic, and the Hebrew. He possessed a deep knowledge of all these languages, and of several others, as the Sanscrit, English, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and of course French. In fact, except Anglo-Saxon, to the value of which he seems to have been scarcely alive, he was unquestionably the most universal linguist of his time. But to him languages were merely instruments of inquiry into the various forms of civilization. His account of the disappearance of some of the above-mentioned languages as popular tongues; and that of the transit of the whole to the French and Provençal, with the formation of the last from all its elements, are framed with the greatest skill and logic.

'When different languages are brought into contact casually, they naturally combine, change their several characters, and extinguish each other. Representing, as they do, the several moral and political powers of the people who speak them, they necessarily partake of the degrees of those powers, and share the fate of those people respectively. All the foregoing languages were spoken in various parts of Gaul from the end of the fifth to the middle of the eighth century; but they had not all equal prospects of duration. Before the end of the tenth century they had almost all disappeared from the face of that country. One of the three oldest of them, the

Gallic, had disappeared the first, if the curious anecdote in the life of St. Martin by Sulpicius Severus be correctly referred to the end of the fourth century. A Gaul is narrating the Saint's life and miracles to two men of Aquitaine; and shows some hesitation at expressing himself in Latin, of which he understands little. Tell your story,' says one of his impatient hearers, 'in any language that pleases you; speak Celtic, or Gallic, if you prefer it, only speak of St. Martin,' and from that time no trace is anywhere to be met with of the Gallic tongue.

'So, after the sixth century, the Greek is quite lost as a spoken language, and before the end of the eighth century the Arabic was expelled beyond the Pyrenees with the repulsed Mussulman.

'In like manner, at the beginning of the ninth century, Latin was confined to the offices of the church, to the law, and to the public records; as about the same time the Visigoths and Burgundians had abandoned their German dialects.

'In the tenth century, therefore, four several languages only were spoken in all Gaul; the Frankish to the left of the Rhine; the Celtic or Breton in Bretagne; the Aquitaine, or Basque in the West Pyrenees, and in all other parts the *Romane* mainly derived from the Latin, of which the *Romane* of the North was French; and that of the South, Provençal.

'The Latin, however, forms by no means the great bulk of the Provençal. I have collected from writings in it three thousand words entirely foreign to the Latin; and they are not half which probably belong to the same class. The greater number of these three thousand words, do not belong to any other language now known. The rest may be clearly recognized in languages still existing.

'The Arabic came latest into use in Southern Gaul; and its contributions to the Provençal language can easily be traced.

'The Greek survives extensively in the Provençal; more especially to the left of the Rhone. *Bread* is there to this day often called *harto*, from αρτος; and the Troubadours often call the sea, *pelek*, *pelech*, *palagre*, evidently from πελαγος; they say *dipnar*, δειπνας, for eating, or the principal meal, whence the French word *diner*, to dine; they said *pilo*, for a dart; *mela*, or *mella*, for an apple; *stilo*, for a pillar; *grafi*, for a pen, or graver; *ydria*, for a water jug.

'A remark may be made upon the peculiar character of the Greek of Marseilles. It was a dialect of the Ionic spoken at Phocea, and the Isle of Samos, now lost; and certainly had words to be met with in no other dialect. Consequently some of them may exist in the Provençal without being recognisable. Some very curious speculations might be made on that point; but they would lead me too far from my main purpose. I will only remark on it, that if history had not recorded the existence of the Greek race in the South of Gaul, their presence there might have been inferred from the Greek character of the Provençal language.

'That language contains still more ancient materials in its words

spoken to this day by the Welsh and Bas-Bretons, who unquestionably were among the primitive people of Gaul, and whom I call Celts. A complete analysis of the Provençal language in this respect would require more space than I can here afford. I will only, therefore, affirm such Celtic words to be numerous, and I select a few as specimens; such as *ruska*, the bark of a tree; *comb*, a valley; *maboul*, infantine; *cueno*, gracious, kind; *prim*, thin; *trum*, vagrant; *fell*, malignant.'*

'So traces of the Basque, or old Iberian, in form and sound, are clearly distinguishable in the Provençal. They could not have been borrowed from the mountains where the Basque is now spoken; as there the people are not sufficiently refined to have a rich language to impart to their neighbours. They must have been adopted in the very country once inhabited by a race who spoke Iberian.

'The third primitive language of Gaul, the Gallic, is still more distinctly traceable in the Provençal. That the Gael of Scotland, and the Gaihil of Ireland are identical with the old Gauls, and that they all spoke an analogous language, are facts supported by the existence of the same proper names in the several countries in question, and the light wanting in history on the subject, is supplied by the Provençal dictionary. It contains many words found no where else except in the Irish, and the Gaelic of the highlands of Scotland. The adjective *certain, certana*, is such a word. It occurs in passages in which it cannot be translated *certain*: but it is expressive enough, if held to be the same as the Gaelic word *heart*, which means *justice, uprightness, loyalty*. A considerable list might be given of similar words; and it is very remarkable that the only primitive tongue of Gaul which has disappeared, should be precisely that language of which the Provençal has preserved the most numerous, the most distinguishable, and most characteristic remnants.

The literature formed with this new language, grew up under circumstances, of which the beginning may be marked very distinctly. About the end of the eighth century, when the Latin, used by the church, was no longer understood by the people, Charlemagne, in his great ecclesiastical and civil reforms, included popular instruction in the popular dialects. This promoted the study of those popular dialects, already favoured by the habits of the southern people, who had not shared in the revival of classical studies by Charlemagne.

The only original literature of the ruder nations of the west

* M. Fauriel gives twelve words as Celtic, of which, for brevity, seven only are here selected; but their striking identity with the *British* words now in use among us in the south of England, will not escape the reader. This identity illustrates a very interesting inquiry not only as to the connection of the ancient Britons with the primitive people of the south of France, but also as to the obscure point of the supposed extinction of the British language by the Saxons;—in Sussex, for instance.

of Europe was song and verse, in which their traditions were preserved. The letters of Greece and Rome never totally supplanted them; and when about this period classical learning ceased to be cultivated as the basis of the popular speech, the native languages grew up in their own vigour, but more or less mingled with Latin and Greek. The subjects treated of in these new tongues were also derived from different sources, as well the words in which they were treated. They are often identical with subjects preserved in the classics; and often of as purely an unclassical origin, as the subjects of the songs of the native Africans, Americans, or South Sea islanders, which they resemble.

In the south of France, the use of Latin in common speech was certainly extinguished towards the end of the ninth century, when some barbarous Latin romances were written. The Latin was followed by the formation of the *Romance;* and fragments remain of the earliest compositions in romance of the tenth century. The chief subjects of these works are the wars of the population of the *south* of Gaul against the German invaders from the north, and against the Saracens of Spain. Towards the end of the eleventh century, the Provençal language shared the improvements then becoming general in society in the South of France, and M. Fauriel has produced numerous examples of narrative, and other poems in the Provençal language before the twelfth century; particularly of a class of little tales, called Fabliaux, usually attributed to the French poets, to the entire exclusion of the Provençals. Vol. ii. 387. He afterwards gives numerous romances upon the subject of Charlemagne in the Provençal language; and proceeds to prove that they preceded the existing *French* romances on the same subject.

1st. He argues that the Provençals possessed poems on analogous subjects before the French had any literature at all.

2nd. The French are admitted to have borrowed their lyrical poetry from the Provençals.

3rd. The Charlemagne romances can be carried back to the year 1170, which is earlier than any similar French compositions.

4th. Chretien de Troyes is the oldest French poet that can be carried to anything like this period; and there is no ground whatever for placing him in 1170; it is besides certain, that he has borrowed much from the Provençals.*

Hence it is to be *fairly conjectured,* that the Charlemagne series of romances were written in the Provençal before they were written in French.

* 'It is difficult to ascertain whence Chretien de Troyes procured his subjects.'—Sir Walter Scott's 'Sir Tristram,' p. 32.

But more positive proof remains to be stated. There is a famous romance upon Guillaume Courtnez, both in French and Provençal, of which the subject, and materials, and manners, are Provençal, and some of its materials can be traced even to the tenth century; which was long before French literature existed.

But besides this, the Charlemagne series are more complete in the Provençal, than in the French romances, and some Provençal poems exist on the subject of Charlemagne, without any analogous French poems. This fact of itself is conclusive in favour of the Provençal origin of this series; for it is a general rule that the origin of all pictures is the country in which they are most abundant and most varied. In this case, the very country of the South is covered with proof of the fact in question by the vast number of places to which Charlemagne and his knights have given their names, and this at a period long before the dates of the poems in question.

By an analogous train of reasoning, M. Fauriel shews, that the romances of the series of the Round Table, or those upon apparently British subjects, are really of Provençal origin; he admits—

'The subject to be obscure for want of materials, and difficult in consequence of the reiteration of rash assertion without proofs. The advocates of an *Armorican* origin for these romances have never produced any genuine documents to support the claim. It is otherwise as to the supposed British or Welsh origin of them. In that case two sources deserve examination; namely, 1, the Triads in the Welsh language; and 2, the Chronicles of British history in Welsh and Latin. Some of the Triads refer to very ancient events, such, for example, as the deluge, in a manner different from the text of the Bible. They have passages strongly resembling the Hindoo traditions. They were never written in Latin, a singular circumstance, which seems to attest a genuine British original for these documents; but, in their present form, an earlier date cannot be claimed for them than the thirteenth century, although they contain traditions of far higher antiquity, and such as must be the remains of traditions preserved among the people from the earliest times. The passages cited commonly from the Triads, to prove that the Round Table romances came from a British source, are not of this ancient character. These passages have been introduced into the collections from the romances themselves, with which the British became familiar at a late period. Such passages are quite foreign to the Welsh language and to the Welsh history. An example of such foreign words is that of *Graal*, the title of one great series of the Round Table romances. It is a Provençal word, not British. So when the Triads mention the character of Lancelot du Lac, the very words would be unintelligible to a Briton without a knowledge of

French. These portions of the Triads resemble the romances of the Round Table; but they are of a comparatively modern date, and additions to the ancient British documents. The portions of the Triads which are genuine and ancient bear no resemblance whatever to the romances. The Arthur of the Triads is altogether a different person from the Arthur of those romances.'—vol. ii. p. 312—322.

On these grounds, a Welsh or British original for the series of romances into which the machinery of Arthur and the knights of the Round Table is introduced, so far as the claim depends upon the evidence of the Triads, is rejected by M. Fauriel. He treats the evidence of the Chronicles as less important. The principal one is that of Geoffry of Monmouth, which must have been dated between 1138 and 1150, when it is certain many of the romances in question were already written.

The substance, too, of the romances of the Round Table presents no historical features of the British, or any other nation. They are altogether fictions, presenting pictures of chivalry, in the state which that institution had reached after it had become imbued with the new germ of civilization of the twelfth century, a gay spirit of adventurous gallantry, as distinguished from a gloomy spirit of religious fervour and mysticism, which the church still endeavoured to spread through the agency of its own knighthood—the Hospitallers and Templars.

The romances describing the chivalry of amorous adventure, of which the famous Sir Tristram is the great model, differ entirely from those which are devoted to the chivalry of religion. The latter are called the series of the *Graal*. Their principal example is the Perceval of Christian of Troyes. Their object is to describe the guardianship of the cup, (in the Provençal language called *Grazal, Graal,*) in which our Lord celebrated the Last Supper with his disciples.

This cup, endowed with miraculous powers, was borne off by angels to be kept in heaven until a line of heroes should appear on earth, worthy to be entrusted with its keeping. Titurel, the hero of the romances, was chosen for that office. He built a temple to receive the cup; and became the chief of a body of knights, under the sanction of the church, to guard it, and protect its worship. Perpetual plenty surrounded this abode of the symbol of holiness, and perpetual youth, with other gifts, rewarded its *chivalrous* defenders. The descendants of Titurel became degenerate, and the holy cup was carried to the east. Its return to the west was to be the new reward of an *ecclesiastical reform*, which, with the obvious connection of the knights

destined to protect the cup, with the order of Templars and Hospitallers, formed at this period, seems to render this fiction of the *Graal* a branch of the great efforts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries which had that object in view.

Having shown that neither of these two classes of the Round Table romances, neither those of a gay, nor those of a grave chivalrous character, can be traced to a British original, M. Fauriel proceeds by an ingenious train of reasoning, which hardly admits of abridgment or extract, to prove them to be purely Provençal.

In the dispute, he says, between the French, Breton, Scottish, Welsh, and German claimants for the honour of having written the original poem of Sir Tristram, and those of the same class, it has been overlooked that the *Provençal literature* really produced those romances. At least, twenty-five well-known Troubadours have quoted the story of Sir Tristram as familiar to them. Of these Provençal writers, Raimbaud d'Orange the oldest, must have written, in 1150, the passages referring to Sir Tristram. That romance was therefore known in that year in the Provençal language. In the same way, other Round Table romances may be proved to have existed at that period in the same language. From their familiarity with the story of King Arthur, and his expected return to reign in Britain, the Troubadours used to call the hope which never despairs, notwithstanding every disappointment, *the hope of a Briton*. It was the familiarity of the Troubadour, or Provençal writers, with the poetical history of the *Graal*, and with the superstitious expectation, attributed in it to the Briton, that gave rise to the proverb. These romances are full of Pyrenean scenery, and words belonging to the South of France, besides the word *Graal;* of the true Provençal meaning of which the French poets are known to have been ignorant.

But a positive testimony of a very remarkable character confirms these arguments in a way not to be resisted.

In the thirteenth century, the German Minnesinger, Wolfram, wrote two romances on the *Graal;* and he expressly rebukes Christian of Troyes for not having scrupulously adhered to *the older Provençal* romance on the same subject rather than to the *French* poet, whom he had copied.

In support of his views, M. Fauriel offers a conjecture deserving of careful appreciation, upon the motives which led the Provençal poets to adopt the subject of Arthur and the Round Table for their romances.

The poets of the eleventh, and of the first years of the twelfth century, had made very great improvements in the literature of their predecessors. Their language was exceedingly melodious,

and their sentiments a pure expression of chivalrous attainments. It was an entirely new system of poetry, and addressed to the higher circles in courts and castles, where what had belonged to a coarser age was now abandoned. The people adhered to old, rude verses, the image of semi-barbarous feelings, and written in a style slightly influenced by lingering classical traditions. But that older class of compositions had also been influenced by recent refinements, so that a perceptible change had taken place in a large portion of it, consisting of historical songs, heroic fictions, and romantic narratives of the wars against the Arabs. Hence, the more frequent beauties of their language, and their more successful development of the passions. These works, however, although they still pleased the people, had lost their charm for the more elevated classes. Therefore the Troubadours, in order to gratify the latter, who were their auditors and patrons, were compelled to seek for fresh topics. The Oliver and Roland of the ancient romance were too gross for the men who were seriously disposed towards the new ideas; and the character of those grim heroes offered nothing in unison with what were henceforth to be the principles of chivalry, namely, homage to the fair, and a love of romantic adventure.

In this state of things, those Troubadours, who the more zealously aimed at the triumph of chivalry, sought for some distinguished personages to whom they might safely attribute its virtues without violating established associations. Such heroes they found in the court and camp of the last prince of the Britons. This supposes some knowledge of Arthur to have existed among the Troubadours from tradition, or it supposes the existence of songs before 1150, now lost, but not any acquaintance with the work of Geoffry of Monmouth, which had not then appeared. This knowledge was, however, limited to a few names stripped of all historical life, *seeing that the ideas and actions presented in the Round Table series along with such British names, are purely Provençal, and chivalrous, as chivalry was understood at the beginning of the twelfth century.*

This constituted the twofold system of poetry, established at that time in Provençe, and throughout the South of France. It spread thence all over Europe; and certainly not less towards the north of France than elsewhere. It flourished two hundred years; and only fell into disuse in consequence of a series of persecutions to which the refined people of the South of France, and chiefly the Albigenses were exposed by the cruel combination of temporal and ecclesiastical tyranny. These persecutions ended in the utter extinction of the Provençal

literature. Its poets were ruined in their struggle against the double barbarism of church and state; and their writings were burned as so many violations of the pure Roman faith.

The volumes before us close with M. Fauriel's views on the subject of this last persecution. They are taken from the preface to a volume published ten years; and scarcely known to English readers. It is a versified history of a part of the war against the Albigenses. It deserves a separate examination.

M. Fauriel's researches, and his most able exposition of his conclusions, will be fatal to a crowd of speculations upon the sources of modern romance and poetry. But in raising a splendid system of literary and social history upon the deepest and widest foundations, his merit does not consist so much in the originality of his opinion, that the poetry of the Troubadours sprang out of old elements, and was composed extensively of earlier materials, as in the great ability with which he has traced out numerous proofs of the correctness of this opinion. Before his day, and also in his time, *but without any communication with him*, distinguished writers of our own had settled the *filiation* of modern with classical letters, and especially romance. Warton did so in the last century; and earlier authorities might be cited to the same purpose. More recently, Sir Walter Scott, a very Troubadour himself, had suggested correct views on the subject; and the late learned Mr. Price had pursued them to sounder conclusions than Sir Walter's, with greater force of argument and equal eloquence of language. The judgment of Mr. Price on the point is illustrated by a brilliant citation from Campbell, who also took the right side of a question, which, when M. Fauriel's works are well known, will scarcely be ever again disputed.

'The resemblances to be found in modern romance and classical fictions are obviously too intimate,' says Mr. Price, 'to have been the result of accident, or a common development of circumstances possessing some general affinity. The majority, on investigation, will be found to have been derived, however indirectly, from sources of classical antiquity; and their existence in this dismembered state forcibly illustrates a remark of Mr. Campbell's, which is equally distinguished for its truth and its beauty,—'*that fiction travels on still lighter wings* (than science), *and scatters the seeds of her wild flowers imperceptibly over the world, till they surprise us by springing up with similarity*, in regions the most remotely divided.' (Essay on English Poetry, p. 30.) But while these resemblances tend to establish the fact, that popular fiction is in its nature *traditional*, they necessarily direct our attention to another important question,—the degree of

antiquity to be ascribed to the great national fables relative to Arthur, Theoderic, and Charlemagne.'*

The numerous admirers of the genius of the late Mr. Price, will be gratified at finding in such a work as M. Fauriel's, a confirmation of his opinions, and a rational explanation of the difficulties to which he alludes.

It would be a most curious speculation to subject the numerous theories afloat upon the rise of modern poetry, to the test of M. Fauriel's arguments. Mr. Laing's learned vindication of the claims of the Scandinavians to a parentage of the oldest date, and to its fruits in at least the whole of the literature of Britain; and the German pretensions to an originality beyond recorded history for their remarkable early poetry, would be found alike at fault. Perhaps the most interesting part of these volumes, is the chapter in which the source of the German Minnesingers' poems seems to be traced to demonstration, to the Provençals, in the delightful story of Walther of Aquitaine, a very few words of which will lead the reader to wish to be better acquainted with it.

Walther of Aquitaine, the *genius of civilization*, has escaped from the court of Attila, where he was a hostage. He is attacked in his flight by a barbarous chief, whose followers he defeats with great slaughter, in a succession of single combats. He has fled from Attila, with another hostage, Hildegunde, the daughter of his mother's brother; and he is affianced to her. After inflicting a severe check upon his assailants, he resolves at nightfall, to await a second attack on the mountains where he had halted, 'that it might not be said he had fled like a thief in the dark!' He first makes the access to his post secure. Then, kneeling on the bodies of the men he had killed, embraces them one after another; and turning to the east with his sword drawn, he pronounces this brief prayer.

'I offer my grateful thanks to thee, O God, the Creator of all things, and without whose permission nothing comes to pass,—I thank thee for preserving my life from the sword of my enemies, and my honour from their reproach. And I humbly pray, O Lord, who wouldest not that the wicked should perish, but that his sin should pass away, I humbly pray that I may see these dead men again in heaven.'—Hist. de la Poesie Provençale, vol. i., p. 373.

The scene of this unexpected incident is a high point of the Vosges, in which the fugitives had found a safe halting place.

The next day's combat ended well; and Walther escaped

* Preface by Mr. Price to the edition of 1824 of 'Warton's English Poetry,' vol. i., p. 72.

with his bride into Aquitaine, to carry on the long struggle of the old civilization of the south and west against the encroachments and invasions of the barbarous tribes from the north and east.

It has been observed, as a defect in M. Fauriel's system of civilization, that he recognises *conquest* as one of its legitimate elements. This is the more surprising, inasmuch as the most powerful part of his whole work is his indignant denouncement of the conquering Franks, whose inroads upon his Provençals, and men of the south, unquestionably caused enormous misery. He also saw with an eagle-eye the great mischief afterwards inflicted on the south by the wars of religious conquest against the Albigenses in the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, he takes no distinct stand against *force* as a means of extending dominion, as contradistinguished from the more civilizing progress of peace, and commerce, and all enlightened arts. He mentions, almost in a spirit of approval, certainly, with no terms of reproof, the perpetual wars of the early Massilians with their barbarous neighbours; which were extensively wars of conquest, not defence. He treats in the same way the conquests made by the Romans with their aid, the result of which was an enormous increase of the territories of the Massilians from the spoil of the conquered tribes. He looks upon the subsequent conquest and *attendant* civilization of all Gaul by the Romans as indispensable and proper coincidences. He eulogises Charlemagne the conqueror, as much as Charlemagne the civilizer. He has not a word of indignation for the enormities of conquering crusaders in the East, however naturally he may narrate with satisfaction the decline of the power of the invading Musselmen and Arabian conquerors of Spain and of the west. In one word, his warm sympathies are given to the warlike strains of the Troubadours, as much as to their lays of peace and refinement.

This is a great fault in such a man, and with such a theme. He has done so much, and his influence in France has been so great, that his stopping short of the legitimate consequences of his own doctrines, is deeply to be regretted. The testimonies in honour of Fauriel would fill a volume. A portion of them is contained in the writings of Benjamin Constant, of Destutt de Tracy, of Cabanis, of Madame de Stael, of Cousin, of Villemain, of Guizot, of Thierry, and a host of other French men of letters. Of foreigners, Monte, Manzoni, and W. Schlegel, may be mentioned as a mere specimen of those who duly appreciated his great talents. In England he seems to have attracted notice on one occasion only; namely, in the struggle for the independence of Greece. His *Songs of Greece* presented a rare

union of learning and taste. They received an eloquent eulogy in the 'Westminster Review,' and a zealous translator in Mr. R. B. Sheridan. M. Fauriel's watchful regard of most of our literary labours, during his long life, deserved a more diligent study on our part of his works. If he had followed our Anglo-Saxon history with somewhat greater care, he would unquestionably have become more intimate with our successes in a field, the importance of which could not have escaped his penetration. It is, perhaps, the only branch of literature in which he seems to be deficient.

M. Fauriel's works should be collected. During fifty years he was deeply versed in all that was enlightened throughout Europe; and his ablest contemporaries attribute to him the rise of the modern school of history in France. His miscellaneous criticisms are a most valuable series of essays on historical and philosophical subjects; and his correspondence may be expected to furnish treasures equally valuable. Happily the integrity of the man corresponded with his talents. With the higher prospect of fortune when Bonaparte was consul, he preferred an obscure retreat to an advancement that must degrade his principles; and, for thirty years, he steadily acted up to those principles in defiance of the double seduction of the Empire and of the Restoration.

'Victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni.'

After the Revolution of 1830, he received a poor but characteristic reward, by being appointed the first Professor of Foreign Literature in Paris, a chair said to have been founded for him. The book, too briefly noticed in this article, contains many of the lectures read in that chair.

M. Fauriel died, at an advanced age, in 1844, universally respected, leaving his vast collection of manuscripts, more or less complete, to the care of an English lady, and to the literary supervision of Dr. Jules Mohl, the able editor of these volumes.

Art. II. — *The Select Works and Memoirs of the late Rev. Joseph Fletcher, D.D.* By the Rev. Joseph Fletcher, Jun., of Hanley. 3 Vols. 8vo. London: John Snow. 1846.

THE multiplication of 'memoirs' threatens to become a serious evil. There is no rule of justice or wisdom governing, to any considerable extent, this department of literature. Self-conceit, and private partiality, are continually intruding upon the public histories without events, and letters without meaning. Men of truth and honour are shocked and disgusted at the wholesale exaggeration which marks the records of those they knew, perhaps too well, while living; and the simple-minded and unsuspicious are startled and amazed that they should never have detected the astonishing excellencies of members of their own circle, and dwellers in their own neighbourhood. The canon that only good should be spoken of the dead, is caricatured and abused. Ordinary talent becomes extraordinary genius, common consistency is transformed into singular holiness, and an average amount of patient suffering obtains the honours due only to heroic courage and martyr-like fortitude. Judging from the manner in which 'lives' are generally written, it might be supposed that death secured the past as well as future perfection of Christians; or, that their characters, like their wills, were only known after their departure. Many of them, if permitted to revisit earth, would be utterly unable to detect their own likenesses, which, as bad portraits, need a name to be recognised by any one.

A powerful reason of the unnecessary and injurious multiplicity of biographical works is doubtless a mistake affecting the use and application of a plain and important truth. The distinction is not sufficiently observed between commonness of character and commonness of condition. All admit that the most useful biographies are those of men who have filled the most common spheres, and passed through the most common experiences. A pattern is valuable, other things being equal, in proportion to the number of points at which it meets and resembles the cases of those who are intended to be taught and stimulated. As Sprat observes, in his 'Life of Cowley,' 'It is from the practice of men equal to ourselves that we are more naturally taught how to command our passions, to direct our knowledge, and to govern our actions.' But this being the end of examples, if it be desirable that they should have a considerable similarity of outward condition and mode of life to those of the men before whom they are presented, it is indispensable that they possess a high order of moral excellence. It is not enough, to fit for this office, that a man have lived, had the

wants and wishes of humanity, and filled particular positions and offices; the question is unavoidable, 'What did he, and was he?' We are far from forgetting that the most familiar lot may be sanctified and adorned by the noblest principles of morality and religion, but that is no reason for selecting the lot without those principles for purposes of instruction. And here is the divorce we mourn—the lives commonly published are of men in the right walks and ways, but not of the right men; they have been taken from the great classes, but they have not been marked by the peculiar excellence necessary to the place and office consigned them. It is not inferior, it is not average, Christians that are suitable for patterns. Much better is it to be dispirited by the presence of an almost unattainable superiority, than to be conversant with models that may be easily copied and surpassed. It is, therefore, with deep regret that we notice the general character of biographical works. Their objects are indeed sufficiently like the masses of their fellows in style of life and proceedings, but they are often deplorably destitute of all fitness and power to affect, by deep and holy sympathy, the hearts of others, and to excite and regulate a spirit of pure and noble emulation. It may be questioned whether this be necessary to the end proposed. The tendency of the day is not only to print everything, but to do everything by printing. Our forefathers had costly monuments and paintings to perpetuate and glorify their memories; their descendants write a book, or have one written. A memoir costs no more than a tomb, and it is on many accounts a preferable mode of publication.

It is with sincere pleasure that we can except the work before us, in the application of the remarks we have felt it needful to make. Dr. Fletcher's life, though not by any means eventful, was worthy of a record, as spent in the discharge of duties which devolve upon a great and important class of men, and a class needing above many all the influences of strength and excitement in their laborious work; and not less, as marked by the qualities, moral and religious, which are indispensable in a model of ministerial character. He was a man of sincere and devoted piety, of unblemished moral excellence, and of a spirit which all who knew him loved. His religious principles were sound and wisely held, removed from all extremes, and maintained with the firmness of true charity. He was free from crotchets, had no infallible test for every subject, no pet doctrine or idea standing for entire catholic truth. He was subjected to the action of various, and some severe, works of proof; passed through much of labour, suffering, and privilege; and retained his integrity, and accomplished his service in all. 'He was, in

one word,' as Mr. James observes, 'a singularly *complete* man.' There was nothing in his intellect, his moral character, or his ministry, to strike by its vast superiority, or its vast inferiority, to all his other qualities and endowments. We certainly should not place him in the very first rank of preachers, yet he stood high, and deservedly so, as a public teacher of Christianity. He possessed many advantages, in appearance, voice, and manner; but he was chiefly indebted for his popularity and impressiveness to a clear and direct understanding, a full and cordial proclamation of evangelical truth, an earnest purpose and desire to do good, arguments meaning something and tending somewhither, and phraseology which, if sometimes redundant, was generally elegant and forcible. The readers of his life will not be afflicted by a nervous anxiety to do some 'great thing;" but, if we mistake not, they will experience the powerful and comprehensive attraction of one who excelled, in all the most important points, as a man, a Christian, and a minister. His son has discharged his delicate task with considerable judgment and discretion. If he express a higher estimate than our own of some characteristics of his father, it is not wonderful, even though he should be mistaken. The main defect of his work is in its length. Had a portion of the first volume been occupied with reprints of some of Dr. Fletcher's publications, and had the third been entirely or nearly so, we think that readers in general would have been better pleased, and more edified.

Dr. Fletcher was born December 3rd, 1784, in the ancient city of Chester, of which place his father was a citizen and goldsmith.

'From the city records it appears, that the lineal ancestors of Mr. Robert Fletcher had for some centuries occupied a position of official importance in the County Palatine. Six of their name were sheriffs, and one was mayor. The periods reach from 1498 to 1678. The Sheriff Fletcher of 1678 went over to Cork, in Ireland, and settled there. He perpetuated his memory in Chester, however, by a gift of four almshouses to 'four poor widows of sixty, in the parish of Trinity.' They still exist, and an inscription to the above effect, and bearing date 'A. D. 1671,' is to be seen under a carving of the family coat of arms.'

'The name of Dr. Fletcher's mother, before her marriage, was Elizabeth Wolfe, the same name with that of General Wolfe, the hero of Quebec, to whom she was related, her father and the General being 'own cousins,' or brother's children. It is now many years since she entered into rest; but the fragrance of her memory remains. He always spoke of her in terms of the most profound endearment, and was wont to indulge in the most tender reminiscences respecting her. In one of his latest letters, in which reference is made to her, he writes, 'Bless her memory! Her sweet, gentle,

lovely form is now before me, and I never think of her without deep feeling. She perhaps loved me too much; but I have not the recollection of once grieving her,—and that is a soothing remembrance.'—pp. 8, 9.

Young Fletcher 'acquired the first rudiments of learning, and formed the habit of a clear and correct enunciation,' at a preparatory school conducted by a Mrs. Grandmaison, the daughter of a French refugee. While here, he experienced a 'remarkable preservation,' having fallen through a trap-door which had been carelessly left open. The consequence of this accident he long retained, in a predisposition to deafness, from which he suffered in after life. Leaving Mrs. Grandmaison, he entered the grammar school at Chester, where he made considerable progress in his studies. It is told of him, at this period, that his thirst for knowledge led him to make frequent visits to a bookseller's shop in the neighbourhood, 'not so much in the character of a purchaser, as of a casual reader.' His visits were, however, so often repeated, that the bookseller, though he felt an interest in him, yet thought 'the advantage too much on one side,' and an agreement was made between the parties, 'that the youthful student should fold up a given number of sheets of paper for every fresh work he might read. On these original and equitable terms, many volumes were perused during the hours usually devoted by school-boys to play.' The manner in which he was brought to the knowledge of the truth may suggest important considerations.

'From his very childhood he was trained up 'in the nurture and admonition of the Lord,' and the instruction, enforced by the uniformly consistent example of his parents, laid the foundation of religious truth and piety in his mind; but at this early period the first religious impressions of a powerful nature were produced. Hi pastor, the Rev. William Armitage, died in March, 1794, when he was in his tenth year, and the Rev. William Thorpe, afterwards of Bristol, visited Chester as a candidate for the vacant office. He remained there for more than a year, and although he did not finally accept the pastoral charge, his ministrations were highly beneficial. Mr. Thorpe was a great preacher, and his young hearer was at times deeply moved whilst listening to him, and inspired, for the first time, with an admiration for pulpit eloquence. At a subsequent period, an intimate friendship subsisted between them, terminated only by death. Other and concurrent sources of religious impression, however, should be mentioned, which he thus refers to some years afterwards. 'At a very early age, serious impressions were made upon my mind, which were particularly effected by the perusal of 'Janeway's Token for Children.' The author's very pathetic address in the preface of that work, tended much to convince me of the importance and necessity of religion. This address was often read

and prayed over with considerable interest and delight. But levity and folly, the usual characteristics of childhood, succeeded these first impressions. I cannot recollect any particular circumstance till my eleventh or twelfth year, when convictions which had been forgotten, were revived and deepened. It has often been a cause of much distress that I could not particularize the place, the time, the means of my conversion. The Lord's work was gradually effected: I cannot better describe it at its commencement, than by the words of the blind man in the Gospel, who at first only saw 'men as trees walking.' As I was constantly in the way of learning something, having from my earliest years a predilection for reading, and being furnished with the necessary means of instruction, I did, indeed, acquire a theoretical knowledge of some of the distinguishing doctrines of the Gospel. But, I fear, that knowledge was merely speculative. I saw not so much of the evil tendency of sin, nor of the beauty and inestimable worth of the Friend of sinners, as afterwards. Though orthodox in my notions of some things, my dependence was centred in myself. But by a constant attendance on the means of grace, an attendance enforced by the example and advice of my parents, the Lord was graciously pleased to remove the veil of spiritual ignorance from the eyes of my understanding, and afford the more scriptural views of the way of salvation through a Mediator.'—pp. 11—13.

We have quoted this passage from a conviction that the truth of which it is an instance is one which many are still slow to learn. It is by no means a universally admitted fact that genuine conversion to God can take place in this gradual and almost imperceptible manner, and even respectable writers are still to be found suggesting alarm to those who cannot 'particularise the place, the time, the means' of their great change. Such a case as that of Dr. Fletcher may well confirm a doctrine more in accordance with the intimations of Scripture, and the teachings of philosophy.

At the age of fifteen, Mr. Fletcher left school to enter upon business, it being his father's purpose that he should ultimately become his partner and successor. His own mind was, however, directed to a very different destiny, and the extracts given from his private papers prove with what seriousness, modesty, and anxiety he indulged the hope of being one day 'a servant of the Most High God, showing unto men the way of salvation.' While yet a boy he sought recreation and employment in literary occupation. 'Between the ages of twelve and sixteen,' we are told, 'he took a very creditable part in a somewhat prolonged newspaper controversy.' He also contributed some articles to the religious periodicals of the day, of one of which it is recorded 'that his father, delighted with the lucid views it contained, and little suspecting that he was the author, recom-

mended him, in terms of the warmest approval, to read it.' After two years' solicitude, the way was opened to his entrance into the ministry, and he was admitted as a student into Hoxton academy. Here 'the fact of his being qualified to join the senior classes during his first year did not promise much respecting future advancement.' A plan, however, was at this time proposed and carried out for raising a foundation for the support and education of two students at the University of Glasgow, and Mr. Fletcher and Mr. (now Dr.) Payne, were the first to enjoy its advantages. He accordingly proceeded to Glasgow in October, 1804, where he devoted himself to his various studies in the spirit of Mr. Simeon's advice to Henry Martyn, on his first going to Cambridge. 'My dear sir, the Lord Jesus Christ has called you by his grace, — be senior wrangler,' excelling most, however, in logic, mental and moral philosophy, and political economy; and taking his degree of Master of Arts. On the first Sabbath in May, he permanently entered on his first pastoral charge at Blackburn, in Lancashire, whither he had received and accepted a cordial and unanimous invitation a year before.

'The church, of which he thus accepted the pastorship, had been formed in the year 1778. The members originally constituting it appear to have withdrawn, in a friendly manner, from the two churches of Darwen and Tockholes, the villages in the neighbourhood of the rising town of Blackburn. The Rev. James M'Quhae, the first pastor of the church, removed from Tockholes in order to preside over it, and was exceedingly useful, not merely as a minister, but as a tutor. He died on the 29th of April, 1804, at the age of sixty-three, or about two years previous to this period. The town of Blackburn contained then a population of nearly thirteen thousand. Its central position in reference to many other towns, as well as its rapidly increasing trade in the cotton manufacture, rendered it a station of influence and importance; and Mr. Fletcher did not fail to perceive abundant scope for usefulness.'—p. 68.

At the time of Mr. Fletcher's settlement, the state of religion was not flourishing. According to another hand,—

'When Dr. Fletcher first went to Blackburn, religion was at a very low ebb, although the congregation was numerous and highly respectable. A worldly spirit marked the character of many professors, and the line of demarcation between the church and the world was in some cases scarcely perceptible; but the youthful pastor took a very decided stand, making the New Testament his standard both in public and private; and, by his personal kindness, holy consistency, and christian firmness, produced a great reformation in both church and congregation.

'Neither was religion in a flourishing state in the neighbourhood. But a remarkable revival had taken place at Darwen, near Black-

burn, occasioned by the death of Mrs. B., the beloved wife of the minister of the old chapel there, under the following distressing circumstances:—In company with her husband, she was returning home from a party of friends in the neighbourhood, mounted upon a spirited horse. Being young, and a courageous rider, she ventured to pass across a ferry while the waters were much swollen, and the stream very rapid. Though cautioned against the attempt, she plunged in. She was overwhelmed, and seen no more for several hours, when her lifeless body was discovered at some distance from the spot. This melancholy event produced a great sensation in the whole neighbourhood, which was overruled for good. Her bereaved husband was, in this deep distress, led to review his past course, and completely to change the matter and manner of his ministry. He became an earnest preacher and pastor, holding up Christ to his people, fully and faithfully, as the only Saviour and all-sufficient refuge. Many were awakened to deep concern; prayer meetings were held every evening; and those who never prayed before, became earnest supplicants at a throne of grace. The head of a respectable family, hearers at the chapel, who had been formerly indifferent, if not opposed to spiritual religion, was so moved and changed in heart by the power of Divine grace, that he converted a large billiard-room, then in process of building, into a room for prayer. He and his partner joined the church, became great blessings to the whole neighbourhood, and by their influence and example effected incalculable good in this important station. Under their roof the young pastor at Chapel-street often refreshed himself, in after life, in periods of physical exhaustion, with the cheering influence of Christian intercourse and hallowed friendship.'—pp. 106, 107.

In this sphere of labour Mr. Fletcher abode till 1828, making full proof of his ministry. During this period he not only discharged with credit and success the various onerous duties of a large pastorate, and took an active part in various public institutions, but appeared several times as an author. He contributed considerably to the *Eclectic Review*, in articles marked as strongly as any of the productions of his mind and pen by his peculiar excellences, published some single sermons, and delivered and presented to the public the most important of all his publications, the lectures on the *Roman Catholic Religion*. During the last six years of his residence at Blackburn, he filled the laborious and responsible office of tutor to an academy for students for the ministry, to which he devoted himself with a diligence, wisdom, and grace, which we have heard referred to by those best qualified to bear a testimony, in terms which any one might covet. Besides the readings in the Hebrew Bible and Greek Testament, the various examinations in class, and the superintendence of the establishment, he composed complete courses of lectures on intellectual and moral science, universal

grammar, Christian evidences, and theology. These multiplied and arduous engagements told injuriously upon a constitution not naturally of great strength, and doubtless had an important influence in causing his subsequent severe indisposition and premature decease. Having declined several invitations to other spheres, he at last accepted a second call to the ancient church at Stepney, as the pastor of which he was recognised, Feb. 19, 1823.

'Stepney, anciently called Stebonhyth, Stebonheath, or, Stebonhede, was formerly a small village, distant from the city of London by a considerable interval of uninhabited, though not uncultivated, ground. It is rich in associations, literary and ecclesiastical, and not altogether destitute of such as are connected with king and parliament. 'Rare Ben Jonson' knew the village well, spending large portions of his time in the place. Milton, too, if we may judge from one of his sonnets, was accustomed to visit it in his perambulations. In 1299, King Edward the First held his parliament there, at the residence of Henry Wallis, lord mayor of London; and King John's gateway still stands little more than a stone's throw from Stepney meeting, and now forming part of the Baptist College. The ecclesiastical antiquities of Stepney are almost coeval with the introduction of Christianity into England, and probably some of the first heralds of the cross delivered their message to the early aborigines of the place.

'Independency, too, finds here some of its most ancient records, and the vestiges of its earliest and greatest men. The church, long accustomed to assemble in Stepney meeting-house, dates its origin from 1644, in the days of Archbishop Laud. Henry Burton, the author of 'The Protestant Protested,' and one of the earliest promoters of modern congregationalism, was honoured in being present and aiding in its formation. Grenhill, Mead, Galpine, Mitchell, Hubbard, Brewer, and Ford, constituted the line of its pastors; and amongst those who have occasionally ministered to its spiritual wants, we find the names of Owen and Caryll, Howe and Guyse. Where the church met during the earliest period of its existence is not known; although it is matter of tradition, that after the passing of the Act of Uniformity, in 1662, it was accustomed to hold fellowship in a place near what is called The Walnut Tree. In 1674, the present edifice was built. The original form, after the style of a private mansion, was suggested by the persecuting spirit of the age, which rendered seclusion and secresy at times needful. Both internally and externally, the ancient structure has been considerably altered from the primitive form, in succeeding periods.'—pp. 310—312.

We cannot attempt a chronological reference to the events and experiences of the twenty years spent by Mr. Fletcher in this important post of labour. His pastoral relation to the church at Stepney was attended with manifest tokens of the

impressed with the superlative absurdity of the custom which dooms a man unaided and alone to bear the burden and responsibility of duties such as those which devolved on him. Though firmly believing in an apostolical plurality of pastors over single churches, we are not careful to ask for New Testament sanction or example in such a case. The matter is not one that can be decided by criticism, citation of texts, or appeals to antiquity. An imperative necessity pronounces an irresistible judgment. The question is simply, whether churches of a large size shall have any pastors, not whether they shall have a certain number of them. No man can be a pastor to a thousand or two thousand people at any time, and, at the present time, it would be impossible, if it were not so at all times. Such a church as that at Stepney should have at least three pastors, and not to have them must be death somewhere—death to the minister, or death to the people.

Dr. Fletcher took an active part in the different movements connected with the civil rights and liberties of dissenters. His views on the great questions of non-conformity and church establishments were very decided and firmly fixed, and he was faithful, above many, in defending and promoting them. Writing to his sister, Mrs. Reynolds, in 1829, he thus refers to an article in this journal:—

'What does brother R. think of the article in the 'Eclectic' for December on *Church Reform?* It appears to me a most inconsistent piece of hypothetical reasoning, on principles which are at complete variance with Conder's 'Nonconformity.' Why, in the name of consistency, are we Dissenters at all on such principles? Will the national Church, however reformed, *ever* be such as to answer the ends of a *spiritual* constitution on scriptural grounds? *Can* it be ever so reformed as to enable its members to follow out into *practical* results the *laws of Christ?* Let *these* be applied, and, like the touch of Ithuriel's spear, the monster of Church patronage rises up and slinks away abashed and confounded! 'Tis rotten at the core, and all the evangelicals will sooner or later find it so. They are already startled at the enquiries set on foot, and are now trying to *lay* the devil they have raised, in the spirit of political innovation.'—p. 391.

The following incident may amuse some of our readers. The last sermon Dr. Fletcher published was on the birth of the Prince of Wales, and he transmitted a copy of it to her Majesty, through the lord chamberlain, Earl De La Warr, with the following note:—

'Her Most Gracious Majesty's acceptance of the sermon accompanying this note, is humbly requested by her Majesty's most loyal and devoted subject,

'Mile-end Road, Jan. 17, 1842. J. FLETCHER.'

divine blessing. He found that church in a state far from prosperous; he left it greatly increased in number, and actively devoted to the good of the dense population around it. But the labours of Dr. Fletcher would be very inadequately estimated by any one who confined his attention to his pastoral proceedings and success. He was gifted with a large measure of public spirit. Nothing was alien from him that concerned his denomination, his country, or the world at large. Primarily devoted to the people of his charge, he presented a fine example of intelligent and active effort for the spread of every cause that involved the enlightenment and evangelization of his race. He regarded his pastoral position as important, not alone on its own account, but as facilitating his connection with the general movements of benevolence and Christian charity. Stepney was the centre, but not the circumference, of his ministry. He had to preach the gospel to others also. Hence, in addition to the requirements of his own charge, he met, as far as his strength permitted, the calls which are inseparable from a prominent post and a popular name. The nature and number of these calls can be but poorly conceived by any one who has not been so situated as to feel them. Of all positions of difficulty, delicacy, and fatiguing duty, that of a minister of a large congregation, with some good measure of public acceptance, is one of the worst. A correspondence almost sufficient to employ a secretary; invitations abroad, which if accepted would prevent his being ever at home, and duties at home which, if performed, would prevent his being ever abroad; demands of the pulpit which would keep him always in his study, and expectations of visits which would forbid his entering it; incessant summonses to committees and public meetings; and interruptions without end from callers, each one of whom naturally supposes his own business the most important that can engage his attention;* all this, besides the common obligations which come upon all men, personal and social, may well give peculiar emphasis and intensity to the exclamation—'Who is sufficient for these things?' Dr. Fletcher had his full share of employment and anxiety from these sources, and in reading his memoirs we have been again

* We have heard an anecdote from the lips of one of our most popular ministers, strikingly illustrative of the thoughtlessness of many hearers. The preacher in question was visiting one of his people, who rebuked him for the neglect he supposed to have been shown himself. Upon a calm expostulation with him on the ground of his unreasonableness, from the size of the congregation, &c., the complainer replied,—'But my father has died, and you never called to see and comfort me.' 'I did not know of your father's death,' was the speedy answer. 'Not know?' continued the unmoved rebuker; 'do you think I should not have known had *your father* died?'

impressed with the superlative absurdity of the custom which dooms a man unaided and alone to bear the burden and responsibility of duties such as those which devolved on him. Though firmly believing in an apostolical plurality of pastors over single churches, we are not careful to ask for New Testament sanction or example in such a case. The matter is not one that can be decided by criticism, citation of texts, or appeals to antiquity. An imperative necessity pronounces an irresistible judgment. The question is simply, whether churches of a large size shall have any pastors, not whether they shall have a certain number of them. No man can be a pastor to a thousand or two thousand people at any time, and, at the present time, it would be impossible, if it were not so at all times. Such a church as that at Stepney should have at least three pastors, and not to have them must be death somewhere—death to the minister, or death to the people.

Dr. Fletcher took an active part in the different movements connected with the civil rights and liberties of dissenters. His views on the great questions of non-conformity and church establishments were very decided and firmly fixed, and he was faithful, above many, in defending and promoting them. Writing to his sister, Mrs. Reynolds, in 1829, he thus refers to an article in this journal:—

'What does brother R. think of the article in the 'Eclectic' for December on *Church Reform?* It appears to me a most inconsistent piece of hypothetical reasoning, on principles which are at complete variance with Conder's 'Nonconformity.' Why, in the name of consistency, are we Dissenters at all on such principles? Will the national Church, however reformed, *ever* be such as to answer the ends of a *spiritual* constitution on scriptural grounds? *Can* it be ever so reformed as to enable its members to follow out into *practical* results the *laws of Christ?* Let *these* be applied, and, like the touch of Ithuriel's spear, the monster of Church patronage rises up and slinks away abashed and confounded! 'Tis rotten at the core, and all the evangelicals will sooner or later find it so. They are already startled at the enquiries set on foot, and are now trying to *lay* the devil they have raised, in the spirit of political innovation.'—p. 391.

The following incident may amuse some of our readers. The last sermon Dr. Fletcher published was on the birth of the Prince of Wales, and he transmitted a copy of it to her Majesty, through the lord chamberlain, Earl De La Warr, with the following note:—

'Her Most Gracious Majesty's acceptance of the sermon accompanying this note, is humbly requested by her Majesty's most loyal and devoted subject,

'Mile-end Road, Jan. 17, 1842. J. FLETCHER.'

In the course of the next month Earl De La Warr sent a note to Dr. Fletcher, stating that, after having given to the request the best consideration in his power, he had arrived at the conclusion, that it would not be consistent with his duty 'as a public officer,' to present the application to her Majesty, as it had not, and obviously could not, have 'the sanction of the Established Church.' Dr. Fletcher replied, not questioning the right of Lord De La Warr to exercise his discretion in the case, but expressing his surprise that, having frequently been presented to her Majesty in the capacity of a dissenting minister, and as a member of a body whose privilege of approach to the throne on public occasions was acknowledged ever since the reign of Queen Anne, the mere circumstance of his not being a minister of the Established Church should *now* be the reason for refusing to comply with his request. The lord chamberlain returned the following answer:—

'17, Upper Grosvenor-street, March 12, 1842.

'SIR,—In reply to your note of the 9th inst., I have the honour to state, that I consider the fact of your discourse having been delivered in a dissenting meeting is of itself sufficient to justify me in declining to present a copy of it to the Queen.

With many apologies for having detained the copies so long,

'I have the honour to be, Sir,

'Your obedient servant,

'DE LA WARR.'

We should have liked to give a longer account than our space will permit of Dr. Fletcher's publications. We agree with his son that he 'never did himself justice. Always fully occupied, averse to the mechanical process of writing, it was something to accomplish what he did. But it may truly be said, that he did every thing in haste.' Yet, notwithstanding this, we are persuaded that as an author he had no reason to be ashamed. Our own judgment is that he appears in print to greater advantage than he did as a preacher, for though he possessed some peculiar endowments which could not affect his writings, yet there were others and of more importance which they alone could fully display. It is the gift of some men to do at once all that they can do; their first view is their clearest and longest; and under the influence of special excitements, their passions giving light and stimulus to their intellect, they command a vigour of thought and affluence of language, which they might seek in vain in the cool moments of silent meditation. Other men there are who grope rather than see, and who are unfitted for both perception and utterance, by the demands of a pressing necessity. Without controverting the assertion of his son, that Dr. Fletcher, 'on some sudden emergency,

surprised his audience with extemporaneous bursts of eloquence never surpassed under similar circumstances,' we cannot but believe that the character of his mind was not in a general way fairly developed, except by slow and continuous operations. His intellect, as Mr. James states, 'if not in the fullest sense of the term profound, was vigorous, clear, and prompt; capable of rigid analytical processes of investigation, possessed of much power of keen discrimination, and though by no means wanting in creative genius, yet rather logical than imaginative.' This is a faithful description. Dr. Fletcher's productions bore no marks of rapid, electrical, thinking. He did not put paragraphs into sentences, and sentences into words. He seldom had the figures which serve not only as illustrations, but expressions, of ideas. He was cool, calm, accurate, and finished, definite in conception, unimpeachable in reasoning, distinct in utterance, but conveying the impression that he was giving forth thoughts that he had sought out, not thoughts that had come upon him—indicating work rather than inspiration. It was felt that however excellent he was, the same diligence and taste continued might have made him still more excellent, and not that he had reached the utmost limit, and to touch his work would be to spoil it. Naturally endowed with superior abilities, he owed not a little to the great educational advantages which he enjoyed, and the habits of precise and comprehensive thought rendered necessary by his circumstances and his duties. Hence, he was peculiarly adapted to the treatment of a subject requiring patient and comprehensive discussion, and always realized proportionate advantages from the continued application of his powers to the theme in hand. If he had not the intuition of some, he had more than the industry, and sound judgment, of many. If he needed elaboration to do his best, with elaboration the best he did. The comparison between his more hasty productions, and those to which he had devoted profound and protracted attention, will fully bear out this remark.

As an author, the most important productions of Dr. Fletcher were controversial, in form or reality, or both; and for the work of a polemic he was specially adapted. He had a strong conviction of the importance of theoretical truth and a healthy love of it, not only for its own sake but for that of its connection with true holiness; he was perspicuous and logical; the fulness and copiousness of his style rendered it a suitable vehicle of arguments, often felt to be dry; while the great courtesy and gentleness of his spirit prevented the possibility of just offence from the mode in which he conducted his discussion. The *Discourse on Personal Election and Divine Sovereignty*, the *Lec-*

tures on the Principles and Institution of the Roman Catholic Religion, the sermon on the *Miraculous Gifts of the Primitive Churches, and Modern Pretensions to their exercise*, are all examples of lucid thought, clear discrimination, effective reasoning, and eloquent writing. The first has done good service in exhibiting and commending the now most prevalent form of Calvinistic theology; the last exerted a considerable influence in checking the delusive opinions and practices against which it was directed, and had the honour, as we happen to know, of being accounted the most formidable of all the foes of the 'work of the Lord,' by Edward Irving himself; and the second has had an extensive circulation, having reached the fourth edition, and taken a prominent and permanent place among the popular defences of 'the faith once delivered to the saints.' The lectures were delivered at Blackburn between thirty and forty years ago, 'in consequence of the zealous efforts of the Roman Catholic priest,' resident in that town, 'in the vindication of his own principles,' which excited great attention, and seemed imperatively to call for counteracting measures.

'The lectures created much excitement at the time of their delivery, and established the fame of their author when published. They were highly commended in the reviews of the day, and are referred to by some of the first critics, in terms of high approval. Many and excellent as are the works which have since been published on the subject of popery, none, perhaps, so fairly discusses the essential principles of the system as ascertained from the best authorities;* while the general structure of the argument throughout is marked by the presence of the severest logic. Great care was bestowed upon the composition of the work: if it has any fault, it is one that would be an excellency in oral discourse, namely, a somewhat redundant eloquence. . . . . They were highly successful in his own neighbourhood, and have been useful in enlightening and directing the public mind in its higher ranges of influence. The Abbé Bossut, of Paris, informed a Protestant gentleman that he had read them, and that he considered their argument unanswerable; Mr. Moffat, the well-known missionary, related an instance of their usefulness at the Cape, in the conversion of two Roman Catholics; and the following incident, communicated by the Rev. James Thompson, in the year 1826, was a further proof that the work was not without the Divine blessing.

''I took a copy of this work with me when I went out to South America, in 1818. After being there some time, I got intimately

* 'Dr. Dunn, a Roman Catholic priest, then at Preston, hearing of Mr. Fletcher's intention to publish his Lectures, offered the use of his library, and transmitted a large cargo of books, not easily to be obtained in any other way. Mr. Fletcher's courtesy, as a controversialist, secured these good offices of truly *catholic* kindness, by which he was enabled to quote from the best authorities.'

acquainted with a Dominican friar, and had with him many interesting conversations on general subjects, as well as on religion. I at length lent him your volume; and upon seeing him some time after, he expressed great satisfaction at the candour with which you had treated the subject, and particularly noticed the spirit of piety in which the argument was managed. He told me he had translated several passages of the lectures into Spanish, and every way he seemed much pleased with the work. A few days before I went to Chili, wishing to take your Lectures with me, I called on my friend for the volume I had lent him. Upon my asking him for it, he brought it out, and holding it in both his hands, and pressing it to his breast, he spoke of it so much, and seemed so reluctant to part with it, that I could not summon courage enough to deprive him of it. I therefore presented it to him as a memorial of our friendship, with which he was truly gratified.'—pp. 205, 206.

The Lectures are nine in number: on 'The Authority of the Church,' 'Oral Tradition,' 'The Papal Supremacy,' 'Transubstantiation and the Sacrifice of the Mass,' 'The Sacraments of the Church of Rome,' 'The Invocation of Saints and the Love of Images,' 'Purgatory and the Doctrine of Merit,' 'The Roman Catholic Hierarchy,' and 'The Genius and Tendency of the Papal Religion.' We sincerely hope that they will be still more widely circulated, as they present a comprehensive view of the important subject discussed, in a manner to engage the attention and convince the judgment, of a large class of readers who are not to be reached or satisfied by every day productions. To this work are now added two lectures on Puseyism, which the author intended to publish, and which, though not by any means unworthy of their companions, would doubtless have been improved by his further revision. He could scarcely have retained the two introductory pages of the second lecture, which are an exact copy of those of the ninth on popery.

Art. III.—*Lectures on Ethics.* By Thomas Brown, M.D., late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh: with a Preface, by Thomas Chalmers, D.D. Edinburgh: William Tate. 1846.

Dr. Thomas Brown has now become an historical character. In the philosophical hemisphere, he occupies confessedly no unimportant place. By some he is regarded as a star of the first magnitude; and not a few even profess to direct themselves athwart the ocean of metaphysical speculation by the light that he has shed upon it. Notwithstanding this, his merits as a philosopher have never yet been very definitely fixed; and we verily believe that there are few, whose works it is so difficult rightly to appreciate, and whose position in the priesthood of letters, it is so hard a matter to assign. In our capacity as judges, in these questions, and in the spirit of that *Eclecticism*, we have so long professed, we shall attempt to add a few materials to aid the verdict, which the mind of humanity is pronouncing.

Dr. Brown was the son of a Scottish clergyman. Having the misfortune to lose his father in his infancy, he was taken by his widowed mother to Edinburgh, where, in the first few years of his mental development, he manifested that precocity of intellect, which often proves the early delight, but the subsequent disappointment, of parental love. In his seventh year he was sent to the vicinity of London for education. Here he remained until his age was sufficiently mature to allow of his matriculation at the University of Edinburgh, from the literary atmosphere of which capital he never withdrew, until compelled to bend his steps southward by the illness, which terminated in his death.

From this sketch let us attempt to trace some of the main influences, under which the mind of our philosopher expanded. The early bias of his childhood, spent as it was in the family circle of a Scottish clergyman, must have cherished the earnest and reflective tendency of a mind naturally inquisitive, and eager for truth. His residence in England was always admitted by his northern associates to have added that polish to his manner, that refinement to his imagination, and that beauty both to his writing and elocution, in which he stood pre-eminent amongst his countrymen. His first predilection for philosophy was fostered in the lecture-room of Dugald Stewart; and the comments he published upon Darwin's 'Zoonomia,' before he had completed his twentieth year, are a sufficient proof of the success, with which he had applied himself to that

department of his education. All this pointed him out as eminently fitted for the prosecution either of a literary, or a professional life.

From this period his literary history, as far as it appears to the public eye, may be said to have commenced, and its subsequent tendencies to have manifested themselves. Edinburgh, at that juncture, offered to him associates, all in the burning zeal of their early manhood, well calculated to fan the flame of his incipient genius. There were to be found Brougham, and Horner, and Reddie, and Jeffrey; there were many other like aspirants to literary and philosophic reputation, less in fame, though hardly less in ability; there, in a word, was the circle of minds at once profound and brilliant, to which the 'Edinburgh Review' owed its birth and primary influence. The spirit which predodominated in this circle is pretty well known to the literary world. Though held under the spell of the Scottish school of philosophy, as then represented by the flowing eloquence and graceful 'auctoritas' of Stewart, yet it was struggling from time to time to be free. The love of physical science began to break in upon the steady action of the higher reflection; and the tendency to simplify the analysis of the mental phenomena, if it did not reach to the verge of materialism, yet showed a lingering relish for the principles of Hartley and Condillac. In the wake of this, there followed, as was quite natural there should, a weakening of the religious element within the mind, an absorption of the loftiest spiritual ideas, in the pursuit of natural phenomena, and an under current of sarcastic contempt aimed against the peculiar truths of revelation, which are usually denominated *evangelical*. Of this spirit it is well known that Brown largely partook, although his affection for his family, and the natural gentleness of his disposition always restrained any offensive expression thereof.

Two circumstances may yet be added, which must have operated considerably upon the formation of Brown's philosophic character. The one was his devotion to the studies of the medical profession. Where the mind is well fortified beforehand by habits of inward reflection, the pursuits of this profession may be in the highest degree valuable. The parallelism between the body and the mind, and their mutual adaptations, must be such, that the knowledge of the one is, to say the least, very suggestive of facts and operations relating to the other. But experience tells us, that where the love of the ideal has already grown dim, there is nothing more calculated than such an 'immersion in matter' as medical pursuits foster, to extinguish it altogether. The other circumstance to which we refer, was the peculiar tendency of the age at the time of which we are speaking. In

England, the school of Locke and Hartley had begun to push their principles into the extreme tenets of materialism. In France, the same doctrines were advocated with a brilliancy of style and a vigour of genius rarely excelled; the whole flow of the intellectual spirit of the age, seemed setting in towards the 'seen and temporal.' With this philosophy Brown was intimately acquainted. The graceful polish of the French style charmed his ear; the transparent clearness of the thoughts excited his admiration; the acuteness of the analyses perfectly coincided with his own peculiar genius; and, alas! the irreligious nature of the results created no revulsion in his mind. The counteracting influence of the German philosophy had as yet made little impression upon any of the English writers; for although the admiring biographer of Brown asserts that he studied the German language for scientific purposes, and cites his review of the philosophy of Kant as an evidence of his being able to make it 'as clear as its nature admits,' we should rather feel disposed to adduce both the review and the remark upon it, as an indication that neither Brown nor his biographer knew very much about the matter.

To sum up, therefore, in brief, the modifying circumstances which reacted upon the naturally analytic mind of our philosopher, we see that, while the influence of the Scottish metaphysics, of which he was a professed disciple, led him to secure certain fundamental laws of belief, as a barrier against the sweeping scepticism of Hume; yet, that he was led by his early associations, by his professional studies, by the tendency of the age, and by his own original love for simplification, into a metaphysical system, which we shall shew to be separated by a very narrow limit from sheer empiricism.

It is hardly necessary to remark, that every system of philosophy, and every attempt even at making a complete analysis of the human mind, must be very much modified by the view which is taken of one or two fundamental ideas or principles. Of these fundamental ideas, there is none, which has a greater share in the determination of our philosophical opinions, than that of *causality*. Around this one notion, or, as it might philosophically be termed, this one *category*, there seem to gather almost infinite germs of thought; and, according as it is viewed in the commencement of our speculation, will be the whole subsequent character of our philosophy. Upon this idea it mainly depends, whether nature is to be a succession of bare physical phenomena, or the developement of a living power; whether man is to be the creature of his circumstances, or the agent in his own self-unfolding; whether there be in our system of thinking a Creator, holding all things in his paternal embrace,

or whether the idea of a God be, in the language of Comte, a delusion incident to the infantile state of the human mind.

Brown's early speculations upon this abstruse but important question are well known. Incited by the torrent of bigotry which struggled to reject the claims of Mr. Leslie to the chair of mathematics in Edinburgh, on the ground of his defence of Hume's theory of Causation, he undertook to shew that this theory was in great measure correct, and where incorrect was perfectly harmless. The author did not perceive that the very theory, which he attempted to divest of all injurious imputations, was at that very moment poisoning the springs of philosophical truth deep in the centre of his own mind. True, he did not contend with Hume, that our whole notion of cause and effect is a mere induction from outward experience; but still he confined the law of our belief in the succession of phenomena to the simple confidence we feel in the invariable *precedence* and *consequence* of those natural events, which have been once seen in conjunction; firmly denying all human possibility of perceiving the existence either of *power* or of *adaptation* in the question. In other words, he rejected the principle of '*sufficient reason.*'

This theory of causation, we have no doubt, grew up into a firm conviction in the mind of our philosopher, from the habit he early formed of physical investigation. To the man who looks primarily *without,* the idea of power is never invested with a veritable reality, neither can it ever attain its true place in any system of philosophy which, starting from the objective world, works inwards to the mysteries of the human mind. Such was precisely the course which Brown followed in the construction of his philosophic character, and such the process by which he attempted to analyse the idea of causation. He gazed first upon the phenomena of nature, and saw nought but an invariable succession of certain events. The closer he analysed these events the firmer grew his conviction, that no link of connexion was to be discovered between them. Here, said he, is the gunpowder brought into contact with the spark, and there the explosion. What human being could foresee the adaptation of the antecedent to produce the consequent,—what eye detect the hidden power which operated from the one upon the other? Starting with such analyses as these, Brown reasoned inwards to the mind; and, having found the *reality* of power undistinguishable in the phenomena of nature, by the keenest perception we can exercise upon them, he set down the *idea* of power as a pure abstraction, under the veil of which we hide our ignorance of all which lies beyond the bare appearance of things.

How different would have been his conclusion had he begun with the soul, and reasoned outwards to the world of nature!

We turn the eye inwards, and what is the first thing of which we are conscious? Manifestly of *self*, or, in other words, *the will*,—the power of spontaneous effort and action. We raise our arm to remove an obstacle, and the change desired takes place. What do we *now* find to be involved in the phenomena? Do we say here is the movement of my arm, there the effect upon the object, and rest satisfied that the whole process is fully described? Far from it. We are conscious that we put forth *power*. The effort of the will is a thing just as real to our inner consciousness, as is the movement of the arm and its effect upon the object to our outward perception. Nay, we feel that this power was *necessary* to the result; that the arm and the obstacle would have lain in perpetual proximity without any change taking place, were not such an effort of power put forth by the mind. Here then is the true type of a cause, here the verification of the reality of power. Fraught with the instruction of this self-consciousness, we approach the wonders of nature, we gaze upon a perpetual succession of movements and changes that are ever taking place around us; and what conviction do they now suggest? Clearly this; that it is as little possible for the mere skeleton of nature which we see by the eye to start forth into activity without some unseen power or force to animate it, as it is for the arm we call our own to act without the energy of the will. The term *law* of nature in which the empiric so highly rejoices is, in truth, the abstraction by which he hides his ignorance; the term *power* of nature is that by which we express the natural and unsophisticated belief of humanity in the omnipresence of a Divine Spirit. This one idea of power contains, in fact, the elements of an undying faith in the soul and in God.

Imbued, then, with this fundamental error, Brown approached the closer investigation of the human mind. Having fortified himself by a great show of plausible reasoning, grounded upon the nature and principles of physical research, he set out with the firm impression, that power was a fiction, that the sum of all philosophy is to observe actual phenomena, and that when we have traced the laws of their succession to their highest pitch of generalisation, we have done all of which the human mind is really capable. The effect of this upon his first and fundamental view of the soul of man—the great object of intellectual science—soon became evident. Instead of regarding the mind, or as it is sometimes more expressively termed, *the me*, as holding, in itself, a spontaneous energy, he regarded it as a passive existence, subjected absolutely to certain impressions from without, and certain fixed laws of consciousness within. The phraseology by which the Scottish school had previously expressed our mental

phenomena, was little suitable to this altered point of view which he had adopted. That school had regarded the soul as a mighty energy, exerting its faculties, from the centre of its own being, upon things without; but Brown, instead of adopting the language which speaks of *intellectual and active powers*, was now induced to describe mind as a spiritual existence, exposed to external influences or fixed laws, and ever passing over into an unceasing succession of *states*, according as these influences act upon it. It is curious to run through the whole of his lectures, and see how this idea follows him like a spectre, and modifies his opinions upon every point. In his classification, for example, of mental phenomena, he sees only *external* and *internal states*; that is, the mind, like an unhappy paralytic, put into different positions by outward impulses, or internal arrangements, and obliged to remain stationless in each, until the next force comes to act upon it. With regard to our knowledge of the external world, he cannot think that the soul is able to go forth by its own activity, and seize the reality of objective existence around us; it must wait till a new set of sensations connected with the action of the muscles (of which sensations he boasts himself the discoverer) teach us the important lesson that there is veritably an objective world as well as a subjective. How the mind reasons, however, from its muscular feelings, which, *as feelings*, must be purely subjective, after all, to the world without, and how it can infer any thing *beyond* itself from a sensation *within* itself, except by the aid of some primitive belief or intuition, he does not tell. Again, attention, which is pretty generally admitted to express the power of the will over our intellectual operations, stands, in the philosophy of Brown, for a modification of sensation: it is the state of mind in which 'the increased vividness of one sensation produces a corresponding faintness of others coexisting with it.' On the same principle we find the theory of recollection, which describes it as a species of voluntary memory, wholly rejected, and the process reduced to the laws of association. In fine, whether we regard the powers of memory, of judgment, of imagination—all these various forms of our mental activity are shown to arise from those fixed laws of suggestion, to the influence of which the mind of man is subjected as absolutely as is a machine to the 'primum mobile' by which it acts. Such was the result, as we believe, the *necessary* result of the theory of causation, with which Brown entered upon his philosophical career. Once exclude the idea of power from our enumeration of the elements of successive phenomena, and all we have to do in completing a mental analysis, is simply to set down the generic changes which our minds undergo, and to define the circumstances under which they take place. From such a process the

personal consciousness of effort, must, of course, in order to save the validity of the theory on which the whole proceeds, be entirely rejected.

Perhaps, however, there is nothing more characteristic of the spirit of Brown's writings, as a whole, than the warfare in which he engaged against the perceptionalist philosophy of Dr. Reid. To oppose the levelling principles of Hume's scepticism, had been the great passion of Reid's life. Incited by this desire, he had penetrated to the very core of the evil, and found it to originate mainly in the ideal system. This system, which has been recast and republished since the days of Aristotle, in so many different forms, has retained, in every instance, one essential element, namely, that our knowledge of external objects is conveyed by some kind of inward *representation* to the mind. Reid combatted this notion by every argument which his industrious and inventive mind could supply. He showed that if we are really dependent upon such an inward representation to give us a knowledge of the objective world, we may despair of that knowledge ever possessing any certainty, to which we can safely trust. The truth of such representation, as he correctly showed, could never be verified; because the verification of it would require us to perceive the objects *unrepresented*, the possibility of which is denied by the very hypothesis itself. Reid, accordingly, took his stand upon the principle, that we have an immediate and direct perception of things without us, and that we need no inward resemblance whatever to bring them home to our consciousness.

But now our philosopher comes to play *his* part upon the stage of this great controversy. And what does he do? He begins by asserting, that the ideal system had never been held in modern times at all; that Reid had, in matter of fact, been all the while fighting with straws, and that his claims to the glory of refuting the doctrine were accordingly vain and worthless. Singular phenomenon! Here is one philosopher struggling all his life against a giant evil, which he considers to be undermining the springs of human belief; and there is another who declares, that he was fighting against a spectre of his own imagination; or at least against the ghost of a monster, which had died and been buried long ago, in the dark ages.

The explanation of this phenomenon involves the illustration of Brown's philosophical character, which we designed to bring out. First of all, we cannot but remark the great incompetency which it betrays in his knowledge of the history of metaphysical thinking. When Brown denied the existence of the ideal system in modern times, he had his eye fixed upon the effluxions of Democritus, and the phantasms of Aristotle. In this form, it is

perfectly true, the theory in question never appeared after the jargon of scholasticism died away; but it is equally true, that the representationalist hypothesis, which in every essential element is the same, lived on in all its vigour down to the period in which it met with Reid as an antagonist. Locke's theory of the understanding, for example, is built entirely upon it. In his system, inward *ideas*, as representatives of objective truth, cover the whole ground of the human consciousness; and his great effort is to shew, that they correspond accurately with their archetypes. 'It is evident,' he says, 'that the mind knows not things immediately, but by the intervention of the ideas which it has of them: our knowledge, therefore, is real only so far as there is a conformity between our ideas and the reality of things.' The idealism of Berkeley, it is well known, and the scepticism of Hume, were equally built upon the arguments which this representationalist hypothesis afforded: and if so, it must be granted that it was no shadow of a departed reality, against which Reid directed the brunt of his life's controversy.

The chief point of the matter, however, still remains; namely, that Brown himself, while he was denying the existence of the monster, which had roused the polemic ire of his predecessor, was really himself within its grasp. Like the harmless domestic creature to which common report assigns the possession of nine lives, this metaphysical hydra had crept again slily into being, and revenged itself upon its adversary by gaining over the representative of his own philosophical school. Brown himself, despite all his assertions that the ideal system was buried and forgotten, was virtually one of its most uncompromising advocates. True, he did not advocate 'films,' and 'phantasms,' and 'sensible species;' but in no work, either of ancient or modern times, is the representationalist hypothesis of human knowledge more fully asserted, and consistently maintained, than in his. While Reid asserted that our knowledge of the objective, in every act of perception, is *immediate* or intuitive, Brown asserted that we know nothing immediately, but the states and modifications of our own minds; while the former rested the validity of our knowledge upon the firm basis of consciousness itself, the latter rested it upon a mere inference drawn from those inward phenomena to which alone, he affirms, we have any immediate access.

The origin of all the misunderstandings into which our author fell upon this subject, may be traced to that same theory of causation on which we have already animadverted. Accustomed to view mind, not as a *power*, but as a succession of different states of consciousness, he had no conception of the possibility of our having any direct knowledge, beyond these inward modi-

fications, which the soul undergoes. So intent was he upon this view of the case, that he did not even perceive the fundamental difference between Reid's theory of perception and his own; much less did he imagine that the latter really involved all the principles against which Reid directed his argumentation. A more patient investigation of the subject would have shewn him that, instead of convicting Reid of a useless struggle, he must himself either give up his fundamental stand-point, or gird himself to the task of meeting the very arguments, whose significancy he had called in question.

Let it be here remarked, how marvellously different extremes of opinion on any question meet together in their results. The empiric, who starts with the principle that every sensation and idea is the copy of some external reality, soon gets involved in the inevitable consequence, that these representations form the whole limit of our mind's activity. This being the case, there is a subjective circle described, beyond which no effort of philosophy can bring us. The idealist can here step in, and, dissipating with all imaginable ease the blind trust which is reposed in the objective validity of our sense-perceptions, will force us, one by one, into the admission of all his conclusions. And thus the philosophy which takes its start from the purely sensational, ends in a course of reasoning which binds us down to the purely ideal. Meantime, truth marches on in her course, and gathers strength from the very illustrations which error itself casts around her.

But we are forgetting that it is Brown's ethical opinions to which our remarks ought to be peculiarly directed. We regret, however, the length of illustration which we have devoted to his psychological principles so much the less, because his ethical theory was necessarily influenced—nay, even *created*—by them. Brown's moral system is acknowledged, even by the most ardent admirers of his mental philosophy, to be a failure. How could it be otherwise? He failed to bring to the subject the fundamental idea upon which all true moral reasoning rests; I mean the great idea of *human freedom*.

It is not a little remarkable, at first sight, that in a course of a hundred lectures, purporting to go over the whole ground of our mental and moral phenomena, not one single page should be devoted to the direct analysis of the will. The consciousness of voluntary effort, one would have thought, was a thing so clear and so universal, that a far less analytic mind than that of Brown *must* have given it a prominent place in his enunciation. In addition to this, the Scottish school, to which he belonged, had gone so far as to make the *powers of the will* one great division of our mental phenomena; so that his very historical position

would seem to have forced the subject fully upon his attention. A little consideration, however, shews us that, according to Brown's method of viewing the human consciousness, no place could be left for what is properly designated volition. Listen to the following account of our mental constitution :—

'All the feelings and thoughts of the mind, I have already frequently repeated, are only the mind itself existing in certain states. To these successive states, our knowledge of the mind, and consequently our arrangements, which can comprehend only what we know, are necessarily limited. With this simple word *state*, I use the phrase *affection of mind* as synonymous, to express the momentary feeling whatever it be ; with this difference only, that the word affection seems to me better suited to express that momentary feeling when considered as an effect.'

And again :—

'Our states of mind, or *our affections of mind*, are the simplest terms which I can use, for expressing the *whole series of phenomena of the mind in all their diversity*, as existing phenomena, without any mixture of hypothesis as to the particular mode in which the successive changes may be supposed to arise.'

Now here is a view of mind which conceives of it as an existence subjected merely to a series of *affections*, and ever passing through a succession of states, which are each absolutely determined by certain antecedents. In this theory, what place is there for *the will*—the power of spontaneous action—that one ever abiding fact of mind which is incapable of being reduced to the ordinary laws of causation? There can be really no self-action in the question—the will becomes here absolutely synonymous with *desire*, and the whole controversy respecting its liberty or its bondage is blotted out of the page of metaphysical discussion. That there is something at first sight plausible and apparently simple in Brown's view of our mental phenomena may be readily granted; but nothing can be really more false and deceptive. It makes our consciousness to resemble a chain consisting of separate links, the one springing out of the other. Instead of this, it is like one continuous *thread*, without any division into parts, throughout the whole of which the intellect, the emotions, and the will are indissolubly woven together. The notion of transition-states is purely imaginary. There is no such transition in the soul: there are no fixed points in our being in which we can say, now I exist in one state of consciousness, and now I am passing over into another. Consciousness is a unity; the elements of which it is composed run through the whole of its being; every instant is a state and every instant is also a change; to it being and progressing are the same things, and you can no more say that this moment's state of mind is determinative of the next,

than you can divide off a stream into certain lengths and say, this piece of the current is determined by that other piece, which went before it. Strictly speaking, the mind never does exist in certain states which are called now thought, now memory, now desire, &c., it is conscious rather of an eternal unbroken state of thinking, willing, desiring,—only that sometimes one element of its being is more predominant, and sometimes another.

Brown was too acute a reasoner not to deduce his moral theory by a valid logical process, from the views he had laid down upon psychology. He looked upon the moral phenomena as *states of mind*, which must have their proper antecedents in the chain of our consciousness. A little observation sufficed to determine what the antecedents and consequents really were. Here is an action performed in our presence,—what is the consequence? A feeling of approbation. Here is another perpetrated before our eyes, and the result is a feeling of disapprobation. In the actions we see certain antecedents, in the feelings we see certain consequents. In these successive phenomena, according to Brown, the whole nature of morals, as far as we can ever comprehend them, is included. What else is there to discover? We observe the facts of the case, and we mark the laws by which those facts recur. By this we see that the very principle, which had led our philosopher, in all physical research, to interdict the inquiry,—why is it that one event is succeeded by another, or what *adaptation* has the antecedent to bring about the consequent—that very principle resisted every effort he might otherwise have made to dive deeper into the nature of moral distinctions. The consequence is, that his whole theory is not only laid open to the charge of incompetency, but involves certain inferences, which are, to say the least, very startling to our moral sensibility. According to these inferences, moral distinctions, *i. e.*, good and evil, must depend solely upon the character of our emotions. A thing which produces moral approbation is *good*,—a thing which produces moral disapprobation is *evil*. The standard of moral excellence, then, must lie simply in our own feelings; were these feelings to vary, the grounds of right and wrong must vary also; nay, if there were a being or a race so different from ourselves as to feel disapprobation where we approve, and *vice versâ*, then good would be to them evil, and evil would become good.

Another result of this method of reasoning is, that we must regard virtue as being, *per se*, a nonentity. A stone dropped from the house-top descends to the earth, and we say that it descends by the law of gravitation. A good action is committed

and it produces moral approbation in our minds: the cause of which approbation we say is the *virtue* of the action. Here, according to Brown's method of philosophising, are parallel cases. In the former case, he would say, that what we term gravitation is a mere abstraction, that the tendency of bodies to fall is a simple fact, which all may observe, but that no power or adaptation, nothing beyond the fact itself, can be said to appear in the whole phenomenon. In like manner, experience tells us that certain actions produce certain moral feelings in our minds; but to assert that they do so in consequence of the *virtue* they possess, is to turn a mere abstraction into a reality. Virtuous agents there are, but virtue there is none,—it merely expresses the relation supposed to exist between the deed we admire, and the approbation which succeeds it.

Imperfect as we regard this account of moral distinctions, yet we place it in a higher rank than those utilitarian systems, which Brown so ably and eloquently exposed. It has, at least, the merit of appealing to a species of moral sense, which of itself would guard the shrine of virtue from the abuses, to which it has so often been exposed from the hands of those, who calculate good and evil by the pains and pleasures they involve. The misfortune is, that the spirit of Brown's philosophy, did not allow him to go one step deeper, and enquire after that eternal law of right, of which our moral sensibilities are a faint reflection. Just as external phenomena not only suffice to create a sensation in the mind, but lead us to the conception of an *absolute substance*, by which all the fleeting appearances of things are upheld; so the contemplation of a right action, in addition to the personal emotion it excites, leads us to a region of moral distinctions absolute in its nature, and unchangeable in its laws. As the pure reason conducts us through the world of changing phenomena, to one of fixed and eternal *existence;* so the practical reason hurries us through the storm of our moral sensibilities, into that serene atmosphere of absolute truth, where the moral order and harmony of the universe is seen to spring from the unchangeable nature of God himself.

The evils of Brown's ethical theory, we should say, arise from its defectiveness, rather than its actual errors. There are two great problems, of which moral philosophy ought to seek the solution, namely, what is conscience and what is virtue? in other words, what are the moral elements in man, and what the law of right in the universe at large. To solve the first, we must shew, that there is a basis laid for responsibility in our free agency, that our free agency is directed by intelligence, and our intelligence stimulated by moral sensibility. Brown has pointed out the operations of the intelligence and the forms of our sen-

sibility, but of our free agency he has failed to give any satisfactory account; and without this, all moral accountability sinks into an empty name. With regard to the problem—what is virtue? Brown replies, if we may put the language of Bentham into his mouth, that it is a *fictitious entity*. Deluded by his psychological principles, he made no attempt to penetrate behind the veil of our feelings to the real world of moral truth itself; accordingly he has left behind him an ethical system, which merely plays upon the surface of the phenomena, but fails entirely to shew that our moral sentiments are grounded in the eternal nature of things themselves.

Having thus strongly expressed our views of Brown's errors and defects, it is but just that we should award him our meed of sincere admiration in those points where he is truly admirable. His wonderfully acute power of analysis, aided him in resolving many facts, which his predecessors had left unexplained. His polished and poetical mind threw a charm over every subject he undertook to discuss. His gentle nature, and loving heart, infused a warmth and tenderness into his style, which makes it peculiarly pleasing and persuasive. With such accompaniments every theory he propounds looks attractive and beautiful, his errors themselves are so charming that we would fain believe them for the loveliness of their exterior, and we are led almost insensibly into sympathy with his thoughts from the sympathy we cannot fail to have with his affections. Added to this, Brown, though not profoundly *read* in philosophical lore—yet was an eminently *learned* man in the usual acceptation of that word. His mind was stored with classical allusions, the choicest passages of our own most elegant literature were treasured up in his wonderfully retentive memory; and his knowledge of physical science was such as would have probably rendered him a discoverer in that department, had not the charms of poetry and philosophy attracted him into another sphere of mental action. All this has tended to give not only popularity, but a kind of weight and authority to his opinions upon metaphysical questions. It seemed impossible, that a mind so accomplished should wander far from the road of truth. On these grounds it is that the public has found it difficult to appreciate him aright, and for this very purpose, we have felt it to be the more needful to express as clearly as possible our dissent from many of his opinions.

The work, which has led to the preceding remarks, is a republication of Brown's lectures on Ethics and Natural Theology, with an introductory preface by Dr. Chalmers. To do the editor justice, we must say, that the Doctor has written a very lucid and impartial critique upon the subject. He has

dealt with the errors of his author, it is true, with a very gentle hand; but no less firmly has he asserted the deficiency of his system as it now stands, and the absolute necessity of completing it by studying in connexion the profounder principles of Butler, upon the objective validity of moral distinctions, and the supremacy of conscience. If the work be read and judged of under the influence of this recommendation, we trust, that it may be productive of much instruction, as we have no doubt it will afford much enjoyment to many a reflective mind. There is one point of view indeed, in which we believe that the circulation of these lectures may be eminently useful, and that is in the masterly examination they afford of all those selfish and utilitarian systems, which have played their part and deluded their votaries in modern times. Upon this subject, Brown evidently felt strongly; his own high moral sensibility could not endure to regard right and wrong under the aspect of a cold calculation of profit and loss; and he has brought all his eloquence to bear upon the refutation of opinions so derogatory to the sanctity of moral truth. Added to this, the very fact that so great and so good a man as Dr. Chalmers, has ventured to send forth these lectures at once with the cordial expression of his admiration at much they contain, and the no less cordial recommendation to all who read them, to shun their errors and supply their defects,—this very fact, we say, may be sufficient to impress the real nature of moral truth upon many minds, who might otherwise have read the lectures in other editions with unmingled admiration. In fact, we can hardly help entertaining the secret thought, that one object in bringing out the present work, was to give the public the opportunity of reading it, in connection with the remarks, which the preface contains, and of seeing the weighty authority of Brown in some points counterbalanced by the equally illustrious name of Chalmers.

In an age marked like the present by a very lamentable dearth, in sound ethical writing, we hardly know how we could supply the place of these lectures, so far as the polemical part of them is concerned, with anything better. We say nothing to depreciate the valuable disquisitions of Payne and Wardlaw upon moral truth, nor the admirable work of the lamented Spalding; we would rather entreat the ethical student first to peruse the masterly analysis which he will find in Brown, of the different systems, and then turn to the other writers we have mentioned, to supply the remaining deficiencies. Everything around us seems to impress the conviction, that in philosophy and morals, as well as in many other departments of thought, an enlightened eclecticism must be our guide. Let mind still continue to act upon mind: instead of condemning a man for

his intellectual errors, let us shew how they may be corrected by the sounder thinking of another, or the vigorous efforts of his own understanding; let the principle of labour by association be carried into the spiritual republic, and we have no fear of the result. It is only the weak and sickly understanding which trembles at beholding the wanderings of honest minds in the search after truth; the man who loves truth itself more than a system or a school, and has an unshaking confidence in its power, will see it gaining strength at every turn, and rejoice in the very controversies which, sweeping like storms through the stagnant atmosphere, render it only more clear and more pervious to the glorious light of heaven.

Art. IV.—*Observations in Natural History: with an introduction on Habits of Observing, as connected with the Study of that Science. Also a Calendar of Periodic Phenomena in Natural History; with remarks on the importance of such Registers.* By the Rev. Leonard Jenyns, M.A., F.L.S., etc. 8vo. pp. 440. London: John Van Voorst, 1846.

MR. JENYNS in the present volume has contributed to natural science the result of his observations, commencing, when he was 'yet warm with the ardour inspired by a first perusal of White's own work,' and extending over a period of several years. His original intention was to publish the facts he had collected in the form of notes to a new edition of the *Natural History of Selborne,* but in consequence of the quantity of his materials, he found it necessary to embody them in a separate volume. We think that in doing so he has exercised a sound judgment. The system of overloading popular scientific works with editorial notes, and comments is, in many respects, objectionable. If a writer has really anything of value to communicate to the public, he had far better give it an independent existence, than seek to force it into notice, and probably consign it into oblivion, under the halo of another's reputation. The editorial system is alike unjust to himself and to his author. White's *Selborne* requires few notes either illustrative or emendatory. We like to read it as he left it. It is just what it professes to be—a simple record of his own observations within a particular district. And, therefore, with every respect to his numerous editors, we can only say that if we are to be favoured with a record of their experience, we prefer having it in *their own* pages and not in his.

Most field-naturalists have it in their power to make valuable contributions to their favourite science, and we always gladly welcome such, when they appear in a form similar to that adopted by Mr. Jenyns in the present instance. His work is a favorable specimen of the class. It makes a very readable book. His position as a country clergyman has afforded him excellent opportunities of investigating natural objects, and many of the facts which he has recorded are highly interesting. He already ranks high as a scientific naturalist, and the present work proves him to be a diligent and accurate observer. Still there are some particulars recorded in his pages of such trifling importance that they might have been safely omitted, and a considerable portion of the volume might, in our opinion, have been condensed with advantage. We wish, too, that a cheaper style of publication had been adopted. We have no sympathy with large type and leaded lines and blank spaces. By a judicious 'getting up' the bulk and price of the volume might have been reduced at least one half, and in that case we should have been spared the necessity of saying, that we think the money devoted to its purchase might, in this age of cheap literature, be better expended.

Mr. Jenyns opens his work with an essay on 'Habits of Observing.' Our readers are no doubt familiar with Mrs. Barbauld's tale entitled '*Eyes and no Eyes*,' and the lessons it teaches might be applied to a large section of mankind. It is astonishing how circumscribed is the knowledge which most persons have of the commonest objects by which they are surrounded. They may walk through the fields, or wander in the woods, but the varied notes of the birds strike on dull ears, and the eye fails to notice the opening blossom or the spangled insect. The study of natural history is nothing more than the exercise of our senses. It is simply to use our sight, our hearing, and our smell. If we examine the petals of a flower, the structure of an animal, or mark the transformations of a butterfly, we are to that extent naturalists. It is not necessary that we should enter into recondite questions of specific arrangements, or burden our memories with puzzling technicalities,—all these may be well in their place, but the study of nature may exist without them. Nor are we required to devote large portions of our time in order to derive enjoyment from natural history. The most pleasing departments of the science are the most easily accessible. In this, as in most other things, there are extremes on both sides. We meet with some men who have 'no eyes,' who stupidly deny themselves the gratification for which God has so exquisitely adapted their senses, and with others whose microscopical powers of vision

search into the most insignificant matters, and who devote months and years to a patient, but almost profitless enquiry.

We consider natural history, then, rather in the light of a recreation than of a study. And whilst we think that a life entirely devoted to it might be more usefully spent, we are convinced that there are very few persons who might not pay *some* attention to the pursuit with advantage and enjoyment. To those resident in the country, natural history offers especial inducements, not only as a means of amusement, but because they may obtain, by careful observation, practical knowledge of considerable value. Serious injury often arises to agriculturists from their ignorance of the habits of common species. Certain kinds of birds, for instance, are frequently destroyed in places where their preservation would be beneficial. And the ravages of insects are suffered to a great extent, when probably a little information respecting them, might suggest means for eradicating the evil. Mr. Jenyns has some remarks on this subject:—

'It is to be regretted,' he observes, 'that the study of noxious insects is not more attended to by practical agriculturists. It is often such persons alone who can supply the facts necessary for clearing up their history. And the extent to which they suffer in their crops from the attacks of different species in certain seasons, one might have supposed a sufficient motive for undertaking the inquiry. Something has been done of late years in this way; but a vast deal more of investigation is needed to put us in the way of successfully counteracting these enemies, so as to prevent the immense damage they occasion. They may appear puny and insignificant when viewed singly; but, in their combined operations, they are often more destructive and alarming than other animals infinitely superior to them in size, and ranking far higher in the scale of nature.'—pp. 245, 246.

The perceptive faculties, like every other, derive accuracy and power from exercise. When the habit of observation has been acquired, it is astonishing how many objects of interest strike the senses that would have been otherwise unnoticed. To the observer, it is like a new creation; and barren spots, which formerly appeared destitute of life, are now seen to possess multitudes of active inhabitants.

The exercise of our perceptive faculties can scarcely fail to impress us with the fact that this earth is full of happy beings. The miseries of man, the offspring of his own perverse disobedience to the benevolent administration of God, stand out as the only blot upon the face of creation. In every other direction, there seems to be 'the greatest possible happiness to the greatest possible number.' The minutest organism, whose existence can only be reckoned by seconds, sports in its tiny

world and has its joy. As we ascend higher in the scale of animated beings, the capabilities of pleasurable sensations are developed, and receive ample gratification. As Paley says in his chapter on the 'Goodness of the Deity,'—'*It is a happy world after all.* The air, the earth, and the water, teem with delighted existence.' And he illustrates this statement by telling us that, 'walking by the sea-side in a calm evening, upon a sandy shore, and with an ebbing tide, he had frequently remarked the appearance of a dark cloud, or rather, very thick mist hanging over the edge of the water to the height, perhaps, of half a yard, and of the breadth of two or three yards, stretching along the coast as far as the eye could reach, and always retiring with the water. When this cloud came to be examined, it proved to be nothing else than so much space, filled with young *shrimps*, in the act of bounding into the air from the shallow margin of the water, or from the wet sand. If any motion of a mute animal could express delight, it was this; if they had meant to make signs of their happiness, they could not have done it more intelligibly. Suppose then, what I have no doubt of, each individual of this number to be in a state of positive enjoyment; what a sum collectively of gratification and pleasure have we here before our view!'—(*Natural Theology.*)

It is utterly impossible for the mind to form anything like an adequate conception of the vast multitudes of beings which may thus be discovered enjoying life, under varied circumstances, in every portion of this world's surface. If we confine our attention to a single and very limited district, we shall be surprised to find how great a variety of species it contains. And if we continue our investigations in the same spot, for a succession of years, we shall discover, as was the case with Gilbert White, at Selborne, that the store is exhaustless, and that 'new occurrences still arise as long as any inquiries are kept alive.'—(*Letter* 49, *to Barrington.*) St. Pierre, in his *Studies of Nature*, says:—'One day, in summer, while I was busied in the arrangement of some observations which I had made, I perceived on a strawberry plant, which had been accidentally placed in my window, some small winged insects, so very beautiful, that I took a fancy to describe them. Next day, a different sort appeared, which I proceeded likewise to describe. In the course of three weeks no less than thirty-seven species, totally distinct, had visited my strawberry plant: at length, they came in such crowds, and presented such variety, that I was constrained to relinquish this study, though highly amusing, for want of leisure.'

The irregular appearance of species in certain localities, or in singular situations, and the occasional abundance of some of the

rarer kinds, are very strange, and often inexplicable occurrences.

'Few things,' says Mr. Jenyns, 'are more remarkable in natural history than the sudden appearance of species, in great plenty, in places in which they had been previously unknown. This has often been observed amongst insects, but such an occurrence is not confined to that class of animals: it happens not unfrequently with animals of other classes. I have twice especially had my attention called to this circumstance in the case of the fresh-water mollusks. The first instance occurred in 1822. During the spring and summer of that year, some small pits in this parish, the bottom of which consists of a gravelly clay, and which are generally full of water, but sometimes dry, swarmed with *limneus glutinosus* to such an extent that the shells might be scooped out by hand-fulls: in some places, if a bucket had been lowered into the water, it might have been drawn up half full with them. Many other species of *mollusca* were in company with the above *limneus;* but this species was the most abundant, and, from the circumstance of its being usually accounted rare, the most interesting of all. Many of the specimens were large, much exceeding in size any I have seen in collections. These shells, however, did not prevail in any great numbers after that year. A few continued to show themselves for three or four seasons, but they gradually disappeared; and now many years have elapsed since I noticed even a single individual.'—pp. 318, 319.

The second case which Mr. Jenyns has observed of the sudden appearance of a fresh-water mollusk, is even more singular than the former. It occurred in the month of February, 1825.

'The early part of that month had been very wet, causing the water to stagnate in large puddles in several parts of the park at Bottisham Hall, but which parts are not usually flooded, though sometimes a little swampy. Happening shortly afterwards to cross the park with a shell-net in hand, I immersed it into one of these puddles casually as I passed, when, to my surprise, I drew it out full of the *aplexus hypnorum*, a species which I had not at that time taken before in Cambridgeshire, though I have since met with it in one or two places. *In this puddle the shells were collected in immense quantities, whilst none of the other puddles contained one.* The shells were of various sizes, though none were full-grown. It were almost vain to speculate as to how they came there. Even supposing that the spawn had been dormant in the soil, or conveyed there in any way the imagination can suggest, still, how could the shells have acquired so rapid a growth in the short time the water had been standing in that spot? The puddle was scarcely more than three feet by two across; it had not been in existence above a fortnight at longest; it was only a few inches deep; and half-a-dozen fine days would have been sufficient to lay it dry again. Such, in fact,

proved to be the case before the month had expired, and *the species has not been observed since in that locality.*'—pp. 319, 320.

Certain species of insects occasionally are seen in immense swarms for a few days, and then entirely disappear. An instance of this occurred in one of the upper rooms of the Provost's Lodge in King's College, Cambridge, in September 1831, when a small fly belonging to the genus *Chlorops* appeared suddenly in such vast quantities as almost to exceed belief. Mr. Jenyns visited Cambridge about a fortnight after their first appearance, and although their numbers had been, in the interval, considerably thinned, he found them still in 'immense profusion,' and he was assured that in the first instance the greater part of the ceiling towards the window of the room was so thickly covered as not to be visible.

Mr. Jenyns gives the following account of a remarkable swarm of *Aphides*, which he observed on October 3rd, 1822:—

'This morning on rising we found the air completely choked with *aphides*. The steps of the house-door, and even the very walls, were black with them. On walking out, myriads alighted upon one's clothes; and getting into one's eyes, and nose, proved an intolerable nuisance. In the middle of the day I took a circuit of about three or four miles from home, but found the quantities of these insects the same wherever I went. A friend, too, who arrived from Cambridge, distant about eight miles off, assured us they were in equal plenty there. Where could these prodigious multitudes come from, and whither where they directing their flight? Such questions are easier asked than answered. It is worth noting, that the day was particularly mild and calm for the time of year, and had begun with a fast mizzling rain, which lasted for a considerable part of the morning. At four p.m. the thermometer was as high as 64 degrees. The wind was easterly, and had blown steadily from that quarter for three or four days previous.'—p. 283.

Gilbert White records a similar swarm of *Aphides* at Selborne, on August 1, 1785, and mentions that the wind was 'all the day in the *easterly* quarter.' The agreement of this with Mr. Jenyns's observation, seems to suggest the probability that the phenomenon is in some way connected with an easterly wind. It may perhaps, however, be nothing more than a coincidence. We remember a similar visitation of these insects in the south of Lancashire, during the year 1834, but unfortunately have no memorandum of the direction of the wind during the occurrence. The countless myriads of *aphides* which filled the air for miles, on the occasion referred to, far exceeded anything we could have imagined, or have since witnessed.

In the 'Naturalist's Calendar,' White mentions the swarms

of gnats which are sometimes seen in the fens of the Isle of Ely, and which bear, from their density, a considerable resemblance to clouds of smoke. Mr. Jenyns informs us, that in the autumn of 1843, one of these clouds of minute insects was seen rising from the top of the west tower of Ely Cathedral, and the appearance was so much like smoke that an alarm was raised, under the idea that the cathedral was on fire. Nor was it until some men had ascended to the top of the building that the cause of this curious deception was satisfactorily ascertained.

If we find it difficult to suggest a satisfactory explanation of the irregular appearance of such vast numbers of certain species, it is sometimes not much less difficult to account for the occurrence of single specimens in peculiar localities. Thus Mr. Jenyns mentions that a single specimen of the Pomeranian bream (*abramis buggenhagii*) a large and rare kind of fish, was met with in the water in the park at Bottisham Hall. It was the first, and has hitherto been the only, specimen that has occurred in that locality, although often sought for. Mr. Jenyns justly regards this as rather a 'puzzling' circumstance, but suggests that the bream may possibly have been introduced into the water, when very young, with other small fish of the common kinds as food for the pike; still a difficulty remains, as in the neighbouring river, from whence the small fishes are taken, the Pomeranian bream has never been met with, although the river has been constantly fished in, and even carefully dragged with nets with a view of ascertaining what species inhabit it. It is rather curious that the only three specimens of the Pomeranian bream which have been found in this country have occurred, singly, in localities considerably apart. The first was procured from Dagenham Breach in Essex, the second was the individual above referred to, and the last one has recently been received by Mr. Yarrell from Wolverhampton.

Mr. Jenyns records the capture of two immense specimens of the sharp-nosed eel (*anguilla acutirostris*) in a drain near Wisbeach. One of them weighed twenty-eight pounds, and the other twenty-two pounds. The length of each was upwards of six feet, and their girth equalled that of a man's leg. These enormous creatures were the sole inhabitants of the drain, no other fish of any kind having been found with them. Their stuffed skins were for some years exhibited, in a fish-monger's shop, to the wondering gaze of the inhabitants of Cambridge.

Leaving these irregular occurrences in natural history, we shall now proceed to notice some of the more regular phenomena. Mr. Jenyns being desirous of knowing the exact time at which the different species of birds commence singing on a fine summer's morning, took means to gratify his curiosity on

the mornings of July 17, 1826, July 4, 1843, and June 13, 1845. The results of his observations on each occasion are given in a tabular form, and the regularity which the little songsters displayed in their hours of rising is very remarkable. Mr. Jenyns observes, that—

'On comparing the tables, it will be seen that on all three occasions the skylark was the earliest of our song-birds, strictly so called, heard actually singing. It commences about two o'clock, which, in the first of the above instances, would be very nearly two hours before sunrise:—

'Up springs the lark,
Shrill-voic'd and loud, the messenger of morn;
Ere yet the shadows fly, he mounted sings
Amid the dawning clouds, and from their haunts
Calls up the tuneful nations.'

'This fact is worth noting, because Dr. Jenner has denied that the lark is entitled to the credit of this precedency, giving it to the redbreast. The redbreast is undoubtedly an early bird, but it is not, usually, even the next after the skylark. In two of the above instances, though heard chirping, it was not heard to sing at all. This may have been accidental; but in the third instance it was not heard until after the blackbird, and not till nearly half an hour after the lark. The earliest species, in general, after the lark, appear to be the thrush, the swallow, the blackbird, and the yellow-hammer. The blackbird I have repeatedly noted on various occasions to commence about ten minutes after the thrush, as in the first two of the above instances; though in the third of these instances the blackbird was heard first. The yellow-hammer is remarkable for its great regularity in keeping to a given hour, which, during the height of summer, is three o'clock, a few minutes before or after. This species is followed generally by the chaffinch. The linnet, greenfinch, and wren appear to be among the later birds, and are seldom heard till near four o'clock, if not after that hour, though the last is earlier sometimes than others.'—pp. 98, 99.

Although the lark takes the precedence of all other songbirds, and may justly be distinguished as 'the messenger of morn,' the crowing of the cock is still earlier. On the third occasion noted by Mr. Jenyns, the cock's crow was heard at one hour fifty-one minutes A. M. The lark commenced its song seven minutes later. Amongst the laggards is the wren, which, for so sprightly a little bird, is remarkably lazy. It makes up, however, for its late rising, by singing throughout the year. The thrush is not only one of the earliest birds, but is often the latest songster. It commences at about half-past two in the morning, and, on a summer's eve, its fine notes may be heard long after sun-set. Mr. Jenyns records an instance of its singing, during the first week in July, as late as twenty minutes

past nine, P. M. White, in his first letter to Mr. Daines Barrington, gives a list of birds that sing in the night, which includes only the nightingale, wood-lark, and lesser reed-sparrow. In addition to these, the cuckoo is frequently a night songster; and Mr. Jenyns mentions, that, on the 30th of April, 1843, he heard a hedge accentor singing after midnight. This, however, can only be regarded as a very unusual occurrence, and by no means a habit of the species.

The pugnacious disposition of the redbreast is pretty generally known. But our readers would scarcely imagine that so gentle a bird is capable of the violent passion which the following instances display. The facts were communicated to Mr. Jenyns by Mr. Selby, of Twizell House.

'A redbreast had for some time taken up its abode in a hothouse, from which it had egress at pleasure. One day, when the gardener was in the house, another redbreast found his way in; but he had no sooner made his appearance than he was furiously attacked by the usual tenant, and soon shewed that he had the worst of the combat; so severely was he treated, that he was taken up by the gardener, and held in his hand, where he lay struggling and panting for breath. The victor, however, was not thus to be deterred from further wreaking his vengeance upon the intruder. He boldly flew, and alighted on the hand of the gardener; and forthwith proceeded to peck the head of his victim, and buffet him in such a manner that he would soon have put him *hors de combat*, had not the gardener carried him out, and turned him off at some distance from the building.

'Mr. Selby mentions another instance, in which a most determined battle was fought between two redbreasts, who were so engrossed with the combat, that they allowed themselves to be twice taken up and separated by a person witnessing it. The occupation of a shed seemed to be the object of dispute.'—pp. 129, 130.

Those of our readers who are bee fanciers will be interested in knowing a fact which Mr. Jenyns communicates, that dahlia blossoms are destructive of bees. There is some poisonous quality in the flowers which intoxicates these insects, and generally kills them. A writer in the 'Gardener's Chronicle,' who had been a successful keeper of bees, on rather a large scale, having had upwards of twenty hives yearly, commenced growing dahlias in his garden, and he states that, in consequence, the bees speedily declined, until at length he had to give them up altogether.

Mr. Jenyns concludes his volume by 'Remarks on the Importance of Registers of Periodic Phenomena in Natural History,' and illustrates his views by appending a very full calendar of his own observations in the neighbourhood of Swaffham Bulbeck. We confess ourselves unable to perceive all the im-

portant advantages which Mr. Jenyns attaches to such registers; but to those who sympathise with his views, and are willing to devote the necessary time and attention to the matter, the calendar which he has given will be found a very excellent guide for their direction.

Art. V.—*Sermons occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Hugh Heugh, D.D.. by James Taylor, D.D., John Brown. D.D., and Ralph Wardlaw, D.D.: with Address, before the Interment, by James Harper, D.D.* Glasgow: David Robertson; London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1846.

THESE discourses are an affectionate and eloquent memorial of a deceased servant of Christ, who for a long period occupied a lofty position, and filled a wide and enlarging sphere of usefulness in the United Secession Church. His labours, however, were not confined to his own denomination. His name was associated with the advocacy of Christian truth and liberty throughout the kingdom. An attempt to sketch his life and character will, we have no doubt, be interesting to all who knew him—to all who honour the memory of one who with unwearied energy and cordial sincerity 'served his own generation by the will of God.'

Dr. Heugh was born at Stirling, on the 12th of August, 1782, and died in Glasgow on the 10th of June, 1846. The records of his early life have, perhaps, not more than the usual interest which belongs to the scenes of boyhood and adolescence. In all departments of early training he proved himself an apt and willing student—won the approbation of his teachers, and the affection and esteem of his fellow pupils. The distinctive features of his juvenile character were quickness of apprehension, sprightly vigour of intellect, uncommon ardour and elasticity of temperament. Time only ripened and developed these germs; and the culture he enjoyed from able teachers, both at the Grammar School, College, and Divinity Hall, was exceedingly auspicious to the growth and confirmation of these natural gifts. Above all, he had early acquired habits which never allowed him to trifle with any task he undertook. Whatever he did, he did 'with his might.' His whole soul was always given to any study which required mental application—to any enterprise which demanded zeal or activity. His was ever 'life in earnest.' The fervour of youth was not quelled by the gravity of age; it was only kept from wasting its exuberance in foliage and blossoms.

Dr. Heugh does not appear to have cherished a marked predilection for any special branch of his youthful studies. His scholarship was respectable, and though it did not reach to a varied or extensive erudition, it was ample enough for all the purposes to which its possessor applied it. Acquaintance with classic literature was not cultivated by him in riper years. He felt more interest in the gods of Tahiti—in their history, worship, and overthrow—than in the divinities of Greece and Rome, with their magnificent temples, statues, and altars. Heathenism in the pages of Williams or Moffat was to him a more attractive study than in the pages of Horace or Pindar. The prelections of Dugald Stewart did not woo him far into metaphysical researches—did not inoculate him with any decided taste for psychological investigations. Perhaps they accomplished what for him was a more desirable result. They were models of simple statement, natural arrangement, luminous argument, nervous style, and elegant elocution, and seem to have left an indelible impression on the mind of Dr. Heugh—such an impression as led him in his preparatory course not only to admire and imitate these coveted qualities of thought and diction, but also, in due time, to exemplify them in his public discourses. Still, though he was conversant to some extent with the chief works of the Scottish metaphysicians, his mind was essentially of a practical cast. His power was felt more in following out the actual, than in theorising on the abstract. It was not the mind of man as a spiritual creature, in its faculties, laws, and tendencies, but the mind of man filled with darkness, oppressed with sin, and estranged from God, that he had made his peculiar study, and with which he was eminently fitted to deal. It was not the human heart in its emotions, habits, and susceptibilities, that he laboured to understand, but he toiled to know so as to overcome its enmity to goodness, its alienation from its Maker, its reluctance to a free salvation, and its instinctive love of false refuges. It was not man as a creature, but man as a sinner, that he made the daily object of his contemplation. All his studies had a practical bearing upon the best interests of his race. He cared not for mere accomplishment; and when he did indulge in speculation—when his mind took a flight into the spiritual empyrean, it was not like the lark that soars and sings, and returns empty, but like the bird of prey that ascends only that he may pounce upon his spoil, and bear it back with him to his resting-place. Dr. Heugh's mind was improved more by observation, than by reading. He possessed a shrewd penetration, had a keen discernment of men and things. The living race of men before his eyes were, in their various actings and combinations, studied with continued anxiety, and their motives

and history were divined with a rare and practised sagacity. Originality of thought, in the highest sense of the word, Dr. Heugh had not, and he did not covet it. He made the best use of ordinary truths. But he possessed, in no small degree, originality of conception in reference to the best modes of doing good —of drawing out the energies of the church—of accomplishing the vast enterprise of the world's regeneration. His plans were sometimes novel, yet not Utopian, the result of bold, but calm calculation. 'His great strength lay' in the organization and prosecution of such schemes of Christian philanthropy. His heart was right, and, as Howe says of Clarkson, 'he lived here, as one who had no other business on earth, but to help in making it better.'

The early manifestation of religious principle in Dr. Heugh was another index of his subsequent life. His spiritual experience varied little in nature from its first characteristics. According to his own testimony on his death-bed, it was in youth, what it was in age, calm, lowly, confiding, and happy—ever affording strength for the discharge of duty, and patience for the endurance of trial. It began not in terror and agony, the dark cloud seems never to have rested upon it, and at last the shadow of death did not eclipse it. Its gladness might not soar into extasy, but its humility never darkened into despair. The raptures of a brilliant imagination that 'mounts up with wings as eagles' did not belong to it; but the truth as it is in Jesus clearly understood and cordially embraced, gave it that serene and noble vigour, that 'runs and is not weary, that walks and is not faint.' It was inwrought with his oldest reminiscences, and growing up with his opening mind, filled his expanding prospect, and tinged with its own lovely hues all his preparatory studies. 'Those that be planted in the house of the Lord, shall flourish in the courts of our God; they shall still bring forth fruit in old age.' Dr. Heugh seems never to have indulged in any morbid anatomy of his spiritual states. Self-examination was indeed a constant work, but it ended neither in melancholy nor spiritual pride. He knew in whom he had believed. His vigorous faith was clothed upon with works. Walking with God, he wrought with God. Striving to be good, he also laboured to do good. That luxurious indolence which wraps itself up in a selfish enjoyment of spiritual repose, and exhausts its little effort in saying, 'it is good to be here,' was foreign to his nature. His ambition was to be like him who 'went about doing good.' He cherished this spirit in himself, and was ever toiling to infuse it into others. 'Steadfast and unmoveable' in his own spiritual consciousness, he 'alway abounded in the work of the Lord.'

It is a rare and remarkable fact, that the father, grandfather, and one of the great grandfathers of Dr. Heugh were ministers of the gospel. He was thus of the family of Levi—of the house of Aaron. Three of these ancestors belonged to the national church, and died before the period of the Secession. Dr. Heugh's father, the Rev. John Heugh, for some time tutor in logic and metaphysics at Abernethy, in the academy of the early seceders, and afterwards for fifty-six years pastor of one of the seceding churches in Stirling, was a man in many respects beyond his age. His mind was liberal and his heart was set upon the improvement of the ministry in the sect to which he belonged. The style of preaching in Scotland about that period was very often tedious and scholastic, while the tone of delivery was a drawling monotony. Mr. Heugh, of Stirling, in 1761, brought an overture before the Secession synod, which was so highly approved of, as to be adopted and published under the name of an 'Act anent preaching.' In this document (Mr. Heugh's own language being employed), 'preachers are warned against an affected pedantry of style and pronunciation, and against all such meanness and impropriety of language as hath a tendency to bring discredit on the gospel: as also, against using technical, philosophical, and learned terms that are not generally understood.' The instruction and example of such a sire must have had no little influence on the susceptible mind of his son, who not only spent the first twenty years of his life chiefly under the paternal roof, but was associated in the ministry with his father over the congregation at Stirling for four years. The spirit of Elijah descended on his successor. Dr. Heugh's pastorate in Stirling lasted for about fifteen years, and there he laid the foundation both of future eminence and fame. The sphere of his labour in Stirling was not wide, but it accustomed him to those modes of study, those habits of punctuality, those facilities of public address, which gave such value and reputation to his life and ministry in Glasgow. He had three invitations—calls as they are termed north of the Tweed—ere he was ordained at Stirling, and during his ministry there, he was called once to Edinburgh, but refused the invitation, and three times was he called by the congregation in Glasgow, ere he felt it his duty to accede to their wishes, or the synod which in those days had supreme power in such cases, and gave ultimate judgment in them,—decreed his removal to the western metropolis. He was the first pastor of the congregation in Glasgow, but it grew rapidly* under his prosperous

* More than 300 persons applied for admission to the church at the first communion which he dispensed; 80 of whom only were at that time, after a cautious scrutiny, admitted.

ministry, and is now in no respect second to any in the denomination with which it is connected. The last twenty-five years of Dr. Heugh's life were thus spent in a large and populous city, and in the midst of a numerous and attached flock, who to relieve him from a portion of his labour, agreed, about two years ago, to give him a colleague. Accordingly, in the beginning of the present year he received one, the Rev. Dr. Taylor, whom he welcomed with unbounded confidence and affection. But he was not permitted to labour long with his fellow-helper. The Head of the church graciously permitted him only to introduce the junior minister to his people. He preached but once after Dr. Taylor's induction to the congregation, was once with him in the session, once in the prayer-meeting, once in a diet of visitation, once in a meeting of presbytery, once in waiting upon the sick, once in the dispensation of the Lord's Supper. These incidents are very striking. He was favoured to introduce his colleague into all the departments of pastoral duties—only waited to see him initiated—only tarried to behold the work committed to his hands, and then left the scenes of the outer court and ascended to the honours and enjoyments of the inner sanctuary. His death was peaceful; his mind never lost its calm confidence. The following extract from the sermon, preached on the occasion of Dr. Heugh's death, by Dr. Brown, will illustrate both pleasingly and fully the statement we have made:

'On the 7th, which was Sabbath, he said to me,* 'I have just been telling your mother that the ground of my peace is not myself, or any thing about myself, but entirely Jesus, and his sure promise to me.' In a little, he said, 'There is no peace but in him, but in him is great peace.' He said also, 'I desire to suffer whatever is allotted to me; but I think it will not be more than two or three days ere I see Jesus.' On Sabbath night he said, 'Oh, I have been wondrously exempt from trials, and loaded with mercies! Every day might have brought evil, merited evil, but it never came.' When his usefulness was mentioned as a ground of comfort, he said, 'That is a temptation to be guarded against; it is not I that did it, but Christ.' He also said, 'There is nothing I feel more than the criminality of not trusting Christ without doubt—without doubt.'

'On Monday evening he was heard saying in his sleep, 'There is not the slightest doubt that Christ will give me his own strength to do his own work.' On Tuesday morning, awaking about two o'clock from a long, sweet sleep, he said, 'Such a night as I have had; such a night of peace!' I said, 'What were you thinking of?' He said, 'Just of Christ—just trusting—just trusting.' He added, 'Oh, to think what Christ is, what he did, and whom he did it for, and *then* not to believe him, not to trust him! There is no wickedness like the wickedness of unbelief.' He said again, in a little while,

* A member of his own family.

'Early in the course of my religious profession, I was convinced that I must implicitly trust Christ, and when I had wicked doubts and misgivings, I went constantly to himself, and, 'Lord help my unbelief, Lord increase my faith,' was my prayer. I prayed always to him to help mine unbelief, till he helped it away, so that I might get entire trust; and I got it, and I have it *now*. If I had a million souls I would entrust them all to him.'

'During the Tuesday evening, his last night on earth, he dwelt on the thought, 'Commit all to Christ.' On being asked if this was his last message, he said, 'Yes, my last message; but I cannot now distinguish and enlarge. If you had a thousand souls, give them all to Christ. Don't let difficulties hinder you; you must never mind difficulties. Now,' he added, after a pause, 'that is a relief.' On being asked if it was a relief to be able to say these things? 'Yes,' he instantly replied, 'and to *do* them.' After a short time, he repeated, speaking with the utmost difficulty, but with great solemnity, and with all the energy he could command, 'We must have our loins girt, and our lights burning, and be like those who wait for the coming of their Lord.' He repeated four times, 'Whosoever believeth on him shall not perish, but have everlasting life.' There are many testimonies in the gospel, but the outline of them all is just this: 'Whosoever believeth on him shall not perish, but have everlasting life.' This is the whole gospel.'

The term of Dr. Heugh's ministry in Glasgow was eminently prosperous. He was a diligent, faithful, and successful pastor. His time was wholly taken up with public and private duties. His people were his care, his 'joy, and crown of rejoicing.' His mind was ever teeming with plans for their welfare—for the eduction of their liberality in the best of causes. As a preacher he enjoyed a very large share of popularity. His demeanour in the pulpit was calm and dignified, his action solemn and graceful, his enunciation distinct and pleasing. His delivery was ever accompanied with that gravity and warmth which became one who prays men 'in Christ's stead.' His personal appearance aided his manly and animated elocution. He took a clear, succinct view of his subject, selected its most prominent ideas, surrounded them with apt and homely illustrations, and gradually brought them to bear on the duties, relations, circumstances, and prospects of his audience. Flights of oratory for mere embellishment, scenes of pathos created for mere impression, he never attempted. All was easy and natural; the plainest truth came from his lips with striking solemnity. The popularity of his preaching was not its deep grasp, original illustration, striking remark, laboured argument, or vehement appeal, but its plain statement and lucid reasoning, imbued with deep and unaffected earnestness, clothed in simple and forcible language, and delivered with easy, elegant, and impressive

dignity. He never dazzled or surprised. The light he diffused was clear and sunlike, such as refreshed and directed the spiritual vision; and the wonder his hearers felt was, that they had not before apprehended the plainness and felt the power of such truths as were brought before them,—truths that now appeared so scriptural in their basis, so reasonable in themselves, so important in their bearing, so harmonious in their aspects, so practical in their results. His was useful preaching, for it always afforded instruction and excitement. It was not exclusively of one cast or character. It always connected faith and practice, creed and experience. His expositions of scripture were prepared with conscientious fidelity, and he laboured to give them a resemblance to scripture itself—to make them 'profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.' Dr. Heugh's style, which appeared so pleasing, when spoken in his own silvery tones, was not so attractive when read in a printed discourse, yet it was always clear; no one could mistake its meaning. No haze rested upon its paragraphs, and though it had not the beauty and polish of classic refinement, it was good, hearty, correct English. Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth spake.

The amount of pastoral duty done by Dr. Heugh was incredibly great. Few have excelled him in this department. His visitation of his large flock was incessant. Amidst numerous and pressing avocations, demanding no small portion of his time, and requiring frequent absences from home—frequent appearances on the platform, and attendance upon various committees—he sometimes, in the course of one year, visited nearly all the households of his people, when the membership of his church numbered about twelve hundred. The young had an especial share in his labour, and students preparing for the ministry ever found in him a friend and father. Especially was he successful in developing the resources of his people, in raising among them the standard of liberality, so that their 'zeal provoked very many.' Dr. Heugh's labours in this province of ministerial duty have in their benign influences been felt over the breadth of the churches. He led the way and set the example. His congregation showed themselves ready to every good work, and their pastor regularly devoted one-tenth part of his income to causes of common charity or Christian benevolence. The entire Secession Church is now working out the schemes which he was mainly instrumental in commencing and forwarding. Dr. Brown says, page 73, 'We should have a very inadequate idea of your late minister's labours since he came to this city, were we to think only of the discharge of his duties to you. In all the public business of his own denomination he

took an active part. Some of the most important improvements originated in his suggestions, and were carried into effect through his exertions; and of every one of them he was the wise, zealous, laborious promoter. It is a testimony to which, we believe, his brethren will readily respond, that to no one individual has the Secession Church been more indebted for the success which has attended its Home and Foreign Missions, and its benevolent schemes for sustaining weak congregations, and adding to the income of inadequately supported ministers. His exertions in the ecclesiastical courts and from the press were mainly instrumental in saving the denomination from shipwreck in that stormy sea of doctrinal discussion from which it has just escaped, without sacrifice of principle, and with the least possible loss of numbers. At what a cost this was done to himself will not be known till the judgment-day. But his Master will take care that he shall be no loser.'

The labours of Dr. Heugh were not confined to the interests of his own denomination. His heart was imbued with a catholic charity. Whatever advanced the interests of humanity had a share in his toils and anxieties. In the advocacy of anti-slavery principles he bore a useful and prominent part. His pleadings on behalf of the fettered negro were both frequent and powerful. His latest public appearances were on behalf of free trade and the abolition of the corn laws. Immense crowds hung upon his lips, and his fellow-citizens felt proud of his oration in the presence of those distinguished English visitors, who had come to address them. He charmed Messrs. Cobden and Bright with the ease, power, and fire, of his remarks.

Especially of late years, he stood out with peculiar prominence in his assertion and vindication of the voluntary principle. Few enterprises have ever met with more determined opposition, with more malignant hostility, than the formation of voluntary church societies. The dissenters of Scotland had gradually come to the conviction that it was their duty, not only to protest against the tyranny of an establishment, but against its very existence. What its friends palliated as its abuses, dissenters believed to be its legitimate fruits. They came to the decided belief that the civil establishment of religion was an anti-scriptural institute, unjust in its claims, inimical to the rights of conscience, and injurious to the interests of Christianity. The Establishment in their country was presented to them in its poorest, and therefore in its purest form, nevertheless, they saw enough to convince them of its anti-christian nature and tendency. Their minds had been enlightened by the publications of Ballantyne and Marshall, but the cause was advanced principally, if not altogether, by the ad-

dresses of such men as Heugh, Wardlaw, and Brown, with hosts of able, willing, and eloquent co-adjutors. Many and virulent were the attacks on the leaders in the controversy. The establishment discharged the vials of its wrath upon them; they were ranked with the vilest democrats, and their principles were branded as infidel and revolutionary, involving at the same time a recreant denial of Christ's headship over the nations. The keenness of the controversy was unparalleled. The pillars of society were shaken. The church by law established bestirred itself, laboured to extend its boundaries, built vast numbers of churches, in order to include the entire population within its pale and extinguish dissent. But it asked new and additional endowments for those places of worship, which it had multiplied with incredible celerity. This impolitic and impertinent demand, repeated in many forms, and urged by such fallacious and contradictory arguments, as set at nought all Christian courtesy and all statistical calculation, only increased the vigour of the contest, and ended in the defeat of its own patrons and supporters. The establishment wished also to extend its own freedom, and give its adherents a semblance of that liberty which dissenters enjoyed. It proceeded in a very bungling way to modify the law of patronage, and give the people a VETO on the decree of the patron. This resolution was violently opposed by a strong party in the church, but was ultimately adopted. It gave the people only a mere fraction of Christian privilege, but it was hoped they would be content with the boon. The courts of law, however, found that even this trivial alteration was beyond the power of the church. It had no right of itself to violate or modify any article of that contract into which it had entered with the state, as the condition of receiving the pay of the government. The liberal party in the Church of Scotland became restive under its disappointments, and at length adopted the better resolution of quitting its connection with the civil power, and of throwing itself on the liberality of its own adherents. A free church was formed, and the men who were foremost in their direful denunciation of the voluntary principle, are now luxuriating in its copious liberality, and exemplifying beyond all belief and anticipation its marvellous efficacy and scriptural warrant. 'Surely the wrath of man shall praise thee.' The existence of a Free Church in Scotland, while it is one of the wise operations of a gracious and overruling Providence, is, so far as human instrumentality is concerned, to be traced in a great measure to the excitement of the 'voluntary controversy.' Dr. Heugh rejoiced in such an issue; his sympathies were all with his former antagonists, when he beheld them break their bonds.

No one hailed the recent secession with more eagerness and joy, or wished it more success. His own appearances upon the platform on behalf of ecclesiastical freedom, had been for years very numerous; his speeches delivered in various parts of the country would fill a volume. In scenes of great provocation, he did not lose his equanimity, and while his eye kindled and his voice thrilled in denouncing injustice, and exposing malicious sophistry, he never indulged in coarse vituperation, or unworthy invective. He called things, indeed, by their right name. He scorned all compromise, all effort to hold truth in abeyance, lest men should take offence, but he endeavoured to 'speak the truth in love;' to 'rebuke with meekness,' and to exhibit a candid and courteous demeanour toward the most violent and irritating of his opponents. His addresses, on such occasions as those now referred to, were always impressive—some of them exciting the audience to unbounded enthusiasm. The general character of his public speaking, on these and similar occasions, is well described by a writer in 'Hogg's Weekly Instructor.' *

'We have always been struck by two features, or rather effects, of Dr. Heugh's pulpit and platform speaking, which show its high excellence. First, It was admired by all classes of hearers. Other speakers have their peculiar excellencies, which render them great favourites with particular classes, but it was impossible to say what class listened to Dr. Heugh with deepest interest and admiration. He was a universal favourite as a public speaker. We have seen a meeting composed of all classes become quiet, attentive, enthusiastic, as he proceeded with his address, which had been before impatient and unmanageable; we have never seen an audience become listless and restive under him. It mattered not what the subject was, or what the character of the audience, he was sure to arrest their attention and win their applause. Even when the topic was most trite and trivial, the manner in which he handled it, and the way in which he expressed himself, gave it a peculiar freshness and interest. It might be said of him as was said of Hall, 'he treated common topics without the insipidity of common-place diction.' Second, There was nothing about his speaking to divert attention from the subject, and fix it upon himself. One never thought of the speaker at all in hearing him, every thing was so perfectly natural, simple, and easy. There was nothing to be borne with, or overlooked, or even, in one sense, admired *in him*, and the undivided interest of the hearer was given to *the subject* under consideration; and that which previously seemed intricate and

* No. 85.

perplexing, became in his hands so plain and obvious, that the hearer wondered how he had not seen it in the same light before.'

Thus the heart of Dr. Heugh responded to every call of humanity and religion. Any plan that gave hope of doing good, he liberally assisted, while very naturally he was anxious that his own 'tribe' should not be the last to 'bring back the king.' He was formed, as Burke says of his son, to be 'a public creature.' In the midst of all this wearing labour, his peculiar elasticity of mind was of invaluable service to him.

'It seemed,' Dr. Harper says, page 14, 'as if his mind needed not to be strung and attuned anew, when passing from the active, and even the controversial, to the more private walks of communion with God. From pleading the rights of Christ's spiritual kingdom against the enactments of human policy;—from pleading the rights of the slave against buyers and sellers, who traffic in his flesh, Dr. Heugh's mind turned, without effort, and with instant alacrity, to such topics of interest as religious revivals, missionary enterprise, congregational home agency, the working of Sabbath schools, the utility of prayer-meetings, or the cultivation of a devotional spirit in the public business of the church. What do we see in this but a tone of mind formed and sustained by divine grace for special service, and for giving us, my brethren, in this self-same matter, another example to admire and to imitate!'

Dr. Heugh's general character was one of harmonious symmetry. In all the domestic relations he displayed exemplary kindness and attachment. Abroad he always maintained the decorum of a christian pastor. His failings—and who has them not—were not striking. Occasionally he could say a smart thing, when he was provoked, or suddenly excited. At times he appeared to some, as if he was conscious of his superior standing and talents. But in all scenes, amidst all classes of society, he exhibited the easy and polished manners of an accomplished gentleman. By a kind of instinctive feeling, he seemed to comprehend, in an instant, where he was, and to know exactly what topics to introduce and how to discuss them. This delicate sense of propriety had in him the correctness, force, and universality of an instinct. His conversational powers were charming, and he knew well how to mingle pleasantry and grave instruction. He had a playful wit, yet generally he set 'a watch on the door of his lips.' The highest integrity marked all his procedure. There was not any thing which he abhorred so much as meanness or duplicity. He was an 'upright man.' Whatever he could do, to oblige another, he willingly undertook and frankly performed. While he loved his own denomination, the arms of his christian charity embraced other sects and parties, holding

the head. Not only was he a faithful pastor, but he was honoured as a useful citizen. The people who reaped the benefit of his ministry have made a provision for his widow unparalleled in the history of the secession church; and the esteem in which he was held by his fellow-townsmen is seen in the fact, that on the day of his funeral a number of gentlemen not connected either with his church or denomination, spontaneously entered into a handsome subscription to erect a spacious monument to his memory.

Dr. Heugh shone in the church courts. He had amazing facility of speech—ease, clearness, and readiness, never forsook him. He possessed also great tact, knew how to seize his opportunity, instantaneously apprehended the most favourable means of overcoming prejudice, disarming hostility, and gaining the object he had in view. Especially did he rise above himself during the late unhappy controversy on the subject of the atonement, which agitated the secession church. His first speech on these topics at the meeting of synod in 1841, was a masterpiece. It fairly brought out the question in its important aspects, clearly exhibited the truth freed from the embarrassment of extreme opinions, indicated the line of argument which the lovers of sound speech must adopt, and prepared the way for those satisfactory and harmonious results which have since delighted the churches. He understood the subject clearly, and expressed himself so lucidly, that all felt immediate acquiescence in his statements. He pursued the same course in all subsequent debates, for his own mind was made up and it never wavered. Indeed, he himself informed the writer of this paper, that from his entrance into the ministry, the views he advocated had always been maintained and preached by him. But he did not experience the immediate blessedness of the peacemaker. Two disappointed men, now no longer in the church, (one of them indeed ignominiously expelled from it) attacked him with a rancour peculiar to themselves, and proverbially associated with the name they bear. Accusations made in ferocious language, and coming from those quarters, are no longer regarded; nay, any gentler treatment from such a source, brings the subject of it into immediate suspicion. During the last illness of him, who in midst of conflicting misunderstandings had always sought 'peace and ensued it,' an attempt was made by one of the parties now referred to, to call in question his integrity. The attempt is described at length by Dr. Brown, and is alluded to, more briefly, by Dr. Wardlaw, and branded by him with that reprobation which it fully merited. The church found that Dr. Heugh had been wantonly and maliciously assailed. He died soon after these trials; the Master

'hid him in his pavilion from the strife of tongues.' His former enemies, however, continue to blacken his memory by every means in their power. Alas! we must ascribe this malignity to something worse than constitutional infirmity of temper.

The publications of Dr. Heugh were numerous, but the most of them were ephemeral, being generally designed to serve some special occasion. Those occasions were always of public benefit—the cause of religion, of missions, or general benevolence. He preached before the London Missionary Society in London, before one of its auxiliaries in Bradford, and both discourses were published, and extensively read. He published also various lectures on the voluntary principle, lectures to young men in Glasgow, presbyterial addresses, and ordination services. In 1839, at the request of the presbytery, he delivered and published an address on the revival of religion—a paper in which his whole heart goes forth in ardent and prayerful aspiration for the outpouring of the Divine Spirit on the churches. In 1844, we find him as convener of a synod's committee, issuing a spirited and characteristic 'Address on the duty of exertion for the support of weak congregations, and for the promotion of Christian missions.'

One of the best of his productions was an excellent tract on Voluntaryism, entitled, 'Considerations on civil establishments of Religion;' and it is allowed on all hands to be clear, judicious, and conciliatory. It had an extensive circulation at the time of its first appearance, for it contained views and reasonings which the public mind readily apprehended and applied. He wrote also occasional replies to the manifestoes of the church party—to their high claims of independence, while they yet clung to their connection with the state. One of these was truly a *chef-d'-œuvre*—a clever, terse, racy, and effective brochure. During his residence for some months in Geneva, about three years ago, he busied himself in collecting information as to the state and prospects of the continental protestant churches. He delivered a few lectures on the subject when he returned home, and afterwards published them under the title of 'Notices of the state of Religion in Geneva and Belgium.'* These 'notices' are principally based on documentary evidence. They are gathered neither from general gossip, nor partial survey; but rest for their chief authority on the works of Malan, Gaussen, Vinet, D'Aubigne, and other equally competent witnesses. They are therefore trustworthy in the highest degree, combining the soberness of historical truth with the vivid and felicitous sketching of personal observation. One object of the book is to depict

* Vide 'Eclectic Review,' vol. xxi. 85.

the noxious influence of state connection upon religion of Geneva—to prove that the freedom and purity of a Christian people are indissolubly associated—that the spiritual institute of the Redeemer needs not for its maintenance or extension, either the foreign encumbrance of national support, or the crushing patronage of civic rank—and that, therefore, the friends of evangelical truth are summoned in the present day to the great work of emancipating the church from secular control—to the achievement of a vast enterprise which has been justly named the 'Reformation of the Nineteenth Century.'

Dr. Heugh's last publication related to the discussions in his own church, and was named, 'Irenicum; an inquiry into the real amount of the differences alleged to exist in the Synod of the United Secession Church, on the Atonement and Doctrines connected with it; Glasgow, 1845.'* It is not too much to say, that this pamphlet was a principal means under God of restoring confidence and harmony. It breathed a noble spirit—took a calm and impartial view of the subject—introduced admirable quotations from divines of various ages and countries—maintained that the late resolutions of the synod were scriptural in their character, and Calvinistic in their diction—and proved that they involved no departure either in doctrine or phraseology from the system of the great Genevan theologian, the Synod of Dort, the Westminster symbols, and the sermons and 'acts' of the first fathers of the Scottish Secession. This tract displays that peculiar combination of talents, which we have ascribed to Dr. Heugh. It is brief without being curt, firm, but not one-sided. Its reasonings are wisely adapted to the ordinary understanding, and run not into profound speculations 'on the deep things of God.' Its tone is one of sustained earnestness and practical adaptation. We might style it a business-like production, for it is not the work of a theoriser or polemic, but the effort of a 'master in Israel,' who felt it incumbent on him to deal with present realities—to treat his several topics as matters of actual interest and immediate concern, and not to dispute about them as themes of subtle abstraction—of distant and possible collision.

After all, Dr. Heugh has left behind him no literary monument worthy of his name and capabilities. His memory will be associated rather with pastoral success, public-spirited ardour, and denominational attachment and labour. The piety and generosity of the people he so long instructed, the schemes of useful benevolence which he originated and cherished, will be his enduring memorial. His epitaph is engraven 'on the fleshly

* Eclectic Review for September, 1845.

tables of the heart.' His constant engagements in pastoral duty occupied so much of his time, that he had little leisure for such prolonged study as is necessary to the creation of any literary or theological work, of enduring excellence or fame. Perhaps he felt that multiplied authorship was not his calling. Yet we hope to see a goodly volume of 'Remains;' for we understand he bestowed peculiar care on an Exposition of the valedictory discourses of our Lord, recorded in the Gospel by John, with a seeming view to ultimate publication. Dr. Heugh might not be called a learned divine, yet he could pass a sagacious judgment on erudite works. He had such learning as qualified him to appreciate sound erudition. He might not resemble the mathematician, who busies himself with abstruse investigation in the transcendental departments of his science,—in ascertaining the higher relations of numbers and forms. He was more like the practical astronomer, who enjoys the fruit of those lofty researches, and solves the problems of his study by the application of principles and laws, which the original discoverer has laid to his hand. One may use the telescope with advantage, without being a discoverer in optics; or navigate a vessel, with the compass and quadrant, though he have no profound knowledge of the motion and orbits of the heavenly bodies. Yet Dr. Heugh had a very correct and extensive knowledge of the Greek Testament. In later years he gave greatly more than usual attention to it, and probably knew it better than the majority of those whose business it is to divide the word of truth.

It gives us great pleasure to know that among his papers has been found a diary, stretching back for several years, and containing very full remarks and reflections. That diary reveals the secrets of his character. It abounds in devotional feeling, of which the principal features are, a deep sense of his own unworthiness, a strong faith, and a constant desire for divine guidance and direction. It shows that the loveliness of his character was the result of prayerful discipline, and self-control, and that without any ostentatious profession of superior Christian attainment, his thoughts, motives, and actions, were habitually influenced by powerful religious principle. 'The law of the Lord was in his mouth, in his lips was no guile, he walked with God in equity and truth, and turned many from iniquity.' We might, in conclusion, and in corroboration of our remarks, adduce the testimony of one who knew the object of our sketch well, and who has briefly recorded his sentiments of affection and esteem for his deceased friend, in a sermon preached on occasion of Dr. Heugh's death. We refer to Dr. Wardlaw, the

ornament of another denomination; but we can only refer our readers to the discourse itself.

We have not left ourselves much room to speak of the funeral discourses, portions of which we have already quoted. They are all of them worthy of the mournful occasion on which they were delivered—solemn, tender, affecting and practical. They contain no fulsome eulogy, no wailings of a hired minstrelsy. While they sketch the likeness of the deceased, they abound especially in pathetic warning and admonition to the living. The brief address delivered on the day of interment, in Montrose Street Secession Church, by Dr. Harper, is altogether in the spirit of its first sentence, 'Our minds are this day possessed with a sense of bereavement.' Its tone was quite in unison with the emotions of weeping hundreds to whom it was delivered. 'And now my friends,' he concludes, 'arise, let us go hence.' The remains of him whom we love are about to be conveyed to their resting-place. In following his mortal part let us remember the immortal: 'he is not dead but sleepeth.' As we look into the open grave and commit dust to dust, let us remember that we must follow; and, in sadly musing on the image of the departed—the eye once beaming with intelligence, now closed in darkness—those eloquent lips that taught so wisely, now to speak no more—that countenance of noble frankness and of smiling benevolence, now pale in death — let us rejoice in the assurance that, if we be joint-heirs with him in the hope of the gospel, we shall more than recover what we have lost:—we shall see him again, and 'shall be ever with the Lord.' 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them.'"

The funeral sermons are by Dr. Taylor, the successor of Dr. Heugh, and for a few months his colleague, Dr. Brown of Edinburgh, and Dr. Wardlaw of Glasgow. Dr. Taylor's sermon is from Rev. xiv. 13, 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.' His sermon resembles in no small degree, the compositions of his lamented colleague. It is also rich in scriptural allusion and gemmed with appropriate scriptural quotation. Dr. Brown's discourse is from 1 Thess. iv. 13, 'I would not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep.' The sermon is worthy of Dr. Brown's reputation—replete with massive thoughts, striking remarks, and sound scriptural interpretation. Intellect, learning, and piety, give it a triune richness of colouring. Dr. Wardlaw preached on the evening of the same sabbath from 2 Cor. v. 4, 'Not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality may

be swallowed up of life.' In some parts of the discourse, the train of thought is very similar to that of Dr. Brown, but as Dr. Wardlaw justly observes, such coincidences 'confirm and impress the sentiments.' All the accomplishments of Dr. Wardlaw shine in this sermon—beautiful thought in elegant diction—apples of gold in framework of silver. Dr. Brown's discourse contains also a biography of Dr. Heugh, with a few related papers in the form of a brief appendix.

The great work of God in this world does not pause, though its instruments are frequently and unexpectedly removed. Ere Aaron died, Eleazar was invested with the pontifical robes. The exalted Governor still sits upon his throne, guiding and controlling all events. His cause by an unbroken succession of means and agents, is ever approaching its triumphant destiny. While it is the urgent duty of 'them that are alive and remain,' to be forward and unwearied in the work of 'Him who hath called them,' especially are they summoned to give themselves to that peculiar labour which may be required by the pressing exigencies of their own age and period.

Art. VI.—*Switzerland and the Swiss Churches; being Notes of a short Tour, and Notices of the principal Religious Bodies in that Country.* By William Lindsay Alexander, D.D., F.S.A.S. Glasgow: James Maclehose.

SWITZERLAND has been visited by so many of our countrymen, as to have become one of the best known spots in Europe. It has been described with a minuteness and repetition exceeding what has been expended on some of the most beautiful parts of our own country; and its mountains and vallies—its cascades and glaciers—its regions of eternal snow and spots of luxuriant verdure, are in consequence familiar to us all. Those of us who have been doomed to stay at home, have listened so repeatedly to the tale of the Swiss traveller, that we know the features of the country, the character of its inhabitants, and the emotions awakened by its scenery, almost as well as if our time had been spent amidst the marvels which omnipotence has so liberally spread over that land. The repetition is at length becoming wearisome. Men recoil from a book of Swiss travel as a bore, and begin to wonder what can have prompted another tourist to repeat the thrice told tale. Superior faculties and powers of observation exceeding what are generally possessed, are therefore needed to attract attention to such a work, or to reward the labour involved in its perusal.

We never indeed tire of listening to the *viva voce* descriptions of our friends. There is a freshness, a life, a speciality in their adventures. A thousand trifling circumstances are noted which constituted the individuality of their journey. We enter into their privations, tremble with them on the edge of some vast precipice, or breathe silently and slow as our littleness is realized amidst the magnificence of the scenes they describe. The voice, the countenance, the eye of the narrator contribute greatly to all this, and hence the sustained interest and the more powerful impression which is made. Now, it is impossible to secure these in the written sketch. Of its kind, it may be admirable; but it wants the animation and soul by which the heart is most deeply moved; and after a time, therefore, we grow weary with the narrative, and crave other and less familiar topics. And yet there is a vast field open; and we should like to have before us *in extenso*, the thoughts, deep, meditative, and spiritual, with which an intellect after the order of Shakspere or Milton would be occupied amidst such scenes. It would be a wondrous and an instructive revelation,—a disclosure of the profounder sympathies of which our nature is susceptible. The forms, the outward garb assumed by nature, would to such a spectator be but the impersonation of vast powers, in the contemplation of which it would pass beyond the sensual, and enter into fellowship with what is spiritual and imperishable. A world impassable to grosser mortals would stand revealed to such, in which the forms of truth would be luminous, and its oracles be distinctly heard. 'After some time,' says John Foster, when noting the operations of his mind in reference to external objects, 'a larger enginery begins to work; I feel more than a simple perception of objects; they become environed with an atmosphere, and shed forth an emanation. They come accompanied with trains of images, moral analogies, and a wide, diffused, vitalized, and indefinable kind of sentimentalism. The mere reflection of such objects—the shaded lustre with which they would be disclosed, would go far to enlarge the boundaries of human knowledge, and to deepen our convictions of the powers of intellect and the majesty of truth.*

Dr. Alexander makes no pretensions to such an achievement in the small volume before us. His original intention was to treat only of the religious state of Switzerland, and the addition subsequently made, is executed in a manner creditable to his judgment, and subservient to his primary design. 'Let not the reader,' he remarks, 'look here for a display of research, or for curious disquisition. To attempt such has not

* Life, vol. i. p. 178.

been my ambition. If the reader is good-natured enough to pardon an author who presumes to address the public as he might the domestic circle, and if he be not too busy or too severe to tolerate a little gossip, I humbly offer these Notes to his notice. For those of a sterner temperament, I fear there is not much in this part of the volume to which I can invite their attention.'

The first six, and the twelfth chapters, are occupied with the author's personal adventures, including notices, more or less extended, of the institutions, pastors, and churches of the cantons visited. Dr. Alexander writes as a Christian man should do, not parading his religion, but obviously influenced by it; carrying with him a different standard from most tourists, and therefore dissenting from many of the judgments which they have pronounced. We never lose sight of what he is, and yet are rarely reminded by express statement of the obligation which he feels. This is just as it should be, avoiding equally, and with excellent judgment, the sermonic on the one hand, and the frivolous and semi-worldly on the other. Religious men frequently err on this point, and by their error, defeat themselves. They are too concerned to make their religion appear, and there is therefore a stiffness, a formality, a professional cast in it, which repels rather than attracts. It wears the aspect of something distinct and separate from their general demeanour, instead of being regarded as an element pervading and leavening the whole.

Our author's route lay through Strasburg, Basle, Neufchatel, Lausanne, Geneva, Berne, and Belgium, and his observations are uniformly deserving of respectful attention. Without affecting what is original or profound, they are distinguished by good sense, a sound judgment, and a ready appreciation of the beautiful and sublime in natural scenery, and of whatever is estimable in national character. We have accompanied him with pleasure, and assure our readers both of entertainment and of instruction, in the perusal of his volume. On landing at Geneva an amusing illustration of American character was elicited by the appearance of gens d'armes, demanding the passports of the travellers.

'To many,' says Dr. Alexander, 'this seemed rather an unexpected demand, and excited some grumbling and indignation. Among the rest, I could not but be amused with a worthy American, whose passport was at the bottom of his trunk, and who declared he had buried it there on leaving France, never imagining that in republican Switzerland such a thing would be required. As he did not speak French, he apparently at first was at a loss to comprehend what was wanted, and

when at length it was made plain that he could not land until he had produced his passport, he received the intelligence with a transport of virtuous indignation, for which his country ought to decree him a triumph on his return. 'Well! I guess I'll take a note of that,' he exclaimed, 'call *this* a republic, when they set two fellows with swords to demand passports from strangers!' And in huge dudgeon he delved into the recesses of his trunk for his passport, which he handed to the officer with an air that plainly said, "You are a disgrace to the name of 'free institutions;' but wait till I get to *our* country, and I shall expose you.'—pp. 46, 47.

At the time of his arrival, the Société Helvétique des Sciences Naturelles was holding its annual session in the city, and our traveller availed himself, of course, of the opportunity of making the acquaintance of its members. His account is not highly flattering, though, in justice to the Swiss savans, it must be remembered that he was present only at their closing meeting. His description of a *fete* given by Mrs. Marcet, the author of the well known 'Conversations,' throws light on the social habits of the people, and will be read with interest by all who have benefited by that lady's numerous publications. Our author was invited to be present on the occasion, and tells us:

'A steamer was placed at the disposal of those members of the society who had been invited to this entertainment, by the municipality of Geneva, and to my surprise I found that after all that had passed, there was still to be more eating and drinking during our sail. For my own part, I preferred the fresh air and the exquisite scenery, and therefore remained upon deck. A more delicious evening I can hardly conceive. Not a cloud specked the sky, and though the sun had been powerful during the day, a gentle breeze just curling the surface of the lake sufficed agreeably to cool the atmosphere. On the banks of the lake every thing wore its most lovely aspect, refreshed by the rains of the preceding day, and radiant with the sunshine of the present. On our left, as we sailed up the lake, the land was too distant for the eye to dwell upon its scenery, but on the right we kept so near the shore that every object, almost, was clearly visible. Here the eye ranged over a continual succession of elegant chateaux, with their smooth lawns, and flower gardens sloping to the margin of the lake; beyond lay the fields where husbandry reigned, with its frugal purposes and busy labours; and still further in the remote distance were seen the giant forms of the Alps, towering upwards as if in scorn of those regions which man had mastered and laboured,—cold, stern, and commanding,—the haughty, yet august aristocracy of nature.

'The scene to me was surpassingly attractive, but I confess I was a little mortified to find that in the majority of the company it appeared to excite no notice. Perhaps this was partly the effect of familiarity, but I suspect that it was the result principally of deficiency of sus-

ceptibility. The French Swiss are very far from being an imaginative people; and of all classes of men, perhaps, the students of natural science are, generally speaking, the least given to admire the beauties of nature.

'The Chateau of Malagny is about three-quarters of a mile from the margin of the lake. The road up to it lies through pleasant green lanes, bordered by hedge-rows, in which a number of wild flowers hang out their graceful forms. It then enters the gate; after which it continues through a winding avenue, adorned on either side by noble trees. At the house we were received by Mrs. Marcet and her son, who is a professor in the college at Geneva. I was surprised and delighted to see the excellent lady whose ingenious and attractive 'Conversations' I had conned as my first lesson in philosophy, so many years before, still retaining so much of almost youthful vigour. Far from being, as I had somehow unconsciously depicted her, a lady of severe and pedagogic aspect, I found in her that delightful combination of grace and dignity, vivacity and intelligence, which throws such an inexpressible charm over the manners and conversation of the softer sex, wherever it is possessed. Amid the large and intellectual company which she had that evening assembled around her, the lively hearted and intelligent hostess moved as the presiding genius of the whole.

'So long as the light continued, the chief part of the company enjoyed themselves in strolling through the beautiful grounds around the house, which were thrown open for this purpose. The scene here presented a gay and inspiring aspect. Here was a group of sage savans gathered under an umbrageous chestnut tree, discussing some weighty point which had been mooted, but not fully settled at their meeting; or suggesting to each other topics of inquiry and speculation to be pursued in their respective spheres when they had separated. Close by was a brilliant circle of ladies in elegant evening costumes, maintaining with some of the younger and more courtly of the philosophers the keen encounter of wit and badinage, and casting, ever and anon, curious and quizzical glances at the staid and somewhat uncouth figures which occasionally moved heavily past them with uneasy and half averted look, as if men who dwelt amidst glaciers and listened to the roar of avalanches had entered on forbidden ground, when they presumed to tread the verge of the enchanted circle where so much beauty and gaiety reigned. Through openings in the trees and shrubbery, parties might be seen winding their way in every direction, and giving continual life and variety to the picture; while beyond lay the grand expanse of the lake, over which the setting sun was casting his parting rays from behind the Jura. Nearer the house an excellent band of performers filled the air with music; whilst a busy throng of servants was engaged in dispensing the plentiful refreshments which the hospitality of our entertainer had provided,—not certainly, the least animated part of the scene.

'At nine o'clock a gun, fired from the steamer, summoned us to

re-embark. A crowd of peasants with lighted torches conducted us through the lanes, which were now completely dark, and supplied us with light sufficient to enable us to reach the vessel in safety. Another gun fired, and was succeeded by the bump of the engine and the splashing of the wheels, which told that we were again in motion. At this moment the view of the shore was striking. At some distance was the chateau still brilliantly lighted up; coloured lamps were hung upon many of the trees on the lawn and in the avenue; along the shore was a row of flambeau casting their red glaring light forward upon the water, and backward upon the groups of peasantry and the masses of foliage; and over the whole stretched the deep blue curtain of a cloudless sky studded with stars.'—pp. 50—53.

The principal interest of the volume, however, is derived from the light which it throws on the religious condition and prospects of the Swiss Cantons. Dr. Alexander has evidently been at considerable pains to collect information on these points; and the results of his inquiries, if they have not exhausted the subject, are given with a lucidity and calm judgment which must greatly aid the inquirer. We cannot pretend to follow the whole course of his remarks. It will consist better with our limits to select one or two of the numerous topics he discusses, in doing which, we are mainly concerned to put our readers into possession of the information he has collected.

Few places possess more historical interest to the ecclesiastical student than Geneva. As the scene of Calvin's labours, whence flowed to other parts of Europe, the theological system and ecclesiastical polity of that distinguished reformer, it has always been regarded with deep interest, and its history been traced with more than ordinary solicitude. The personal character of Calvin, the unbounded influence he exerted over the fortunes of Geneva, his wondrous intellect, his compact and fearless energies, the supremacy he obtained over his contemporaries, and the extent to which his views were propagated, have all contributed to fix on him and on the scene of his labours, the special attention of the protestant church. We are not amongst his worshippers, but are free to admit the existence of grievous defects, both in his character and in his views. He was a man of his own age; one of its master-spirits, it is true, but still identified with it in the judaical temper with which he legislated for the church, and frowned down religious liberty. With an intellect more penetrating, and a heart less susceptible of fear than his compeers, he mistook the apparently logical precision of his theology, for the simplicity of scripture truth: and the minuteness and severity of his ecclesiastical platform for a faithful adherence to apostolic precedent.

In meeting the exigencies of the hour, he sacrificed the free play and generous ardour of the spiritual life; and his polity has consequently survived,—a dead and powerless thing, concealing under the semblance of life, religious desolation and priestly intolerance. But while free to admit all this, we yet claim for Calvin no small tribute of admiration and gratitude. He was a burning and a shining light; and if his views were not always sound, nor his spirit sympathetic with the temper of his Lord, we need only remember the limitation of human faculties, and the distorting influences amid which he was reared. Let due allowance be made for these, and the reformer of Geneva will be placed, by a grateful posterity, amongst the noblest and most useful of an illustrious band. The general aspect of his ecclesiastical polity is ably sketched by our author in the following passage:—

'It is well known that the church of Geneva was, by the united labours of Farel and Calvin, assisted by those whom they had attached to their school, placed upon a basis of rigid orthodoxy, and supplied with all that appeared necessary to maintain that basis inviolate. A Confession of Faith, a Catechism, a Liturgy, and a Polity were all carefully prepared in accordance with the views divulged in the writings of Calvin; and never, we may say, was church so elaborately nursed into orthodoxy, and drilled into order, as was this.

'Experience, however, has shown, that when too much is done for a church, the result is seldom beneficial. The safety and wholesome action of such institutions depends far more on an influence operating from within, than upon artificial appliances and contrivances put upon them from without. If there be *life* in the church itself, and if that life be guided by *light*, the church will, of its own accord, grow into that form which is best adapted to its peculiar circumstances and aims. It is with churches as with children: give them proper freedom and wholesome food, and they will develop themselves in graceful and healthy forms; but if you try to force them into a particular shape, elongating this feature and compressing that, shutting them up in confined apartments, checking with a frown every natural movement, and subjecting them to stiff and artificial constraints, the result will certainly be an unhealthy constitution, an unhappy temperament, and a short and cheerless life.

'There can be no doubt that the church of Geneva suffered deeply from the over-anxious care of its founders, and their determination to leave nothing to be desired or done by the church itself. According to their scheme, every Genevese who should afterwards be born, was to find a complete ecclesiastical system ready made and fitted for his reception, without any care or any choice of his own. They acted as if they repudiated the idea of religion being purely a *personal* thing, implying knowledge and conviction on the part of the individual professing it; with them it was supremely a *national* thing—a matter of law—an element in the constitution under which a man

was brought by the mere accident of his birth. The church was with them not so much a religious as a political institution, of which the magistracy of the canton were the directors and the lords. Hence they placed the church entirely under the power of the civil magistrate, and called upon him to use that power to preserve the order and well-being of the church. They invoked his aid also in order to prevent any departure from its communion or its standards. With them secession was revolt; to believe otherwise than as Calvin taught, a civil offence to be punished by civil penalties. They had no idea of allowing men to say that they did not understand Calvin's doctrine, and therefore could not profess it, or that they did not believe it, and therefore would not profess it. Their language was, 'Do this and live,' and if men would not hear, they had little scruple in saying, 'Then let them die.'—pp. 154—156.

The natural effect of this error is seen in the present state of Geneva. Religion has withered and died out. Its forms are perpetuated, but its spirit is gone. Its temples yet stand, but there is no fire on their altars. Strange names and strange memories are familiar to the people who once regarded Calvin as the apostle of their God. *Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur cum illis,* is the motto now inscribed on all which the traveller beholds. One extreme has generated another, and he who was formerly almost worshipped as a God, is now forgotten or contemned by the people for whom he laboured. The unnatural restraint imposed by his system, has led the public mind of Geneva through the several stages, of which infidelity to religion, and ingratitude to his memory, are the appropriate termination.

'Time was,' says Dr. Alexander, and there is a melancholy truth in his remarks, 'when a christian stranger visiting Geneva, could write to his friend thus: 'In my heart I could have wished, yea, and cannot cease to wish, that it might please God to guide and conduct yourself to this place, where, I neither fear nor ashame to say, is the most perfect school of Christ that ever was in the earth since the days of the apostles. In other places I confess Christ to be truly preached; but manners and religion so sincerely reformed I have not yet seen in any other place beside.' What Christian could write so of Geneva now? Nay, who but is constrained to say, 'How is the gold become dim! how is the most fine gold changed!'

'When Calvin died, the whole city of Geneva was filled for a day and a night, Beza tells us, with lamentation. 'The State,' says he, 'sought in vain its wisest citizen, the church deplored the decease of its faithful pastor, the school wept the loss of such a teacher, all, in fine, lamented, as deprived of a common parent, under God, and consoler. Many of the citizens sought to look upon his dead body, because they could not be torn from him even when dead.' When one remembers the services rendered by Calvin to Geneva, both

politically and spiritually, such lamentation cannot be regarded as excessive. Subsequent generations, however, have taken care that if at this time too much honour was shown to the dead, an ample compensation should be made for it, by the utter oblivion or hatred into which the memory of Calvin has been allowed to pass. In Geneva this once honoured name is no longer a household word. In the pulpits of Geneva, (with a few exceptions,) the doctrines of Calvin are referred to only to be repudiated and scorned. No memorial marks the ground where his dust reposes, and which friendship fondly congratulated on receiving such a guest, when his remains were committed to it. No monument to his memory betokens the gratitude and admiration of any of those successive generations which have reaped the advantage of his toils, his sufferings, and his virtues. The veneration of Geneva has passed to other altars than those at which Calvin ministered, and has been offered to the priests of a very different faith from his. She has no prouder recollection now than that it was near her walls that the poor shrivelled, selfish, sneering, mocking, and unhappy wit, sought repose, when disappointed and detested he fled from courts and cities, to spend an undignified old age at Ferney. And when she would show her veneration for the dead, it is the sensual and polluting author of the Nouvelle Heloise, to whom she consecrates an island, and erects a statue.'—pp. 60—62.

The same reaction of the temporal against the spiritual, which is visible in other parts of protestant Europe, has taken place in Switzerland. The despotism of Rome has been overthrown by another form of tyranny, distinct in its outward aspect, yet alike pernicious in its influence. Such is the ordinary course of human affairs. One evil is corrected by another. Present relief is effected by questionable means; existing wrongs are redressed, and unlawful power smitten to the ground, by an authority which soon usurps its place and repeats its fearful tragedy. For many centuries the spiritual power was omnipotent throughout Europe. The Pontiff ruled the Emperor. Gregory placed his foot on Henry, and the Roman See constituted the central force which determined the policy of every cabinet in Europe. This was felt to be a grievous wrong, but the ignorance and superstition which prevailed, rendered fertile, for a time, every effort at resistance. At length the day of retribution came. It had been long dawning; but when it did break upon the nations, princes and nobles took advantage of its enthusiam, to establish, on the overthrow of their rival, their own supremacy. From being a dictator the Church became a slave, Erastian in its policy, and most supple and unscrupulous in its obedience. The personal qualities of some of the reformers, aided by the circumstances of their position, enabled them for a time to stave off this result, but the

tendency of the new order of things was too powerful to be permanently resisted. A change had come over mankind, and all classes and degrees of men were affected by it. Calvin was one of those who maintained the supremacy of the spiritual power; and his ecclesiastical policy seemed admirably adapted to insure its continued maintenance. But a stronger than he was at work; and the compact, severe, inexorable system he bequeathed to the Genevese has gradually become a dead letter; the mere form of spiritual freedom, beneath which the civil power has firmly established itself. In various parts of Switzerland the process has now been completed, of which an illustration is furnished in the recent history of the Canton of Vaud. Referring to the Vaudoise Church, Dr. Alexander says:—

'Such was the state of things up to 1839, when the established church of Vaud was called to pass through an ordeal of which she has not yet exhausted all the consequences. In that year a new arrangement was entered into between the church and the state, in pursuance of a plan suggested by certain commissioners, who, in 1831, had been appointed to consider the subject of ecclesiastical affairs in the canton. This arrangement was based upon the principle that the church, as by law established, is purely an instrument of the state, and must consequently, in every thing, be under the control of the state. Proceeding upon this principle, the state assumed the right not only to control all the actions of the church, but also to prescribe its doctrines, and, if need be, to supersede its ritual. Nor did the state content itself with merely *assuming* these powers; it proceeded in certain very material points to use them, especially by abolishing the rule which imposed upon every clergyman the signing of the Helvetic Confession, an act which virtually left the Vaudoise Church without any authoritative standard of doctrine or discipline. It is astonishing and deplorable, that any men of honour, intelligence, and piety should have been found willing to submit to such degrading terms as those dictated to the National Clergy of Vaud; but, however humiliating, the fact must be stated, that whilst the mass of the pious laity deserted a church which had been thus enslaved, only a very few of the clergy were found manly enough to follow their example. Whatever may have been the reasons by which the others were induced to remain—and with many of them I have no doubt these were of an honourable kind—there can be but one opinion now of the unhappy consequences of this resolution. By it they consented to sacrifice principle to expediency, and sowed the seeds of that bitter fruit which since they have been compelled to eat. Had they vigorously resisted this first systematic attempt to enslave their church, they might have done so with success, and would at least have secured for themselves honour; but having once agreed to receive such ignominious chains, they have enjoyed little popular sympathy in their subsequent impatient endurance of them; and in their ultimate

revolt from under them have excited little popular enthusiasm, approbation, or support.

'For a season, the government appears to have been satisfied with the submission of the clergy to the new arrangement; at least it does not appear that any annoyance was given by the state to the clergy, so long as the party by which this new arrangement had been effected retained the reins of government. In the early part, however, of last year (1845) this party was driven from power, and was succeeded by one of a still more popular character; and with this the clergy, ere many months had elapsed, came into serious and determined collision. The result, as is well known, has been a disruption of the Cantonal Church of Vaud.'

The result of the contest has been that one hundred and sixty of the pastors resigned their livings, and seceded from the national church, of whom about forty speedily repented of the step they had taken, and returned to their parishes. This movement, however, has had little effect on the people. The secession has been purely *clerical*, and there are not wanting circumstances which sufficiently account for its want of popular favour. To those who are disposed to investigate a subject, which on many accounts is highly instructive, we recommend an attentive perusal of our author's intelligent and dispassionate examination.

Of the varieties observable amongst the protestant churches of the cantons, Dr. Alexander remarks:—

'The Cantons of Basle, Berne, Vaud, Neufchatel, and Geneva, have been and are the main strongholds of Protestantism in Switzerland. In the first two we have Protestantism in its older forms, though not always with its ancient spirit; in the others we have it under a more modern and accommodating aspect. The difference of race, doubtless, aided in some instances, perhaps, by differences of government, has here had its influence: the German and aristocratic Cantons have abode by old forms, usages, and habits; the French Cantons, and especially those of them which have been under republican influence, have exhibited a greater promptitude to assume new modes of thought and adopt new forms of action in religious matters.

'There is, as just hinted, no Swiss national church; but in each Canton that formula of doctrine and of order which has seemed best to the ruling powers, has been established by public sanction. In respect of doctrine there is no great difference, so far as creeds go, between the Cantonal churches, almost all of them holding professedly by the ancient Helvetic confession; and in point of order they are more or less strictly conformed to the Presbyterian model, though in some cases with a slight infusion of the Episcopal element, and in others, with certain leanings to the Congregational platform. Thus, as respects the appointment of the ministers, in some Cantons the choice rests exclusively with the people, who have power to

appoint and power to remove, independent of any superior control; in other Cantons the government nominates the clergy, and the people have not even a veto upon the appointment; in other cases the people send up a list to the government with whom the final appointment rests; in some cases a right of interference belongs to the body of clergy already in office; and in one case, that of Neufchatel, the clerical body absorb the entire power, subject only to the supervision of the King of Prussia, who never interferes with their movements. For the most part the Presbyterial parity is preserved amongst the clergy—the office of *Doyen*, which is the highest rank among them, being simply that of *primus inter pares*, and lasting but for one year at a time in the case of each occupant. In the Canton of Basle, however, some vestiges of the Episcopal subordination are retained, the first minister of the Minster church in the city of Basle holding a certain official pre-eminence amongst his brethren, and his colleague, the second minister, bearing the title of archidiaconus, or archdeacon. The tenure by which the ministers hold their parishes is also very different in different Cantons, some being elected for life or fault, others for a term of years, and others from week to week. In fine, the mode in which the clergy are supported varies in different Cantons; in some the government provides the entire salary of the minister, whilst in others the government supplies only a part, and in some cases but a very small part, and the rest is made up by fees, or from the voluntary offerings of the people.

'These Cantonal churches stand, for the most part, in a relation of very great subjection to the state, their constitution in this respect being thoroughly Erastian. The degree of subjection is not exactly the same for all, but in none of the Cantons does the church enjoy any adequate measure of liberty. Perhaps the most free is the church of Neufchatel, and the least free that of Berne. In the latter, not even the slightest deviation from the prescribed rule of acting is allowed, unless notice be given to the 'Educational Council,' with which rests absolute power over the clergy and the church. It may perhaps be taken as a tolerably significant indication of the state of feeling in this Canton, that ecclesiastical affairs should be regarded as forming merely a department of the *educational* interests of the community.'—pp. 149—151.

An interesting sketch is supplied of the Independent and other dissenting churches, which are now planted throughout several of the cantons; the history of which strikingly harmonizes with that of similar societies in our own country. Happily for our Swiss brethren, the period of their troubles has been much briefer than that of our fathers. The indignant voice of Europe has been uttered on their behalf. Public sentiment has advanced since the days of the Stuarts; and the suffering confessors of Switzerland have, in consequence, been spared the protracted persecutions to which the puritans and non-conformists of England were exposed. The following brief account, however, of

the trial of M. Charles Rochat, furnished by the late Baron de Stael, shews what iniquities were recently practised:—

'' This trial took place at Vevay, amid the most beautiful scenery in the world, in a country whose richness and beauty might have seemed such as to inspire no other feelings in the heart than those of gratitude towards God, and benevolence towards man.

'' An accusation was laid against M. Rochat to the effect that he had held at his house an unlawful religious assembly. [*How strangely this combination of words sounds!*] The obscure name of the person who informed against him we have not heard; but the baseness of his language and manners betrays itself in every line of his accusation. On a complaint like this, an agent of police went to the house of M. Rochat, and searched it, but without finding any one: as he was retiring, Mr. R. himself conducted him to a room on the second floor, where he found five persons assembled, viz., the wife of Mr. R., one of their friends, with two of his sisters, and a young person a stranger to the family. These five individuals were seated round a table, on which lay an open book; it was the Bible, of which Mr. R. was about to read and explain a chapter. Here was the substance of the charge.

''The trial begins; M. Rochat's indictment is read; a multitude of witnesses are summoned and heard; they are examined and cross-examined; the testimony of all agrees; the discussions of the counsel add nothing to, and take nothing from, the declaration of the agent of police; the charge remains as it was, neither lessened nor aggravated. This remains certain, that *in his own house, and in the presence of his wife and four friends, M. Rochat had read and explained a chapter of scripture,* and then had prayed to God for a blessing on what had been said.

'' Such is his crime in its whole length and breadth; we have kept back nothing. Here certainly was most blameworthy and dangerous conduct! To leave this unpunished would compromise all social order! Hence the public prosecutor pleaded, that M. Rochat might be confined for a year to his commune. But in the eyes of the magistrates this was not enough; such chastisement was not proportioned to the offence; they inflicted unhesitatingly the maximum punishment, and M. Rochat was condemned to be banished for three years!!'—p. 245.

We thank Dr. Alexander for the pleasure his volume has afforded us, and for the information we have derived from it. Our readers will do well to procure it for themselves, and such of them as do so will regret neither its cost nor the time expended in its perusal.

Art. VII.—*History of the Counter-Revolution in England for the Re-establishment of Popery under Charles II. and James II.* By Armand Carrel. *History of the Reign of James II.* By the Right Hon. Charles James Fox. London: David Bogue.

THIS volume belongs to *Bogue's European Library*, and is inferior to none of its predecessors in value or interest. To ourselves it exceeds most of them, and we shall be glad if our notice of it induce our readers, and especially such as are rising into life, to render themselves more familiar with the period to which it refers. It contains two works, of the latter of which it is not our present intention to speak. Fox's History of James II. is well known. It has been before the public for several years, and although far from realizing the expectations which were founded on the parliamentary reputation of its author, must always occupy a respectable rank in our historical literature. The qualities of Mr. Fox's mind, and the habits of his life, were not adapted to insure success in the line of authorship. The senate was his proper arena, the living voice the instrument with which he wrought his wonders. Yet there are passages in his history which no Englishman will be willing to forget, and the effect of the whole is powerfully conducive to a right appreciation of the actors and events of this most memorable period. 'We feel,' says an able and independent critic, 'how delightful it is to go through an important and confused scene in the company of such an illuminating mind, and how easily we could surrender ourselves to an almost implicit reliance on its judgments.'* The reprint of this history, contained in the present volume, is restricted to Mr. Fox's own composition, and does not therefore contain Lord Holland's Introduction, or the extended Appendix, which were included in the quarto edition of 1808.

The work of Armand Carrel is new to the English public, and we purpose, therefore, dwelling on it more at length. The period to which it refers is one of the most disgraceful, yet at the same time most instructive, in our history. It should be closely studied by all who wish to understand our national character, or to appreciate the cost at which our liberties have been secured. Its opening scenes are unparalleled in our annals, and cannot be understood without an intimate knowledge of what preceded them. We must be familiar with the times of the Commonwealth and of the Protectorate, in order to comprehend those of the Restoration. The great men of the Long Parliament were before their age. They were born out of due time. Their

* Foster's Contributions, vol. i. p. 152.

views were larger, their patriotism was of a higher order than comported with their generation. Their force of intellect and earnestness of purpose carried for a time their object, and produced an effect which could not, however, be sustained. Men felt their power, and, for a season, superstition, intolerance, and tyranny, quailed before them. But the spirit of their age was not equal to their achievements. They could not raise their contemporaries to their own high standard, and were compelled, in the issue, to lean on the questionable power of the sword for the preservation of public liberty. The national will was, therefore, restrained. An artificial and unhealthy character was formed. What was seen did not harmonize with what was thought. Englishmen yet loved the baubles, the glitter, the parade of a court. The austerity of puritanism effaced the memory of its noble deeds, whilst the licence and the glitter which the exiled Stuarts promised, made the nation sigh for the restoration of monarchy. That restoration at length came, and the land groaned beneath the irreligion, debauchery, and despotism which prevailed. Produced by the treachery of Monk, the stolid blindness of the Presbyterians, the heroic but impracticable republicanism of Vane, and the legislative incapacity of Desborough, Fleetwood, and Lambert, it proved worse than an Egyptian plague. It was a long night, black and full of terrors, and when, at length, the day dawned, it was found that the standard of public virtue had been lowered, and the spirit of English liberty lay fettered and helpless at the foot of a corrupt aristocracy. We cannot agree with M. Carrel, that this period has 'been erroneously regarded as a time of degradation.' We believe that it was so: and less of theory, and more of practical truth, than accord with the French character, would have compelled him to do the same. Men of stature were exchanged for dwarfs, patriots for courtiers, and, after a brief interval, the corrupt and feeble *Cabal* were substituted for such men as Eliot, Pym, Hampden, Vane, and Cromwell. English liberty needs no other vindication than the contrast which is furnished between its leaders, and the men by whom monarchy encircled itself.

M. Carrel has prefaced his history with an introductory chapter, in which he traces the progress of popular freedom from the establishment of the Norman dynasty. To a foreigner this chapter supplies a useful epitome, but to our own countrymen its value will be chiefly limited to its earlier portion. It may be read, however, with advantage, though, as a mere outline, it wants the finish and completeness, which the existing state of our historical literature has prepared us to look for. It is specially faulty in its minuter references to the religious element which was so powerfully operative from

the time of the Reformation. This is a point on which foreigners, and especially the French, seem incapable of comprehending us. It is without the circle of their sympathies, and in its earnestness and absorbing power, presents an enigma which they cannot solve. They perpetually misapprehend it, and in consequence, attribute its phenomena to the most questionable causes. Looking at them through the medium of their own views, they assign them to such motives as could alone have produced them amongst themselves, and therefore fall into the most egregious blunders in their estimates of our character and achievements. It needs a firm faith in revelation, a practical acquaintance with its power, a distinct personal recognition of the overwhelming importance of its truth, in order rightly to appreciate the conduct of men, who, whatever their defects, were solemnly in earnest in all matters pertaining to religion. Something of this kind is discernible throughout the pages of M. Carrel, and there are minute inaccuracies in his statements, discreditable to his research. Thus he speaks of Henry VIII. having been 'outstripped by sectaries, who, with bible in hand, demanded *the abolition of episcopacy*,' (p. 11.), whereas, it is well known to every tyro in history that nothing of the sort occurred till the reign of Elizabeth, when Cartwright advocated a presbyterian parity. He speaks, also, of the ecclesiastical dissidents during the reign of Edward VI., as persecuted 'under the general name of Nonconformists,' (p. 11.), a designation unknown to our history until after the Restoration. An inaccuracy of a more serious order occurs on page 31, where a belief in the personal reign of Christ is represented as a distinguishing tenet of the Independents, whose 'absurd ideas' on this point are said to have inspired an unconquerable aversion to royalty. A slight attention to the documentary evidence with which he ought to have been familiar, would have exempted him from so gross a blunder as to confound the Independents with the fifth-monarchy men. But enough of such exceptions. We note them with no unfriendly feeling, and certainly with no desire to disparage the work of M. Carrel. It will bear such criticisms, and is therefore worthy of the labour they involve. We have no disposition, however, to pursue them, and therefore proceed to the more agreeable part of our task.

In two sentences the author has happily expressed the great difficulty with which the popular leaders in the Long Parliament had to contend. They found, he says, 'in the ancient constitution wherewith to overthrow and punish the tyranny of Strafford, but not wherewith to prevent the return of that tyranny. Still attached to royalty, and wishing to preserve episcopacy as its necessary support, they yielded, with regret, to the necessity

of seizing upon all the various powers, the only method, according to their view, of examining, at leisure, which of them could be judiciously left to the crown.' In the case of a more truthful man, this difficulty would not have existed; but Charles had forfeited all title to confidence. His duplicity was notorious, and the remorselessness of his temper had been shewn in the incarceration and death of Sir John Eliot. To the insincerity of his father he added the more active and fearless points of his own character. The hollowness of the king was the true source of his ruin. The men of the parliament could not treat with him as a man whose word was to be believed, and Cromwell and Ireton consented, ultimately, to his trial, when they found him still plotting against their lives. Let this fact be kept in mind, and it goes far to justify the extreme demands against which modern constitutionalists as well as Tory writers are accustomed to protest. In their circumstances, the only safety was so to reduce the king *de facto* as was incompatible with the king *de jure*. The condition of England under the protectorate is thus described, and the picture is not overwrought:—

'Never had England displayed such great resources as under the administration of the handful of obscure citizens who might be regarded as having usurped the state. She paid considerable taxes; supported an army of sixty thousand men, and maintained a powerful fleet. She had seen her fields devastated, her towns ruined, her population devoured by civil war; but since the commencement of this war, she no longer had to supply the profusions of the court, nor the immense revenues of the bishops, nor the pensions of the courtiers, nor the venality of the judges, nor the insolence of lacqueys of every class. The severe morals of the presbyterians, followed by those still more rigid of the Independents, had superseded those of the monarchical society. Frivolous entertainments, feasting, theatres, bull fights, cock fighting, even popular rejoicings, had disappeared. The domains of the crown, the lands of the bishops and chapters, the estates of the nobles, had reverted to the nation, and no individual was the richer for them. The citizens had introduced into the government their habits of order and economy, their probity and their industry. Since the commencement of the war, the devouring plague of idleness had no longer exercised its ravages; every one was employed, either in administering public affairs, or in fighting, or in fabricating arms and cultivating the earth for those who fought. Not only were all the evils of war and fanaticism repaired, but all the indications of a great increase of prosperity manifested themselves.'—pp. 40, 41.

The weak protectorate of Richard, whose nomination by Cromwell was a capital error, paved the way for the Restoration, which was brought about by the base dissimulation and

treachery of Monk. The events immediately preceding it are ably sketched by our author:—

'The old party of the Stuarts had greatly profited by the troubles which had followed the death of Cromwell; and pursuing those tactics which in civil discords all parties think themselves authorized in adopting, they secretly excited the agitators, spread the most absurd reports, terrified some and seduced others, spoke of reconciliation, of forgetting the past, and actively corresponded with the sons of Charles I., who had taken refuge at Brussels. Ashley Cooper, a man of profound immorality, and with a suppleness of mind which passed for superiority, was the soul of all these intrigues. During the Revolution he had had the address to keep always on the side of the victorious party, and to preserve immense credit with the nation. Having publicly counselled Cromwell to make himself king, he now pretended that he had only given him this advice in order to destroy him, and that he had only served him in order to be in a position to betray him. As he was in thorough possession of all secrets, and a master of all affairs, the princes thought that his mediation could not be too dearly purchased, and by his care their return was urgently hastened on. When the chiefs of the Presbyterian party had made vain efforts to come to an understanding with the Republicans of the *Rump Parliament*, Ashley Cooper, and others, who intrigued with him, boldly made overtures to them on the part of the princes. They at the same time made overtures to General Monk, formerly a royalist, and who since the death of Cromwell had been on indifferent terms with Fleetwood, Lambert, and Desborough. Monk had thorough command over his army, and was posted in a country whose disposition in favour of Charles II. had undergone no change, despite the memory of Dunbar and Worcester. The result of a lengthened negotiation was the formation of a royalist and Presbyterian league against the Independents and the army. It was arranged that Monk should march upon London with his troops, and that, in the first instance, the intention announced should be that of re-establishing the Rump parliament, over which Lambert and his friends had usurped the authority. The soldiers whom these generals might have otherwise opposed to Monk, if the true project had been revealed, were deceived by this manœuvre, and preferred abandoning their chiefs and submitting to the parliament, to drawing the sword against their old companions in arms. Those under the command of Lambert even marched against him, and delivered him to the Rump parliament, which was thus re-established without a struggle. From this moment Monk was the real generalissimo of the army. He concealed his projects for yet some time, until he had secured the important posts in London, placed his own men, and distributed those of the other generals in such a manner that, when they found out the deception practised on them, they should not be able either to rally or oppose any great resistance. Then, as if by a concerted signal, there were sent from London and the various counties, addresses to Monk, in which he was called upon as

the man to whom everything was possible, to reinstate in parliament the Presbyterian members who had been expelled by the Independents in 1648.—pp. 48, 49.

The Declaration of Breda in April 1660 clearly revealed the plot which was at work. It ought to have been a warning; but it proved only a snare. It was the manifesto of a master, wearing, it is true, a benign and gracious aspect, but based throughout on assumptions subversive of popular freedom, and condemnatory of all which had been recently achieved.

The Convention-parliament received its master without conditions. The royal profligate was taken at his word. His pleasure was held to be law, and the power of three kingdoms was placed in his hands, without security being given for its discreet and faithful exercise. Hale and Prynne, almost alone, urged a wiser course; but the discussion of such topics was denounced as fraught with danger; and the renegade Monk insulted the common-sense and rights of Englishmen, by maintaining that the securities to be taken for public liberty might be safely deferred until after the restoration was completed. Verily both Monk and the nation had their reward. The former was raised to the peerage, and is now regarded as amongst the most despicable personages in our history; the latter had to endure a bitter discipline of twenty-eight years' duration, and then to content itself with such a measure of liberty as a dominant aristocracy saw fit to bestow. The haste with which Charles was received was even exceeded by the zeal with which his faintest wish was gratified. 'The conduct pursued,' remarks M. Carrel, 'after the king's arrival, by the parliament, short-sighted and feeble as it had been in his recal, in its forgetfulness of all national dignity, was far more serious in its consequences. The Commons declared, in an address to the king, that they accepted, in the name of the towns and boroughs of England, the gracious pardon offered by the declaration of Breda. When they came to consider the exceptions which this document left to their discretion, they carried them so far, that the king, was obliged to moderate these demonstrations of their zeal, and to remind them, that without the confidence placed in his promises of oblivion of injuries, neither he nor they would then be assembled in parliament.' What followed comported well with this beginning. A special commission, composed of courtiers, or those who had betrayed the revolution, was formed for the trial of the regicides, ten of whom were speedily executed; and three others were subsequently apprehended in Holland, and consigned to the same fate. They met death with more than composure. Whether right or wrong—and judged by legal rules it was clearly the latter—they gloried in the part

they had taken in the execution of Charles, and appealed to posterity to vindicate their fame. 'Devoted by anticipation, but still proudly erect, they sought not by legal subtleties to avert a responsibility which their very position rendered self-evident. Calm before a passion-guided tribunal, they astonished consciences not altogether at their ease, by the imperturbable conviction with which they defended that which they had done, and which the nation had but just learned to abjure.'

The execution of Sir Henry Vane, not as a regicide, but as an enemy of the Stuarts, revealed still more distinctly the merciless character of the Restoration. It was urged on by the king in manifest violation of his promise to the two houses, and plainly proclaimed the spirit in which the new government was to be administered. Few men have more nobly sustained the loftiest professions. As a practical statesman, he was inferior to Cromwell, but for unsullied honour, for lofty patriotism, for fervent benevolence and exalted piety, he has never been surpassed in ancient or modern times. He met death with the heroism of a martyr, and the record of his virtues, illustrated by the calm dignity and religious confidence of his last hours, are amongst the most precious of our historical treasures.

Clarendon was the prime minister of the Restoration; and with him were associated the Earl of Southampton, the Duke of Ormond, Lord Colepepper, and Sir Edward Nicholas. Their policy is now clearly traceable, and though not wholly wanting in claims on our gratitude, was mainly distinguished by intolerance and tyranny. The convention parliament which received the king was composed principally of Presbyterians, who readily lent themselves to the political designs of the court, but were unfit instruments for the religious revolution which was resolved on. It was therefore speedily dissolved, and a new parliament, composed of other and more pliable materials, assembled on the 8th of May, 1662. In this assembly the Cavaliers entirely predominated, and Clarendon was in consequence encouraged to act out his avowed policy of pulling up 'all those principles of sedition and rebellion by the roots, which had been the ground of the infamous rebellion in the Long Parliament.' The Savoy conference was a mere delusion, intended only to amuse till the presbyterians might be punished with impunity. The views of the court were better shown in the Act of Uniformity, the Conventicle Act, and the Five Mile Act, in which the ministers and the bishops heartily concurred, in order to put down their political and religious opponents. For a time they triumphed. Thousands of estimable men were driven from their homes, their ministry was silenced, their families were beggared, and they themselves, in vast numbers, were consigned

to loathsome prisons, and the charge of brutal keepers. These infamous laws contributed, however, to the overthrow of the minister, by whom they had been carried. They contained the germ of a retribution, which was speedily inflicted on the head of Clarendon; and though not alone in producing his fall, they greatly contributed to it. The king was a concealed catholic, and his brother, the Duke of York, was kept, with difficulty, from avowing his preference of the ancient creed. They could not, therefore, but regard with aversion the operation of these persecuting laws on the members of the papal church, and Charles frequently resolved on interposing the royal prerogative, in order to stay their vengeance. On this point, however, the ministers were inexorable, and the opportunity was not lost by their enemies. M. Carrel somewhat overstates this matter, or does not at least give sufficient prominence to other considerations, which accelerated the fall of Clarendon. There is, however, substantial truth in his account of the rupture. He says:—

'Under the general name of Non-conformists, the Anglican church persecuted at once the Anabaptists, the Millenarians, the Presbyterians, and the Catholics. Now, the latter had powerful supporters at court, and more than this, were filled with high hopes. The Papists had been throughout the civil war the indefatigable partisans of Charles I. During the exile of the princes they had not, like the Presbyterians, and many members of the Church of England, concurred in the despotism of Cromwell. The king, as we have seen, preferred this religion to all others, not as one of purer doctrine, but as one better adapted to promote the interests of monarchies. The Duke of York, his brother, had a still more decided inclination for it; though intimately connected with the minister, Clarendon, whose daughter he had first seduced and then married, and of whose general administration he was a strenuous supporter, he censured him warmly for this persecution, common to Catholics with Presbyterians. The queen-mother was a zealous Catholic. The king since his return had wedded a Papist princess. The court was filled with priests of this religion, in the service of the two queens; these circumstances determined Charles in requiring of his ministers, and the lower house, to make a distinction in favour of the Catholics, and, not obtaining his object, he complained that the promise he had given in his declaration of Breda was broken against his will. He had announced equal toleration for all, he said, and he would give it; he was master, and he needed no other person's sanction. The ministers, Clarendon and Southampton, represented to him, that if there was one sentiment which, more powerfully than any other, predominated in the breast of Englishmen, it was the hatred of Popery; that the Gunpowder-plot, the executions under Queen Mary, the massacre in Ireland, were not forgotten; that the slightest mark of favour given to the Papists would again raise into impor-

tance the Presbyterians, and other men still more dangerous; and that, since rigorous measures against the Presbyterians were deemed essential, it was equally essential to preserve those measures from unpopularity, that they should be extended to the Papists and all Nonconformists whatsoever. These arguments failed to influence the king, who intimated his intention to publish a proclamation modifying, in favour of all Nonconformists without exception, the excessive severity of the act of parliament.

'This was the commencement of a misunderstanding between the king and his Anglican ministers, which, on the part of the former, became determined hostility, and, before long, he yielded without reserve to the inclination which drew him towards other men, whose personal profligacy encouraged his own—men who were the companions of his debaucheries, and the obsequious flatterers of his mistresses; men who were enriched by his prodigality at the expense of the people. Regarded with dislike by Clarendon and Southampton, who throughout had inspired the king rather with respect than with either confidence or friendship, they destroyed the credit of those ministers, by scoffing at their principles, by insinuating distrust of their intentions, and by ridiculing their language and their manners. The latter expedient was of all powerful effect with Charles II., who infinitely preferred the counsels of men who amused him by the sallies of their wit, and interested him by their brilliant vices.—pp. 69-71.

Clarendon's virtues, which were neither numerous nor brilliant, contributed to his overthrow. They combined with the worst features of his administration in preparing the way for his impeachment and exile. He was hated by the Cavaliers for refusing them the ascendancy which they claimed; by the Presbyterians he was regarded as the author of their sufferings; and the Catholics abhorred him as standing between them and the royal prerogative. Though wedded to monarchy in the worst forms it had assumed under the Tudors and the Stuarts, there were yet limits to his devotion. Hallam, who evinces no unfriendly disposition towards the chancellor, justly remarks that 'He would prepare the road for absolute monarchy, but not introduce it; he would assist to batter down the walls, but not to march into the town.' He hesitated, therefore, where the king and his brother specially looked for obedience, and the estrangement thus commenced was turned into bitter enmity when it was found that he was resolutely opposed to the religious policy of his masters. His private virtues were also offensive to a monarch whose excesses he reproved, and whose chosen companions he regarded with aversion and contempt.

'It was,' says M. Carrel, 'in the eighth year of the reign of Charles II. that the Anglican ministry fell. It had fulfilled all that its principles permitted it to undertake in promotion of the counter-

revolution; now that this revolution required the overthrow of the Anglican worship and the suppression of the parliamentary opposition, it found itself under the necessity of transferring its destinies to fresh hands. The Catholic party having as yet but a precarious and unavowed existence, it was only men of reckless ambition, and alike indifferent to all sects and all parties, who would consent to become instrumental to the iniquitous object in view. Such men readily presented themselves in the libertine throng who had long since collected around the king, and whom the public denounced as the instigators of all his misconduct; for when the nation has thrown the shield of inviolability over the person of its monarch, its only resource, when he misgoverns them or himself, is to allege that he is misled by others.'—p. 84.

Clarendon was succeeded, after a short interval, by the *Cabal* ministry, one of the most corrupt and reckless cliques which ever ruled the fortunes of a nation. It was composed of Lord Clifford, the Earl of Arlington, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Ashley, better known as Earl of Shaftesbury, and the Duke of Lauderdale, than whom it would have been difficult, even in that age of corrupt politicians, to bring together more unprincipled or disgraceful men. Charles became the pensioner of Louis XIV., and conspired, with the meanness of an assassin, against the liberties of a nation, whose greatest folly had been its confidence in his word. The French king engaged to assist him in dispensing with parliaments, and he in return undertook to assist Louis in the conquest of Holland. Their treaty was carefully concealed, but its general features could not fail to be suspected from the obvious insincerity and tortuous policy of the king. The restoration of popery and the establishment of political despotism were the objects of the Cabal ministry throughout its existence. Happily its power was inferior to its turpitude. The sturdy qualities of the English people were proof against its seductions, and even their prejudices were on this occasion subservient to their true interests. As an illustration of the base practices to which the court was prepared to stoop, we may instance the mutilation of Sir John Coventry for words spoken in parliament, and the impunity secured to the retainer who had attempted to assassinate one of the most zealous partizans of the Stuart house. Referring to the latter, M. Carrel says,—

'Some time after this, a ruffian, named Blood, hired by Buckingham to assassinate the old duke of Ormond, having failed to effect his purpose, was tried, and being condemned, received the king's pardon. The unaccountable protection granted by Charles to this man, who afterwards appeared at Court, decorated with orders, in receipt of a pension, and in high credit, was interpreted in the most

unfavourable manner, and gave rise, in the presence of the whole court, to a scene very offensive to Charles. The son of the old duke, (the Earl of Ossory,) soon afterwards seeing the duke of Buckingham standing by the king, could not contain himself, and addressed him thus: 'My lord of Buckingham, I know well that you are at the bottom of this late attempt of Blood's upon my father; and therefore I give you fair warning, that if my father comes to a violent end, by sword or pistol; if he dies by the hand of a ruffian, or by the more secret way of poison, I shall not be at a loss to know the first author of it; I shall consider you as the assassin; I shall treat you as such; and wherever I meet you I shall pistol you, though you should stand behind the king's chair. And I tell it you now in his majesty's presence, that you may be sure I shall keep my word.' No one spoke a word; Buckingham and the king himself kept silence. It was impossible to brave either of them more daringly.'—pp. 96, 97.

A subtle policy was now attempted with a view of estranging the Protestant Dissenters from all sympathy with the Anglican Church. The king and his ministers affected to commiserate their condition, and to desire their relief from the intolerant laws under which they suffered. The advocates of persecution became loud in their professions of leniency, and reproached the hierarchy with resorting to measures alike inconsistent with social happiness and the benign spirit of the Christian faith. The real object was to serve the Papists, and the king's Declaration of Indulgence was, therefore, rejected by the nation, as a covert attack on the Reformation. The popular party in the Commons summoned all their strength to contest the prerogative on this point. Reading correctly the signs of the times they limited themselves to the exposure of its popish policy, and called upon the nation to assist them in defending the Protestant faith. In this effort they were successful, though their temporary triumph was purchased at an ultimate cost far beyond its value. The Test Act of 1673, compelled the Duke of York, and various other Catholic officers and functionaries to resign their posts, and led to the early breaking up of the Cabal Ministry. The court had vainly endeavoured to rally the Presbyterians to its aid, but no confidence was reposed in its professions, and Alderman Love, one of the members for London, and a zealous Presbyterian, declared on behalf of his co-religionists, that they were content to let the bill pass without the clause in favour of non-conforming Protestants, which the court had proposed in the hope of securing a rejection of the measure.

'He said that before all things it was essential to combat popery; that the test would openly brand all those who secretly favoured that dangerous heresy; that several provisions of the bill were, in-

deed, very vexatious to those who, like himself, were of the Presbyterian church, but that, pending the attainment of more favourable terms, he declared, in their name, that they would prefer remaining exposed to the severity of the laws of the church of England, than impede them in their operation against the papists.—p. 106.

The confidence thus expressed was misplaced, and a century and a half had to elapse before parliament could be induced to abolish the law which desecrated a religious ordinance, and deprived a large portion of the community, not originally contemplated, of their civil rights. The debate on this bill in the House of Lords was signalized by the defection of Shaftesbury from the court. He was too far-seeing not to recognise the danger which threatened the *Cabal*, and therefore hastened to make his peace with the popular party. As unprincipled as he was ambitious, he readily veered with every change, and having already betrayed the patriots, he now rendered the same service to the court.

The Cabal Ministry was succeeded in 1673 by that of the Earl of Danby, and the period of its existence, which continued to 1678, was full of dissimulation and chicanery on the part of the king, and of growing mistrust and boldness on that of the commons. It reverted, on some points, to the policy of Clarendon, and sought to make the king absolute, without aiding the restoration of popery.

'Let us see what the new administration under Danby did. Judging that the defeat of the court party had arisen from the unexpected reconciliation between the Presbyterians and the members of the church of England, in order to destroy this alliance, it conceived the idea of forming another between the church of England party and the old cavaliers, who since the restoration had been treated with a neglect amounting to ingratitude.

'To ingratiate the churchmen, they prosecuted a number of papists; they undertook the reconstruction of the cathedral of Saint Paul, destroyed in the fire of London. Conferences were arranged between them and some English bishops, in reference to a scheme which was to destroy popery for the benefit of the kingdom and of the English church. In these conferences, it was proposed that all the sanguinary laws against the Nonconformists, without distinction of sect, should be again put in force, and that there should be drawn up a political test, to be presented to the two houses, as a complement of the religious test adopted in the last session.'—p. 113.

The instrument with which the minister worked, and on which he mainly relied, was money. This was liberally dispensed amongst the opposition, and even some of its leaders did not disdain to receive it as the price of softening particular votes. In the mean time one of those paroxysms occurred, to which all

popular communities are more or less subject. Universal distrust prevailed. All men attributed to Charles and his brother an intention of subverting the established religion, and in doing so, as clear evidence now proves, were not far wrong. The popular mind was therefore prepared, and Titus Oates and his companions, the heroes of the popish plot, found ready credence for their atrocious falsehoods. The nation was, in fact, frenzied. All classes partook of the delusion. The honest, as well as the base; the patriotic, equally with the trading politician; the church-of-England-man and the dissenter, the bishop and the presbyter, all sympathised with the common sentiment, and under the combined influence of fear and resentment, were deaf to the voice of reason and the appeals of justice. 'The Lords and Commons,' it was declared by the two houses, 'are of opinion that there is, and hath been, a damnable and hellish plot, contrived and carried on by popish recusants, for assassinating and murdering the king, for subverting the government, and uprooting and destroying the protestant religion.'

'And now commenced, before the courts of justice and the upper house, a sombre prosecution of the Catholic lords Arundel, Petre-Stafford, Powis, Bellasis, the Jesuits Coleman, Ireland, Grieve, Pickering, and, in succession, all who were implicated by the indefatigable denunciations of Titus Oates and Bedloe. Unhappily, these courts of justice, desiring, in common with the whole nation to condemn rather than to examine, wanted neither elements which might, if strictly acted upon, establish legal proof of conspiracy against some of the accused, nor terrible laws to destroy them when found guilty. And it was here that a spectacle, at first imposing, became horrible. No friendly voice arose to save those men who were guilty only of impracticable wishes, of extravagant conceptions. The king, the duke of York, the French Abassador, thoroughly acquainted as they were with the real nature of these imputed crimes, remained silent; they were thoroughly cowed. No generous remonstrance was made by the enlightened men, who saw in this accusation merely a specious but useful argument against popery. Many influential members of the two Houses regarded Oates and Bedloe, to use Lord Shaftesbury's expression, as men fallen from heaven expressly to save England from tyranny. They made it a fearful system with them not to combat, in minds weaker than their own, a credulity arising from fear and from a love of the marvellous. There were some, and among others Seymour, who seized this pretext of dangers incurred by the king, to pass over, with popular applause, to the Opposition; and hence that concurrence of men of all parties and of every opinion, in punishing utterly vague projects under the determinate form given them by the voice of the informers.'—p. 129.

We cannot dwell on this deplorable tragedy. It was honour-

able to none, and the weapons which it sharpened, were speedily turned against their employers. It must, however, be borne in mind, as Mr. Hallam has justly remarked, 'that there was really and truly a popish plot in being, though not that which Titus Oates and his associates pretended to reveal. . . . In this plot the king, the duke of York, and the king of France, were chief conspirators; the Romish priests, and especially the Jesuits, were eager cooperators.' So much must be admitted to the truth of history, but it offers no justification of the measures which were adopted. The impeachment of Danby speedily followed, and marked another triumph of the popular power. The monarch endeavoured to save his minister, but the prerogative suffered in the contest. Parliament was prorogued, and afterwards dissolved, but its successor renewed the impeachment, and Danby was at length committed to the tower. For a time, Charles seemed to be subdued. None doubted his inclinations, but many were willing to believe that he had, at length, learned wisdom, and was prepared to demean himself as a constitutional monarch. He sought the advice, and appeared to lean on the character and ability of Sir William Temple. But all this was delusive—a mere bending before the storm, to resume, 'ere long, his natural position.' The coalition ministry which succeeded in the spring of 1679, endured but for a short time, and never enjoyed the confidence either of parliament or of the nation. Its members were endlessly divided in their views, and even those who had been selected from the opposition, were far from agreeing in their policy; some were more than suspected of a leaning towards republicanism; others favoured the pretensions of the duke of Monmouth; while a third party advocated extreme limitations to the prerogative, as the best means of guarding against the dangers arising from a popish successor. Wearied with the abortive effort, Lord Russell, and others, at length retired from the council: and the triumvirate Essex, Halifax, and Sunderland, soon found that their advice was disregarded by a faithless master. Parliament was prorogued indefinitely, and a serious illness, with which the king was attacked, aroused at once the sympathy and the fears of the nation. Shaftesbury was dismissed, Essex and Halifax resigned, and the return of the duke of York emboldened his brother to organize a new administration of more compliant and despotic temper. The attempted exclusion of the duke of York was mainly instrumental in producing this change, and the new ministry, of which Lord Radnor was the nominal head, was relied on to frustrate the efforts of the popular party to carry this measure through the upper house. Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, was a leading member of this administration, and

is described by an unscrupulous advocate of his party, in a manner not remarkably to his credit. 'His infirmities,' says North, 'were passion, in which he would swear like a cutter, and indulging in wine. But his party was that of the church of England, of whom he had the honour for many years to be counted the head.' It would lead us too far from our design, were we to sketch the proceedings of the two houses on the Exclusion Bill. It was carried again and again by the commons, but was as frequently rejected by the lords, where the bishops, true to their political subserviency, threw their whole weight into the scale of the court. In the meantime, a reaction was taking place. The leaders of opposition were outstripping the popular will; the timid and the wealthy began to fear that the times of 1640 were about to return, and a manœuvre of the court, by which a bill was introduced, exempting protestant nonconformists from the laws enacted against popery, reawoke the intolerance of the established church, and disengaged many of its adherents from opposition. In this state of the public feeling a new parliament was elected, which the king summoned to meet at Oxford on the 21st of March, 1681. He repaired thither with a strong body of guards, and many of the members were attended by large numbers of their constituents. Everything portended a crisis, and thoughtful men began to calculate the mischiefs of civil war. The Exclusion Bill was again carried by the commons, when the king, thoroughly alarmed, yet resolved on his course, suddenly dissolved the house, and returned to Windsor. Few had been prepared for so bold a step. It did not accord with the character of the king, but was evidently planned and arranged for by his brother. Its effect was marvellous, and had the nature of Englishmen permitted, it might have been improved to the permanent advantage of absolutism.

'The dissolution,' says our author, 'of the parliament of Oxford was promptly followed by a manifesto addressed to the nation by the king. Taking credit to himself for all the moderation, throwing all the fault upon the parliament, he gave an account to England of what had passed: 'We offered to concur in any remedies that could be proposed for the security of the Protestant religion, and to preserve the liberty and property of our subjects at home, and to supporting our neighbours and allies abroad, to all which we have met with most unsuitable returns from the house of commons. But for all this, we are resolved, by the blessing of God, to have frequent parliaments, and both in and out of parliament to use our utmost efforts to extirpate Popery, and to redress all the grievances of our good subjects, and in all things to govern according to the laws of the kingdom.' 'The effect produced by this manifesto is one of the gravest subjects for meditation presented by this history. The vic-

lent rupture of Oxford all at once turned to the profit of the court. Without intrigues, without a struggle, from a simple displacing of those immense forces which the exclusion party had not been able to conduct to the point of civil war, royalty, just before about to succumb, again became all-powerful, and its adversaries lost even their existence as a party. Every class of interest, all shades of opinion, united in the desire to avert civil war, to put an end to a state of agitation which must lead to it, accepted the new promises of the king, if not as a guarantee for liberty, at least as so much time gained. All those who from principle, passion or interest, did not allow themselves to be led away by this general movement, were fain to conceal themselves or remain silent; the only class which adhered to them being the lowest ranks of the populace.

'The high clergy had been threatened as well as the court; it looked upon this victory as its own; it had the king's manifesto read to the people in all the churches, and declaimed from the pulpits against those who, under the pretext of combating popery, had desired to bring back the revolutionary regime. Addresses in reply to the declaration came from all parts of the kingdom: the grand juries, the quarter-sessions, cities, boroughs, corporations, hastened to declare their adhesion to the great change which had just taken place. Some of the addresses confined themselves to the expression of their confidence in the good intentions of the king, others congratulated him on his frank reconciliation with the church of England; but the majority were a condemnation of the principles upon which it had been attempted to exclude the duke of York; some of the most energetic denounced the acts of the two last parliaments as rebellion; some went so far as to demand that the penal laws should be put in force against the Nonconforming Protestants; the addresses of the old cavalier party were either ridiculous rhodomontade, or an apology for all that the royal government had done against the principles of the Revolution Most of the citizens who presented their addresses were made knights. They gave one another banquets, at which they drank with vehement enthusiasm the health of the king and the duke of York; as to popery, there was now no more said about it, than though it had never inspired a fear in England.'—pp. 155—157.

The connexion of the opposition leaders during the period we have reviewed, with the French king, has been matter of severe crimination. The fact is beyond dispute, though the extent to which it proceeded is matter of question. It was conducted through the French ambassadors, Barillon and Rouvigny, and commenced about the spring of 1678. Lords Russell and Hollis are free from the suspicion of having received money, though others, amongst whom we regret to find the name of Algernon Sidney, are not equally exempt. Sums of five hundred or three hundred guineas are represented by Barillon as having been taken by them, in token of the French king's favour. We

should be glad to discredit Barillon's accounts, and there are not wanting circumstances which involve their accuracy in suspicion. On the whole, however, our judgment inclines to an admission of the fact, nor is it difficult for a candid mind to discover, not a justification certainly, but a solution of it, consistent with the integrity of the parties concerned. They knew that Charles relied on the French king, and must probably have felt that, if the latter entered thoroughly into his interests, it would scarcely be possible to preserve the liberties of England. They might, therefore, not unreasonably think, that it was expedient to keep up a good understanding with France; to countermine the plots of the court, of which Versailles was known to be the scene; to fight their king with his own weapons, that he might thus at least be disarmed, and the danger which threatened from his French ally be averted. Such, we apprehend, was their reasoning; and there is one thing which strongly corroborates the supposition. They never deserted the popular cause, nor swerved even for an instant from their fidelity to it. What they were before their communications with Louis they continued to be afterwards. His foreign schemes may possibly have been aided, though of this we have no clear evidence, but on English ground and in relation to English liberty, they abided, with all integrity and zeal, by their professions. So much is due to their memory, but it would have been better for their reputation, and, on the whole, better for their country too, if they had eschewed the arts of intrigue, and kept themselves free from the suspicion of corruption. The true strength of patriotism lies in its obvious integrity. Anything which involves this in doubt is a national evil, which a sense of public duty, as well as a regard to personal repute, should urge all popular leaders to avoid. The advocates of liberty, in order to fulfil their high vocation, should be like Cæsar's wife.

The court was not slow in improving its present advantage. Many of the charters of the kingdom were cancelled, the nonconformists were bitterly persecuted, and legal proceedings were instituted against some of the most eminent members of opposition. The trials of Russell and Sidney are well known, and need not be dwelt on. They were conducted with brutal ferocity; the laws of evidence were grossly violated, and the verdicts of the juries were foregone conclusions. The execution of these illustrious patriots speedily followed, and the record of their virtues, and of the calm dignity with which they met their fate, is sacred to every true Englishman. Their names are lisped by our children, and will live in the national memory so long as the spirit of freedom survives.

Thus far we have attempted to sketch a brief outline of the

Counter-Revolution, recorded by M. Carrel. From this period the supremacy of James, duke of York, dates, but we must defer to some future opportunity any notice of his despotism and folly. Our limits are already exceeded.

In the translation of M. Carrel's work, an acceptable service has been rendered to the English reader, for which we tender our thanks. In the event, however, of a second edition, we counsel its being carefully revised. It bears marks of haste, and in some instances scarcely succeeds in rendering the meaning of the author intelligible.

Art. VIII.—1. *Fisher's Drawing-Room Scrap-Book*, 1847. By the Hon. Mrs. Norton. Fisher, Son, and Co., London.

2. *The Juvenile Scrap-Book*. By the Author of the Women of England. 1847. Fisher, Son, and Co., London.

3. *The Gallery of Scripture Engravings, Historical and Landscape, with Descriptions, Historical, Geographical, and Pictorial*. By John Kitto, D.D., F.S.A., Editor of the Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature, &c. &c. Volume I. Fisher, Son, and Co., London.

THE children of the present generation ought to be much wiser than their predecessors. Every method which ingenuity can devise is adopted for their instruction, and the richest and noblest productions of the human mind are placed within their reach, as soon as their intellects are sufficiently matured to qualify them for their perusal. We anticipate large results from the cheapening of our standard literature, and shall be much disappointed if the race now springing up into life be not better informed, on all points conducive to human improvement and happiness, than those of us who are passing off the stage. Whilst gratified by the diffusion of useful knowledge, we are also pleased to notice the increased attention which is given to works of art. This has been very observable for some years past, and the class of Annuals, though not destined, we imagine, to endure for ever, has contributed certainly to familiarise the public mind with some of the choicest productions of British art. They have promoted, if not created, a want previously unfelt, and are now giving place to other works of more permanent value.

'Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap-Book' again solicits public favour in a garb of tasteful elegance, and under the able editorship of the Hon. Mrs. Norton. It appears this year with its accustomed splendour, embellished with beautiful portraits of

the Queen and Prince Albert; on the former of which Mrs. Norton has written rather a long poem, from the commencement of which we extract a few lines.

'A fair face, and a fragile arm,
In England's present hour,
Assume the sceptre and the crown;
Emblems of royal power.
And he who deems a woman's hand
Should scarce have strength to sway,
Let him but gaze on that fair face,
And it shall say him nay.
* * * * *
And England treasures glorious days,
Linked with a woman's reign:
The past has given the future pledge.
Such trust need not be vain.'

The editor gives us as her frontispiece a likeness of her own beautiful face, in which is distinctly marked superiority of intellect, loftiness of sentiment, warm and ardent feeling, with an eye speaking the softer and deep-loving powers of her soul. In gazing on her countenance, we cannot avoid the wish that she had been placed in the midst of a domestic circle, where her better qualities would have been appreciated, rather than in the sphere which has proved so unfriendly to their growth. The volume contains thirty-six beautifully executed engravings, including *The Anglers, Lord Byron's room in the Moncenigo Palace, The Common Loss,* and *The Fountain of Vaucluse,* with several portraits of eminent persons, amongst which are admirable likenesses of Richard Cobden, Esq., and of the Hon. C. P. Villiers. The poetry is certainly superior, and we feel some difficulty in making our selection from its many beauties. *The Departure of Hagar, The Anglers, Christ and the Leper, The Gates of Rome and the Gates of Heaven,* and many others, are written with great taste and sensibility. The soliloquy of *Mrs. Harris while threading her needle,* by Lady Dufferin, we subjoin, for the entertainment of our readers.

'Ah deary me! what needles! Well, really I must say,
All things are sadly altered (for the worse, too) since my day!
The pins have neither heads nor points—the needles have no eyes,
And there 's ne'er a pair of scissors of the good old-fashioned size!
The very bodkins now are made in fine new-fangled ways,
And the good old British thimble—is a dream of other days!
Now that comes of machinery!—I 'm given to understand,
That great folks turn their noses up at all things 'done by hand,'
Altho' its easy proving to the most thick-pated dunce,
That things ar'nt done the better for all being done at once.

I 'm sure I often ponder, with a kind of awful dread
On those bold 'spinning-jennies' that 'go off, of their own head!'
Those power-looms and odd machines,—those whizzing things with wheels,
That evermore 'keep moving,'—besides, one really feels
So superannuated-like, and laid upon a shelf,
When one sees a worsted stocking get up, and *knit itself*.
* * * * * *
Ah! that comes of those radicals! Why, life 's a perfect storm,—
A whirlwind of inventions! with their 'progress' and 'reform.'
The good old days—the quiet times, that calmly used to glide,
Are changed into a steeple chase,—a wild 'cross-country ride!
A loud view—holloa in our ears—away! away! we go;
A levelling all distinctions, and a mingling high and low:
All spurring on, with seats so light, and principles so loose,
Which! over this old prejudice! slap-bang! through that abuse!
No matter why,—no matter where! without a stop or hitch,
And nobody has time to help his neighbour in the ditch!
And then, what turns and changes! Good lack! I 'd rather be,
A joint-stool in a pantomime, than some great folks I see.'
Now that comes of newspapers! I know in my young days,
'Least said, and soonest mended,' was a maxim worthy praise;
But were I to give counsel to the Public—as a friend,
'Little said and nothing written,' is the rule I 'd recommend.
Such snapping up and setting down! Reporters, left and right!
All bent on penning down a man *to lie*, in black and right!
Such raking up of Hansard! such flinging in one's face,
Any little 'lapsus linguæ' that may once have taken place!
Such a finding, and a proving, and a calling over coals,
As if it really mattered to our poor immortal souls,
That Thingumbob should think or say, on questions so and so,
The foolish things he thought and said some forty years ago!
There 's one thing in those papers, tho', I 'm very glad to see,
That many more *old women* think like me:
I'm even told that certain dukes will echo back my groan,
And sigh for those dear golden days when we 'left *well* alone.'

Mrs. Ellis has not been unmindful of the claims of her young friends at this season of the year, and her annual, 'The Juvenile Scrap Book'—will be sure to receive what it fully merits—their cordial welcome. She has spared neither pains nor trouble to render it both attractive and useful. The latter, as usual, she has kept prominently in view, believing, as she tells us, 'that her young friends will never find themselves more happy than when *thinking* on subjects worthy of thought.' The volume contains five tales, written with animation and taste, and a tone of healthful sentiment prevails throughout, which cannot fail to benefit the class of youthful readers for whom it is intended. There are sixteen very creditably executed engravings; and of

the poetry, our readers shall judge for themselves from the following specimen:—

TIME.

'What is so swift, thou foaming river,
As their bright waters in their flow?
Scarce on thy breast the sunbeams quiver
Ere, mingling light and foam, they go.

Time is more swift, for while the finger
Of hope would point some hour of joy,
Like evening tints that may not linger,
Dark shades of night that hour destroy.

Grieve not that thus, by Heaven directed
Quick-rolling Time sweeps on his way;
But joy to think the thief detected
Who steals our misspent hours away.'

We congratulate the public on the appearance of the first volume of 'The Gallery of Scripture Engravings,' considering it one of the most finished works in our illustrated literature; and believing it to be worthy of a place on the library shelf, when it has served its purpose in the drawing-room and social circle. If picturesque illustrations of the events and localities of scripture history, are in themselves worthy of notice; they are rendered doubly so by the explanations and descriptions given in this volume, by Dr. Kitto, the able editor of *The Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature*. The Landscapes, 'represent the most interesting of the sites mentioned in the sacred Scripture; and while they largely gratify the desire so generally felt, to become acquainted with the distinguishing characteristics of the spots made venerable by the acts and sufferings of Christ, and by the presence of patriarchs, prophets, and apostles; the combination of historical and landscape engravings, cannot but be deemed as natural as it is unquestionably interesting. The Historical subjects gratify the taste, and assist the imagination by realising the circumstances and action of the scriptural incidents, while at the same time, the landscapes represent in faithful characters the places where these circumstances were witnessed.' The work is rendered more valuable by the accuracy which marks its descriptions;—an accuracy which has been secured by extensive research, and the author's personal acquaintance with the East. The publishers have done wisely in 'leaving the literary department in the care' of Dr. Kitto, whose 'well-known productions in biblical literature' constitute an ample guarantee for the 'truthfulness of the descriptions, and for the soundness

of the views which they embody.' We find the names of Rubens, Rembrandt, Raffaelle, Correggio, Vandyke, West, and other eminent artists amongst the masters, from whose paintings, the plates, which are sixty-five in number, have been taken. They include *The last Supper, The destruction of Jerusalem, The Convent of Mount Carmel, Hagar sent away, Hagar in the Desert, Samuel and Eli,* and many others which might be selected. We recommend *The Gallery of Scripture Engravings* as a work of intrinsic value to all who are interested in the localities of the events recorded in Holy Writ.

Art. IX.—1. *An Address on behalf of the London Branch of the Provisional Committee,* 1845.

2. *Narrative of the Proceedings of the Meetings held in Liverpool, October,* 1845.

3. *Minutes of the Meetings of the Aggregate Committee held in Liverpool, October,* 1845, *and January,* 1846.

4. *Minutes of the Meetings of the Aggregate Committee, held in Birmingham, April,* 1846.

5. *On the Evangelical Alliance; its Design, its Difficulties, its Proceedings, and its Prospects, with Practical Suggestions.* By the Rev. Dr. Chalmers.

6. *Abstract of the Proceedings and final Resolutions of the Conference, held in Freemasons' Hall, London, on August 19th,* 1846, *and following days.*

7. *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Conference.*

8. *Appendix to the Report of the Proceedings of the Conference.*

9. *Historical Sketch of the Evangelical Alliance.*

We have before us all the documents, legitimately within our reach, relating to the history and proceedings of the Evangelical Alliance. These we are about to use with exclusive reference to the question of religious fellowship with slaveholders, and particularly American or United States slaveholders. We shall leave all other questions regarding the Alliance wholly untouched in the present article, and shall, as far as possible, write uninfluenced by any opinions we may entertain concerning

the origin, objects, principles, and tendencies of the Alliance. Apart from all other considerations, we should have been disposed to bestow the heartiest commendation on that body, if its course on the subject of slavery had been consistent with our views of religious integrity, and the nature of the abomination to be dealt with; while, neither personal esteem for the men who composed, in great part, the late Conference, nor the most sincere love for the professed object of the Alliance—Christian Union—will prevent us from stating the facts of the case, or from pronouncing our judgment upon them.

In this matter we have no discretion. Our duty to truth, and the sacred cause of God and man, demand from us a fearless and honest review of the events which have taken place during the past year, on the subject of slavery, in connexion with a proposal to unite in a grand Œcumenical Alliance, Christians of Evangelical sentiments throughout all the regions of the earth. During the period necessary for the preparations for a meeting, at which such an Alliance should be formed, the question of slavery, and slaveholding by professed Evangelical Christians, came to be considered, and disposed of. At the meeting recently assembled in London, it again came under consideration; it occupied four days, and was again disposed of. Since the meeting in London, it has been forced upon the attention of a meeting composed exclusively of British members, assembled in Manchester, and has been again disposed of. Let us review these several discussions, and their results. A deeply solemn and unutterably momentous subject has been again and again made the theme of deliberation, and the matter of divers decisions, by assemblies of men met for the purpose of promoting a hallowed, tender, and heavenly union among the followers of the Lord Jesus Christ,—a union in spirit and holy effort, for high and sanctified ends, among men superior to the influence of names, and parties, and forms, and shades of doctrine—men capable of recognising, admiring, and loving the image and the character of Christ, in disciples who might not happen to sit upon the same form in the divine school, or to bear the same denomination in the church militant. That subject was slaveholding,—the buying, selling, and retaining of *human* beings as articles of merchandise. The question was,—'Is a man who buys and sells his fellow-creatures eligible for admission into an Evangelical Alliance? An alliance of those who are to furnish to the world the most sublime proof, since the days of Pentecost, of the purity and power of the religion of Christ?' The days of Pentecost! When the disciples 'were *all* filled with the Holy Ghost,' and 'spake the word of God with boldness;' 'neither said any of

them that aught of the things which he possesed was his own; but they had all things in common.' 'Shall a man, known to be in unlawful possession of his fellow-men, and to claim them as his property, in the same way as his furniture and farm implements,—who claims them in virtue of laws, which not only allow him to possess them as chattels, but forbid him at the same time to instruct them either for time or for eternity, be a member of the Evangelical Alliance?' That was the question which had to be determined—not by those who claimed to be ranked as evangelical Christians, while they held slaves, and trafficked in the persons of men; but by an overwhelming majority of non-slaveholders; of British Christians, whose acts were to proclaim to the world, whether or not men might be the disciples, the messengers, and the ministers of Christ, while they were slaveholders.

Before we look at the conduct of the parties connected with the Alliance, let us glance at the progress of religious opinion in this country on the subject of slave-trading and slave-holding. The movement in favour of the abolition of slavery, whether in this country or in America, had its origin in a deep religious sentiment, and a profound and conscientious examination of the word of God. The prize essay of Clarkson, especially his preface to the second edition; the writings of Granville Sharpe; the journals of John Woolman; the appeal of William Wilberforce; and the life-long labours of Sandiford and Benezet, will abundantly prove this. The torch of freedom in this holy cause was lighted at the altar of God. The sustaining motive in the souls of those who consecrated themselves to the work, was not mere humanity. No; they not only pitied the sufferings of the victim of oppression, and yearned for his deliverance, but saw, with the vision of men 'pure in heart,' a stupendous and most guilty violation of the law of God, calling for vengeance, not alone on the immediate perpetrators of the deed, but on the nations sanctioning or permitting the impious and inhuman traffic. Religion led the way. Religion, 'pure and undefiled,' supported the men who fainted not, until the reluctant senates of the land pronounced the doom of the accursed trade. To Christianity belongs the glory of redeeming our nation from the crime of making merchandise of slaves and of the souls of men.

As it was in the case of the abolition of the slave-trade, so was it also in respect of slavery. It is true that the Christian world did not at once admit the crime of slave-holding under all circumstances; and yet there was an instinctive revolt from the act, wherever the judgment and feelings were uncorrupted. Nothing, however, was wanting; but some powerful voice to

enunciate the unadulterated and eternal truth, to call forth an universal response. That voice was at length heard; it was the voice of the late Dr. Andrew Thomson, of Edinburgh, who, on unfurling the banner of Immediate Emancipation, declared, with the authority of God, and the attestation of all human hearts in his favour, the essential, invariable, and everlasting sinfulness of slave-holding.

'Slavery,' he said, 'is hostile to the original and essential rights of our humanity,—contrary to the inflexible and paramount demands of moral justice,—at eternal variance with the spirit and maxims of revealed religion,—inimical to all that is merciful in the heart and holy in the conduct; and, on these accounts, exposed to the curse of Almighty God. The guilt does not consist merely in making slaves; it consists as much in keeping them slaves. The present slave-holders, *and their advocates in this country*, cannot escape by setting up such a distinction. It avails them nothing; for if it be unlawful, iniquitous, and unchristian to steal a man, and force him into bondage, it must be equally unlawful, iniquitous and unchristian to retain him in that state; whether he has been purchased, or received as a gift, or got by inheritance, or obtained in any other way whatever. The unfortunate victim, in either case, suffers a wrong which is denounced by the law of nature, and by the law of revelation, and which cannot be persevered in by us, or *receive countenance from us*, without involving us in deep moral guilt.'

The language of the divine was echoed by the statesman, when Mr. Brougham, with kindred eloquence, exclaimed, in the Commons' House of Parliament:—

'Tell me not of rights; talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves. I deny the right—I acknowledge not the property. The principles, the feelings of our common nature, rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or to the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it. In vain you tell me of laws that sanction such a claim! *There is a law above all the enactments of human codes*—the same throughout the world, the same in all times—such as it was before the daring genius of Columbus pierced the night of ages, and opened to one world sources of power, wealth, and knowledge; to another, all unutterable woes;—such it is at this day: *it is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man*; and by that law, eternal, unchangeable, while men despise fraud, and loath rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty phantasy, *that man can hold property in man!* In vain you appeal to treaties, to covenants between nations. The covenants of the Almighty, whether the old covenant or the new, denounce such unholy pretensions. To those laws did they of old refer, who maintained the African trade. Such treaties did they cite, and not untruly; for by one shameful compact you bartered the glories of Blenheim for the traffic in blood. Yet, in despite of law and of

treaty, that infernal traffic is now destroyed, and its votaries put to death like other pirates. How came this change to pass? Not, assuredly, by parliament leading the way; but *the country at length awoke;* the indignation of the people was kindled; it descended in thunder, and smote the traffic, and scattered its guilty profits to the winds. Now, then, let the planters beware—let their assemblies beware—let the government at home beware—let the parliament beware! The same country is once more awake,—awake to the condition of negro slavery; the same indignation kindles in the bosom of the same people; the same cloud is gathering that annihilated the slave-trade; and, if it shall descend again, they on whom its crash may fall, will not be destroyed before I have warned them; but I pray that their destruction may turn away from us the more terrible judgments of God!'

Then came an earnest and general agitation of the question. Agents and lecturers were sent forth to enlighten and arouse the people. The appeal was still, and more than ever, to the principles and requirements of the law of God. 'Slavery is a crime in the sight of God, and therefore ought to be immediately abolished,' was the motto under which the battle was fought. Then came a cry from the West Indies—sent from among the smouldering ruins of chapels destroyed by the hand of the slaveholding incendiary.—'Christianity and slavery are incompatible. Slavery must be abolished, or, Christianity will be exiled.' The Christian people of Great Britain decided that slavery should die; and with one voice demanded the sentence, and its execution. Then came the general election of 1832, and then the meeting of the reformed parliament in 1833, and then, the speech of Lord Stanley, on bringing in a bill for the abolition of slavery, in which was the memorable declaration, 'That he did so, as the minister of the crown, in obedience to the irresistible demand of the religious public of the country.' To Christianity, then, belongs the glory of having abolished slavery in the colonies of Great Britain. Oh! how often would the rude hand of avarice and power have extinguished the flame of anti-slavery zeal in England, if it had not been fed by the unceasing watchfulness and care of Christian zeal! Often, it flickered, and seemed about to expire; but it was kept alive, and sent forth at last to consume the scourges and fetters of oppression. 'Not unto us, not unto us, but unto thy name, O Lord,' who didst inspire, sustain, direct, and bless us, 'be all the praise.'

On the annihilation of the system of man-proprietorship in our colonies, the eyes of the religious public of this country were turned to the United States of America. It was a period to try the faith and uprightness of all Christian denominations, for there was a fervent spirit of hostility to slavery, and, at the same

time, a longing desire among the non-conforming churches of England to cultivate an intimate and lasting fellowship with the trans-Atlantic churches. The Wesleyan body had set the example of sending deputations across the ocean, to extend the right hand of brotherly love to the Methodist Episcopal body of the United States. The Independents and Baptists resolved to do the same. Delegates were appointed and sent forth to bear the fraternal greetings of their brethren in the fatherland, to the churches of the New World. When the last named body appointed their representatives, they expressly and solemnly charged them, 'to promote most zealously, and to the utmost of their ability, in the spirit of love, of discretion, and of fidelity, the sacred cause of negro emancipation;' and we write advisedly, when we say, that this language secured the co-operation and pecuniary aid of many churches which did not sympathise in the more general and indefinite objects which the delegation contemplated. If there was evinced, by these deputations, any shortcomings; if, to any extent, they made the question of slavery subordinate to the other ends of their mission; if through inadvertence, they failed to embrace the opportunities which presented themselves, of vindicating the claims of the slave population, and of faithfully expounding the views of their churches at home—their conduct, in these respects, found few apologists. On the contrary, there were many and unequivocal indications of deep dissatisfaction, that so little had been done for the anti-slavery cause, and that there had been such a cordial recognition of the title to fellowship, of the churches implicated in the sin of slavery. The brethen censured, however, were no apologists for slaveholding. They never sought to justify their course while in the United States, by appeals to the Bible in behalf of slavery. They did not return to corrupt the religious sentiment of England. Far otherwise. They retained the views on slavery which they had professed previous to their visit to America, and, for eleven years, have been zealously co-operating with their fellow Christians of all sects, to bring the churches they visited to repentance, and an abandonment of their guilty practices.

Since 1834, the remonstrances which have gone forth to the churches of America have been faithful and uncompromising, increasing in plainness and pungency, until it may be said that there is but one body of Christians in the United Kingdom of Great Britain that holds communion with the slaveholding churches of America. That body is the Free Church of Scotland, and, as we believe that the conduct of that body stands in close relation—the relation of cause and effect—to the acts of the Evangelical Alliance, we shall briefly exhibit it, as described

in its own records. Suffice it to say, then, that for the last twelve years there has been, on the part of the dissenting denominations of Great Britain, generally, a constantly advancing sentiment on the subject of non-fellowship with slaveholders—a sentiment that has led to an entire cessation of intercourse with the churches of America, involved in the guilt of slavery, save for the purpose of earnest remonstrance, with a view to turn them from the error of their way. Several bodies have formally declared their determination to cease altogether their communion and correspondence with those sinning churches; amongst these stands out, honourably conspicuous,—an example to all other bodies—the United Secession Synod of Scotland, whose resolution and report at the Assembly in May last we recommend to attentive perusal.

We must now refer, and we do so with unmingled pain, to a retrograde movement on the part of the Free Church of Scotland. What that movement was, shall be told in the words of that church herself. We have before us an authorized 'Summary of the proceedings of the Free Church of Scotland in reference to slavery in America.' In this pamphlet there is a brief history of a deputation sent by that church to America, immediately after the disruption. Let attention be given to the following passage:—

'The object of the deputation was partly to obtain information respecting the educational, missionary, and other schemes of the American churches; but, chiefly, to explain to brethren there, the causes of the recent disruption of 1843, and to *awaken their sympathies on behalf of the ministers and people, who suffered together, on that occasion, for conscience sake.* The deputies to America had much friendly intercourse with Christians of all denominations, and particularly with the *Presbyterian churches.* They *had no scruple* in this, although they *were aware* that these churches did not act upon the rule of excluding slaveholders from communion; and, *upon this principle,* when they went to the *southern states,* they did not hesitate to cultivate the acquaintance of ministers and congregations of the Presbyterian churches there, *notwithstanding the admitted fact that slaveholders might be members.* Both before the visit of the deputies, and through their means, considerable sums were sent to this country by congregations and private Christians in America, *including the southern as well as the northern states.* Thus this church was brought into connexion with the churches of America, whose liberality and sympathy she experienced.'—pp. 3, 4.

This, it must be admitted, is a candid confession. The Free Church of Scotland has herself recorded the fact, that she deliberately sent her delegates to the slave-holding churches of the United States, to awaken their sympathies on behalf of her

ministers and people, who had suffered for conscience sake. These delegates had 'much friendly intercourse with Christians of all denominations, and *particularly with the Presbyterian churches.*' Two of them,—the Rev. Messrs. Lewis and Chalmers,—attended the sittings of the Old School General Assembly, at Louisville, Kentucky, and were permitted to lay the objects of their mission before that assembly. One of these gentlemen (Mr. Lewis,) has, since his return, published his 'Impressions of America and the American Churches.' He shall describe the temper of the assembly on the question of slavery. After referring to the very cordial reception given to himself and colleague he says:—

'As much as our hearts were gladdened by this kindly welcome, so much more were we cast down by *the reception which the assembly gave to the question of slavery.* An overture came up from some of the Presbyteries of the free States, and an attempt was made to bring on a discussion: *but the discussion was refused by a majority of* 117 to 69. The southern members, when they heard of the intention of bringing the matter forward, gave notice in open assembly that they would hold a *caucus*, the name given in the States to an extraordinary political meeting, in the gallery, after the assembly had dismissed. So strong is the feeling on the part of the southern ministers, that one of them, *the most popular preacher in the slave States*, privately declared to a friend, that *if slavery were abolished, he would go to Texas*—for what purpose, unless to enjoy the luxury of being served by slaves?—a singular proof of the attachment in the slave States (rather, we should say, of the Presbyterian church) to slavery, when a minister of the gospel (?) could thus speak to a brother minister.'—*Lewis's Impressions*, pp. 296, 297.

'On two occasions * * * I was called to address the assembly; on one to preach before it, and on the other to address it on the subject of *Missions.*'—p. 298.

'The assembly, strange to tell, was without any question of interest, *the slavery one being* TABOOED.'—p. 299.

Mr. Lewis's ideas of slavery are condensed into the following brief and very singular passage:—

'Slavery is the foul spot in the condition of the United States, as the *depressed condition of our working classes* is the *foul spot* in Old England.'—p. 409.

Having favoured us with a glimpse into the General Assembly, Mr. Lewis very correctly states the conduct of that body on the question of slavery, since the year 1818, when the assembly erased from the books of the 'Discipline of the Presbyterian Church in the United States,' the following testimony against slavery, adopted in 1794; viz., 'All those who are concerned in bringing any of the human race into slavery, or in *retaining*

them in it; all who *keep, sell,* or *buy* slaves, are *man-stealers,* guilty of the *highest kind of theft,* and *sinners of the first rank.*' When this testimony was expunged, another was substituted, declaring slavery a '*moral evil.*' Now let us hear Mr. Lewis.

'The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church some years ago voted slavery to be a 'great moral evil;' but *no practical step* has yet been taken by it, as a church, towards its *extinction,* although many such lie before it. If unprepared for the step of the Associate Reformed Synod, or even of the Methodist body, there lies at the door, crying for redress, *not only the sin of slavery* itself, but *the fruits* of the sin of slavery, in the separation of husband from wife, still legal,—of parents from children, the legal nullity of the marriage relation—and the abominable legal prohibition, in many States, to teach the negro to read and write.' (These foul blots, let it be remembered, Mr. Lewis compares to the depressed condition of the working classes in England!) 'All these things lie unprotested against by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, though this last is a plain violation of its freedom as a church. On these subjects *they have never once approached the legislature, or sought to rouse the moral sentiments of their congregations.*'

Such was the assembly before which Mr. Lewis delivered an address on the subject of Missions, and presented the claims of the Free Church of Scotland. On what condition was Mr. Lewis allowed to sit in that assembly, or even to travel through the Southern States? We answer,—*Profound silence on the subject of slavery.* On his return to Scotland, Mr. Lewis told his brethren in the free presbytery of Dundee (we quote from an authorized report of his speech on the occasion), that 'the moment the ministers of the Southern States spoke out on the subject of slavery, their usefulness would be destroyed; *indeed, the moment I myself had spoken out, I would have been* TURNED OUT OF THE COUNTRY.' On what further condition were the Scottish delegates allowed to present themselves before the slave-holding Presbyterians of America? Again we answer,—On condition that those slave-holding Presbyterians were recognised as in full Christian communion and ecclesiastical fellowship with the Free Church of Scotland. To the honour of Scotland be it told, that there were a few in the Free Church who mourned over the guilty compact thus deliberately entered into with 'man-stealers—men guilty of the highest kind of theft, and sinners of the first rank.' At the sitting of the General Assembly of the Free Church, in 1844, overtures were presented from the Synods of Lothian and Tweeddale, and Glasgow and Ayr, praying, 'That the assembly would take into serious consideration the duty of this church, transmitting to the Presbyterian

churches of America *an earnest remonstrance in reference to the sin of slavery,* so generally practised in the Southern States of that republic.' Accordingly, a committee was appointed by the assembly; and on the 11th of September, that committee gave in a report, couched in the mildest possible language, and concluding with a declaration that the question of slavery should be no bar to the 'subsisting intercourse;' but that, on the contrary, 'all opportunities of drawing closer the bonds of fellowship ought to be embraced.' This report was transmitted to America by Dr. Henry Grey, the moderator, and was answered by the General Assembly of the United States, from Cincinnati, May 27th, 1845. This answer was never read to the Assembly of the Free Church at its late sitting in Edinburgh. The clerk announced the letter, and was about to read it; but Dr. Candlish stepped up to the table, and took the document out of his hands; and it was merely *intimated* that an answer had been received. It was remitted to *the committee,* with instructions to prepare a 'reply.' A short extract from the American document will not be unacceptable. After commending the 'Christian candour'!! of the delegates to America, the question of slavery referred to in the report of the Free Church already alluded to is taken up, and thus disposed of:—

'We are gratified exceedingly with the spirit of candour and enquiry which pervades your document on the subject of slavery, and leads us to hope that we shall soon be able to acquaint our noble brethren in Scotland with the true position of the Presbyterian church in this country.

'That responsibility for the evils of American slavery is shared by our brethren of Great Britain to some extent—that you are restrained from peremptory decision on the question of our particular duty, by ignorance of facts and circumstances, and that you appreciate so much the difficulties of our position, as to admit that a different course from that of the British churches may be justified among us for the present, are generous sentiments and enlightened Christian moderation, which prove to us that the Free Church of Scotland is as much ennobled by elevation above the prejudices that surround her, as by a memorable Exodus from the oppression that enthralled her. Could we allay excitement, and restrain impatience, and correct misunderstanding among our brethren of the British churches, we have no doubt that our course in this most delicate and difficult subject would be so entirely approved, that no intimation of ultimate severance on this account would any more alloy the happiness which your correspondence affords.'

Accompanying this answer was the deliverance of the American Assembly on the subject of slavery, at the same sitting. We cannot refrain from giving an extract from this document,

and also the resolutions adopted on the same occasion, which were, likewise, a part of the communication to the Free Church Assembly.

'That slavery existed in the days of Christ and his apostles is an admitted fact. That they did not denounce the relation itself as sinful, as inconsistent with Christianity; that slaveholders were admitted to membership in the churches organized by the apostles; that whilst they were required to treat their slaves with kindness, and as rational, accountable, immortal beings, and if Christians, as brethren in the Lord, they were not commanded to emancipate them; that slaves were required to be 'obedient to their masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, with singleness of heart as unto Christ, are facts which meet the eye of every reader of the New Testament. This Assembly cannot, therefore, denounce the holding of slaves as necessarily a heinous and scandalous sin, calculated to bring upon the church the curse of God, without charging the apostles of Christ with conniving at such sin, introducing into the church such sinners, and thus bringing upon them the curse of the Almighty.'

The resolutions are as follow:—

'*Resolved*, 1st, That the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in the United States was originally organized, and has since continued the bond of union in the church upon the conceded principle that *the existence of domestic slavery*, under the circumstances in which it is found in the southern portion of the country, *is no bar to Christian communion*.

'2nd, That the petitions that ask the Assembly to make the holding of slaves in itself a matter of discipline, do virtually require this judicatory to dissolve itself, and abandon the organization under which, by the divine blessing, it has so long prospered. The tendency is evidently to separate the northern from the southern portion of the church; a result which every good citizen must deplore as tending to the dissolution of the union of our beloved country, and which every enlightened Christian will oppose as bringing about a ruinous and unnecessary schism between brethren who maintain a common faith.'

These resolutions were carried by a vote of 168 to 13.

The Rev. James Macbeth, of Glasgow, in an admirable pamphlet on the proceedings of the late General Assembly of the Free Church, thus comments on the keeping back of these documents from the Assembly, in May last.

''Mark the circumstance,' he says, 'that though two very important documents had come to hand—*they were both kept out of sight*; and the debate closed *without their being seen*—the letter, namely, or reply from the American Church to us, and the deliverance of the American Presbyterian Assembly, which accompanied it. Let this be pondered, and kept before the mind. It may admit of explana-

tion, and I do not lay very great stress on it. Surely, to ask the Assembly to approve of the report, very meagre, as Dr. Candlish well called it, while two chief facts on which the report necessarily proceeded, were kept out of view, was something like asking the Assembly to take a leap in the dark. The committee had in its hands a reply from the criminated party, giving some insight into that party's state of mind—containing evidence that the charges brought against it were wholly unfounded, or at least greatly exaggerated; or, on the other hand, establishing against the party at the bar a dogged resolution to hold on in its improper course: unquestionably these two documents were necessary parts of a judgment in acquittal; yet, wonderful to say, they were both, I shall not say concealed, but kept back. No excuse whatever was assigned for this. An excuse was made, indeed, for the committee not being ready with a reply to the letter; and very likely it was found difficult to reply to such a communication. 'Now, sir,' said Dr. Candlish, 'I feel that this report is somewhat meagre. When you are to answer a formal letter from a church, *it plainly must be done by a little circumlocution*, and the usual phraseology of friendly intercourse, and therefore it will take some pains!' This evidently was no reason for not reading the letter that had come to hand. Is it possible to avoid believing that the reply from across the Atlantic would have been read, *if it had been creditable* to those from whom it came; if it had contained any avowal on their part of a resolution to break the slave-laws; if it had not been such as would have strongly tended to sway the Assembly's conclusion, and to convince the house that the moment for excision had fully come. It is impossible to drive the suspicion from the mind that there are expressions in that letter which could not well bear the light of a Scottish sky, nor be read on the floor of a Free Assembly previous to that debate.'

A short extract from the reply sent by the Assembly of the Free Church to the letter and deliverance from America, thus carefully concealed from the Assembly, will show the ground taken by that church in May, 1846.

'We do not concur in opinion with those who think that *the mere fact of slaveholding* should in itself, under all circumstances, be considered as a heinous sin, *calling for the discipline of the church*, and who would require us to renounce all friendly intercourse with you, and to offend and insult you, by rejecting the tokens of your sympathy with us in our trials, because you do act upon that principle in your government of Christ's house according to his Word. We have reason, also, to apprehend, from recent experience in our own country, that the 'indiscriminate denunciations' of which you speak, have a tendency only 'to perpetuate and aggravate the evils which they profess to remedy.'

The Assembly which adopted this reply was edified by speeches from Drs. Candlish, Cunningham, and Duncan, in

defence of continued communion with slave-holding churches. Their revised speeches are before us, and we find it hard to resist the temptation to enter upon an examination of them. They exhibit lamentable ignorance, or, if not ignorance, a wilful perversion, of the facts relating to the state of the American churches, and a fearfully bold determination to wrest the Holy Scriptures for the purpose of vindicating the Christianity of shareholders. To exclude shareholders from ecclesiastical fellowship is, in Dr. Candlish's opinion, 'an extreme position,'—'a new pitch of perfection in morality never before dreamt of.' The relation of the church in America to slavery, 'is somewhat similar to the relation in which this church (the Free Church) might stand to an alleged *abuse*, said to be prevalent in some one portion, *or corner*, of our territory.' Dr. Duncan enlightened the Assembly, by defining the distinction between *slave-holding* and *slave-hiring*; the former he declared *a sin*, but the latter, not only innocent, but laudable. He hoped this distinction would be pointed out in the Assembly's deliverance. Dr. Cunningham waxed very bold, and said, 'I have not the slightest hesitation in stating *my decided conviction*, that the apostles of our Lord and Master admitted slaveholders to the table of the Lord, and to all the privileges of the church—that is to say, men standing in the legal relation of masters to servants, and entitled to treat them with legal impunity as slaves, if they chose, and even to put them to death. I say these men were admitted to the Lord's table, and to the enjoyment of all Christian privileges.' These and similar sentiments were loudly cheered by the Assembly.

The Rev. Mr. Macbeth moved for the exclusion of slaveholders from the pulpits and communion table of the Free Church, but could find no seconder for his resolution—so overwhelming and absolute was the authority of the three personages we have named. Such in brief is the course of the Free Church of Scotland in the subject of religious fellowship with slaveholders. The leading members of that church were among the originators of the Evangelical Alliance, and will be found attending the earliest meetings convened for the purpose of bringing about the conference finally held in London in August last. We need not attempt to show the deep interest the Free Church had in the decisions (if any were given) of the Alliance, on the question of slavery.

Let us now trace the course of the Alliance on this subject. No reference appears to have been made to the topic during the sittings of the committee at Liverpool; but at the meeting of the aggregate committee, held in Birmingham, April, 1846, the following resolution was carried, viz.:—

'That while this Committee deem it unnecessary and *inexpedient* to enter into any question at present on the subject of *slaveholding*, or onthe difficult circumstances in which *Christian brethren* may be placed in countries where *the law of slavery* prevails; they are of opinion that invitations ought not to be sent to individuals who, whether by their own fault or otherwise, may be in *the unhappy position of holding their fellow-men as* SLAVES.'—*Minutes, &c.*, p. 6.

It strikes us as somewhat singular, that this extraordinary resolution should have for its proposer the Rev. Dr. Candlish. We can account for the fact of a resolution on the subject of slavery being submitted to the committee, for we know that a remonstrance against the admission of slaveholders was sent to it by the Glasgow Emancipation Society, and that the London Anti-slavery Society also addressed an earnest and faithful letter to that body; but how Dr. Candlish could reconcile it with consistency to refuse to invite those whom he had openly fellowshipped in Edinburgh, and whom he had represented as 'standing in a position, in some respects, of high superiority,' even to the Free Church, we cannot so easily understand. We have heard it said, and have reason to believe, that if Dr. Candlish had not brought forward the resolution we have just cited, another, and a much stronger one would have been introduced; and that knowing this, the doctor came to the rescue. To get the Birmingham committee to take the ground of the Free Church, and openly to recognise the Christianity of the slaveholder as unexceptionable, was what the Scotch divine would have liked, but was clearly impracticable. To prevent the committee from passing a resolution which would have been a virtual condemnation of the Free Church, was what the Doctor above all things else desired to avert; and hence the resolution referred to. It was the *tertium quid.* We shall not stay to criticise this resolution. Like every similar attempt to please all parties, it pleased no party. We have heard men of all opinions on the subject of slavery, condemn it. The mover's great ally, Dr. Chalmers, treats it with little courtesy, and no commendation. In a pamphlet, the title of which we have placed at the head of this article, he says:—

'We *regret* the resolution at Birmingham of April the 1st, of withholding invitations from those 'who, whether by their own fault or otherwise, may be in the unhappy position of holding their fellowmen as slaves.' If not by their own fault, the laying on of such a stigma is an act of cruelty and injustice to those ministers, of whom we doubt not there is a number in the southern States of the American Union, who mourn over slavery and all its abominations. These form the very class who were the most likely to send over their representatives to this country. *But even as to those who are in fault,* though

we deem it probable that few of them would have ventured to make their appearance, yet we say it with all sincerity—*the more of them the better* ****. There is a party of *injudicious* abolitionists in America who have greatly *distempered* and *retarded* the cause of emancipation; and let us not give way to the *fanatic outcry* that they are attempting to excite throughout the *misled* and *deluded* multitudes of *our own land.*'—pp. 38—40.

We come now to the assembling of the great conference in London, in the month of August, which was attended by between *sixty* and *seventy* delegates from the United States. We have before us the authorised 'Minutes of the Proceedings of the Conference.' On examining these, we find the question of slavery first mooted on Thursday, the 27th August, being the twelfth session of the conference, At a previous session, it had been moved by the Rev. J. A. James, that 'correct information should be obtained on such subjects as 'the growth of popery;' 'the state of infidelity;' 'the public observance of the Lord's day,' and 'the amount of the existing means of Christian education;' with a view to 'the stimulating of Christians to such efforts as the exigencies of the case may demand, by *giving forth its views in regard to them,* rather than carrying those views out by an organization of its own.' —(Minutes of Proceedings, p. 23.)

On the 27th, Rev. W. Patterson moved, Rev. James Pringle seconded, that the following article be added, '*Facts relating to slavery, and the condition of our brethren in bonds in every part of the world.*' This amendment appears to have found no favour with the conference, as it was, by consent, withdrawn. On the 28th, Rev. Dr. Steane introduced the third portion of the paper prepared by the select sub-committee, concerning 'General Organization.' On which, Rev. Dr. Schmucker moved, Rev. Dr. Bunting seconded, 'That the Alliance shall consist of those persons *in all parts of the world,* who shall concur in the principles and objects adopted by the conference,' &c; upon which, Rev. J. H. Hinton moved, Rev. Joshua V. Himes, of Boston, United States, seconded, 'That in the first clause, after the words 'those persons,' the words 'not being slaveholders,' be inserted. The subject of slavery, and of the admissibility of slaveholders to the Evangelical Alliance was now fairly introduced. The Minutes of Proceedings do not inform us who took part in the discussion of this amendment; but from other sources we gather, both the substance of the remarks offered by the mover and seconder, and of those who followed in the debate. Mr. Hinton did not consider himself responsible for the introduction of the amendment, or for the calamitous results which might follow. Those were responsible who were connected with the abominable system of slavery, and had nevertheless been

admitted as members of the Alliance. The resolution passed at Birmingham,—the pledged position of British Christians,—and the attitude of slaveholders themselves, required the adoption of the amendment. It would be monstrous, indeed, to admit a *man-stealer*, and at the same time exclude a man because he did not believe in water baptism. Mr. Himes showed the corrupting influence of slavery amongst all denominations of Christians in the United States, and, in earnest and emphatic tones, conjured the Conference to preserve its purity, and to bring the whole weight of its influence to bear against the dreadful system of slavery at present sustained and perpetuated by the church. At the conclusion of these addresses, the chairman, Sir Culling E. Smith 'called the attention of the audience to the *silence* and *calmness* manifested by the American brethren, and expressed his admiration of the grace of God in enabling them to listen to remarks which *must have cut them to the heart's core*, with so much Christian meekness.'

Let us glance at the subsequent debate. The Rev. T. Brainerd, a Presbyterian from the United States, expressed his sorrow that the subject had been introduced to disturb the delightful harmony which they had enjoyed. The Rev. Dr. Samuel Hanson Cox, of Brooklyn, New York, shared the regret which had been expressed by the preceding speaker. Rev. L. Pomeroy, from Bangor, in the state of Maine, a Congregationalist, claimed to be an abolitionist; but insisted that a *distinction* should be made between the *system* of slavery, and the *individuals* included in it. He would not offer an apology for slavery, but he was deeply anxious that the subject should be kept in *abeyance*, and not be suffered to resist the Alliance. Rev. T. Smyth, D.D., of Charleston, South Carolina, rose. This gentleman is an Irishman, but for sixteen or seventeen years has been a minister in the slave states of America. He obtained admission into the Allianee by stating, that the slaves in his house at Charleston were not *his* but his *wife's!* This plea, however, did not avail him in Belfast, where he was sojourning during the sittings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. He attended that assembly, but was never recognised by it, or introduced to it. In his speech before the Alliance Conference he opposed the introduction of the question of slavery. *It ought not to be thrust upon them.* The existence of the Alliance was hazarded by so doing. The question was *essentially political*, and its discussion would awaken all the *low, vulgar* feelings of *political animosity*. It was an invasion of the right and duty of *private judgment in the interpretation of Scripture!* Rev. William Patten, D.D., of New York, Presbyterian, referred to the Birmingham resolution, and assured his brethren

that, if it had been received in the United States *earlier*, it would have prevented the attendance of *numbers* who were then present. Before he left home, he had been told that the Alliance would be a great Anti-slavery Society; but he had said, no. *Letters* might be written to slaveholders, urging and arguing; but *never let slaveholding be the test of admission.* Rev. R. Wardlaw, D.D., of Glasgow, suggested an amendment, which would express the abhorrence in which the Alliance held slavery; but which would not make it a test of membership. Rev. Alexander Munro, of Manchester, Presbyterian, hoped that the Alliance would follow the spirit of the New Testament, which would lead them to remain silent. At this stage of the proceedings the assembly broke up for dinner. An eye-witness, writing to the 'Patriot' newspaper, thus describes the appearance of Freemasons' Hall at the time of the adjournment.

'The scene at this time is most exciting. The combatants have laid aside their armour, they have risen from the conflict, but it is only for a time. Groups are collected together; knots of disputants are talking loudly and decidedly; the hard words and not softer blows in Conference seem to have created the desire for keeping up the skirmish, and the words 'our laws,' 'freedom,' 'colonization,' 'colour,' 'public opinion,' are heard on every hand.'

We must now claim the serious attention of our readers, to something which took place during the interval between the adjournment for dinner, and the re-assembling of the Conference at five o'clock. The American members of the Conference absented themselves from the dinner-table. They gathered together in another part of the building, to decide upon the course they should adopt, in consequence of the introduction of Mr. Hinton's amendment. The result of their deliberations was, the preparation and signing of an 'explanatory statement.' In this document they set forth, that they attended the Alliance Conference on the invitation sent out by the Liverpool committee, in which invitation there was no allusion to the subject of slavery. They then proceeded to state, that on their arrival in London, their attention was directed to two resolutions passed by the London provisional committee, calling the special notice of the American brethren, to the resolution on the subject of slavery, adopted at the meeting of the aggregate committee at Birmingham.

''These resolutions,' say they, 'were on a *separate* paper, to which the attention of most of us was directed, but *we were not required to subscribe them, or to approve them.* We could not approve them. *Most of us made our verbal protest against them.* We regarded them as highly objectionable, and particularly for the following

reasons: 1. They were *irrelevant* to the matter in hand; 2. The resolutions came *too late;* 3. The first of the London resolutions is offensive to us as Americans; 4. The Birmingham resolution is calculated *to wound* the feelings of *unoffending* Christian brethren in the *slave-holding* states, and to retard the abolition of slavery.'

We deem it our duty to put on record the precise words in which this fourth and final reason is supported:—

'If Christian brethren, placed (in the terms of the resolution) 'by no fault of their own,' in an 'unhappy position,' involving strong temptations and severe trials, nevertheless conduct themselves worthily, they merit on that account, in our view, *the sympathy* of their fellow-Christians; and, especially, of those who are sincerely seeking the removal of the great evil from which their temptations and trials arise. *This is not the time to inquire* whether the American churches have, or have not, all done their duty in regard to this subject; but there seems to us to be a singular impropriety in singling out such brethren for the stigma of exclusion from Christian fellowship. In their 'difficult circumstances,' they need the encouragement and support of the counsels and prayers of their fellow-Christians; and, if slavery is ever to be abolished in the southern States of America, *we need such men to take the lead in the movement!* There is in these circumstances, in our view, weighty reason, *not* for non-intercourse, but *for closer Christian union.* It is well known to us, that many Christian slave-holders are, in their principles and feelings, entirely opposed to slavery; and are prepared to make all the efforts and sacrifices in their power for the removal of the evil, *as soon as practicable.* But it ought to be known to our European brethren, that slavery cannot at once be abolished in any State of the American Union, except by the legislature of that State; that the citizens of non-slave-holding States can only act on the subject by moral influence, and that this influence is to be exerted chiefly on and through Christians in the slave-holding community. It is because we have great confidence in the piety and intelligence, and in *the constantly increasing number of godly men in the slave-holding States!* that we look with increasing hope for the entire removal of American slavery. We deeply sympathise with these brethren under the heavy responsibilities they are called to bear. OUR *duty, no less than our Christian affection,* IMPELS US TO MAINTAIN INTIMATE RELATIONS WITH THEM; and we could not, without a grievous offence against the best hopes of religion and humanity in the south, as well as against our own consciences, *consent to any action which would imply a want of* CHRISTIAN CONFIDENCE *in them, or which might* ENDANGER *our amicable and fraternal relations with this portion of the American church.*'

This statement bears the signature of thirty-two of the American members of the Conference, and is dated Friday the 28th of August, the day on which Mr. Hinton brought forward his amendments.

The Conference re-assembled at five o'clock on this day, and we are told that the American members returned with a firmer step and more cheerful countenance. The debate on Mr. Hinton's amendment was resumed. Rev. W. W. Ewbank, of Liverpool, Episcopalian, was decidedly in favour of the admission of slaveholders. The Rev. James Pringle, Rev. Dr. Urwick, Dr. Patton, President Emory of the United States, and others, addressed the Conference. The excitement grew intense. There were evidently two parties in the meeting, resolutely determined to maintain their ground, respectively. In these circumstances Mr. Hinton consented to withdraw his amendment, *pro tem.*, and late in the evening a committee of forty-five was appointed to take the whole subject into mature consideration, and report the result of their deliberations to the general body.

This committee assembled as early as eight o'clock, on Saturday morning the 29th. On the coming together of the Conference at ten, special prayer was offered on behalf of the committee then sitting in another room, 'that the Holy Spirit might guide them to an harmonious and satisfactory issue.' In the course of the morning it was reported that the committee had not arrived at a conclusion, and that they advised an adjournment of the Conference to Monday. The Conference, however, proceeded with other business, and sent a message to the committee, to take ample time for the mature consideration of the question before them. It was not till late in the evening, that the committee made its report, which was presented to the Conference by Dr. F. A. Cox, of London, and read by Dr. S. H. Cox, of New York. It was as follows:—

'That, the Committee recommend that the *amendment* of the Rev. J. H. Hinton should be withdrawn, and that the following resolution be recommended for adoption to the Conference:—

'That in respect to the necessity of personal holiness, the Alliance are of opinion that it is recognised in the Article of the Basis,—On the work of the Spirit; and in reference to various social evils existing in countries within the circle of this Alliance, such as the profanation of the Lord's-day, intemperance, duelling, and *the sin of slavery*, they commend these and similar evils to *the consideration* of the branches; trusting that they will study to promote the general purity and the Christian honour of this confederation by all proper means. *And in respect especially to the system of slavery*, and every other form of oppression in any country, the Alliance are unanimous in deploring them, as in many ways obstructing the progress of the gospel; and *express their confidence*, that no branch will admit to membership *slaveholders*, who, by their *own fault*, continue in that position, *retaining their fellow-men in slavery*, from regard to their own interests.

'Rev. J. H. Hinton finally withdrew his amendment, and moved, Rev. A. T. Hopkins seconded, That the report now received be adopted. Rev. Isaac Nelson moved, James Stanfield, Esq. seconded, That whereas it is impossible for this Conference to legislate for particular cases or exceptions, *no slaveholder be admitted to any branch of the Alliance.*

'The amendment was negatived. The motion was carried.—*Minutes of Proceedings*, p. 36.

Such was the decision of the Alliance Conference, on Saturday night, the 29th of August. It will be seen that by this proceeding the Conference did not absolutely exclude *any* slaveholder, while it made special provision for a particular class of slaveholders. In fact, it refused to pass any law upon the question—save to open the door to men living in the practice of slavery in every part of the world, simply expressing, 'its confidence that no branch would admit to membership slaveholders who were such *by their own fault*, and from regard to their own interest.' It should be remembered, too, that at the time this report was adopted, it was the settled resolve of the Conference to form an Œcumenical Alliance, and that this resolution was adopted as a part of the general organization of that Alliance: so that, in effect, it was a deliberate decision in favour of the admission of slaveholders; containing no prohibition against the admission to membership of any slaveholder whatever, provided he could sign the doctrinal basis. This report was recommended and passed, in the face of the explanatory statement laid before the Conference by thirty-two of the American members, declaring *their* unalterable intention to maintain 'intimate relations' with the slaveholding churches of the United States, and to 'consent to no action that *implied a* want of Christian confidence in those churches,' 'or, which might 'endanger their amicable and fraternal relations with them.' Such was the state of things on the 29th. The Sabbath ensued, and the Conference re-assembled on Monday, the 31st. The effect of what had taken place, we will describe in the words of a member of the Alliance, in a letter to the 'Patriot,' Sept. 24th. This gentleman, who writes under the signature of 'Pacificator,' (but whose identity is no secret to us,) and whose letter is a defence of the Alliance, says:—

'Whatever grounds of objection may be taken by warm anti-slavery men in this country to this resolution, the fact was, that *still stronger objections* were raised by the Americans themselves. No sooner had they time to look *deliberately* at the terms in which it was expressed, than they convened private meetings of their own countrymen (between Saturday night and Sunday morning), and on Monday morning delivered the most earnest expressions of *disappro-*

bation against the entire article. They represented that they *could not face* their *countrymen* and *churches* with such a resolution *staring them in the face;* and many of them would rather retire from the Alliance than attempt it. In stating their objections to it, *the fact came out most* glaringly, that it was not the *unwilling* and *reluctant*, but the *entire mass* of professing slaveholders with whom they sympathized: and nothing would satisfy them but an entire dropping of all reference to the subject of slavery.'

Such is the language of one whose Christian integrity and truthfulness are above suspicion amongst those who have the privilege of knowing him. We have derived information from many other sources, confirmatory of the truth of this statement, which, it is enough to say, has never been contradicted. Another member of the Alliance, and an eye witness, thus describes the scene presented by the Conference on Monday morning.

'Care rests on every countenance. Depressed looks, and anxious faces, are seen on every hand. It is quite evident, that the settlement of Saturday night was not the decision of calm and cool reflection, so much as a hasty compliance—for union's sake, under intense excitement—with that which involved compromise and concession. Sir Culling is pale and restless, the secretaries grave and full of foreboding; while the leaders of the three sections are all earnest in conversation upon the evident course affairs must take during this sitting. Nothing could be more unfortunate than the present position of affairs. It is thought that the Alliance must be broken up; and the protest shows the strong feelings of the main body of the foreign delegates. These all deplore the introduction of the question at all; and though the resolution was adopted almost unanimously, it is now the determination of the Americans to reopen the subject. They say, most positively, that though they voted in favour of it (the resolution) on Saturday, they must oppose it with all their force to-day; for *there can be no American branch which will exclude the slaveholder.* * * * Dr. Cox (of new York), who spoke for the Americans, remarked, that with *one exception*, (the Rev. J. V. Himes), they were all *agreed;* they thought upon mature reflection, that the question of slavery must be kept in abeyance. The question might be asked, does not this break up the general organization? He (Dr. Cox), thought not. *Their doctrinal basis was decided;* their objects were fixed. *The test of membership must be left open*, and in the mean time, local organizations must be carried out, *at the discretion* of their respective supporters, and in accordance with circumstances. If the American branch should admit the slaveholder, and the British branch *will not*, when they next meet, they must determine to go on separately. It must be an open question.'

These remarks of Dr. Cox, it will be seen in the sequel, determined the course of the Conference. We return to the

'Minutes of Proceedings.' They show, that on the confirmation of the minutes of the previous sitting, Dr. Bunting moved that the report adopted on Saturday night should be 'placed among the *miscellaneous* resolutions, and not under the head of general organization.' The Hon. Justice Crampton moved 'that the concluding clause, commencing, 'And in respect especially to the system of slavery,' &c., be rescinded.' The Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel moved, 'That the whole matter involved in the motion (of Dr. Bunting), with the amendment proposed by Mr. Justice Crampton, be referred to the consideration of a committee, and that the committee consist of,' &c., whereupon, the amendment of the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Noel was carried, and a committee of fifty-two [comprising all the more influential members of the Conference) was nominated, and the meeting adjourned to the next day. Among the proceedings of Monday, and bearing date that day, we find a protest by the Rev. Alex. King, Congregationalist of Cork, from which we make the following extract:—

'With all due deference to the wisdom of this Conference, and with the most earnest and prayerful solicitude for the great object which its members are endeavouring to promote, I am constrained, by a clear and deep conviction of my duty to God and to my fellow-men, to record my dissent from the resolution adopted at the close of the session on Saturday evening last, *respecting slaveholders*.

'I respectfully enter my protest against that resolution,—

1. Because it was adopted amidst great excitement, when several members of the Conference were unable to make such inquiries concerning its practical bearings as they felt necessary to make before voting for its affirmation.

2. Because it excludes 'personal holiness' from the rules of admission to the Evangelical Alliance, and decides the right of membership by *matters of opinion*.

'5. Because, taken in connexion with other propositions already adopted by this Conference, it constitutes the Evangelical Alliance, so as, practically, *to exclude conscientious and godly men, who have been living martyrs to the cause of freedom, and actually to admit slaveholders, who may choose to affirm, that their sin in holding their fellow men in bondage is not their own fault, or for their own advantage.*'

Also the following, signed by twelve of the American members, and dated, like the former, August 31:—

'*To the Conference now sitting in Freemasons' Hall.*

'The undersigned request that their names may be entered upon the minutes of the Conference, as dissenting from the minute upon the subject of slavery, adopted by the Conference on Saturday evening last:—

'Thomas Smyth, Erskine Mason, Edward P. Humpherey, R. T. Haines, Thomas Dewitt, John B. Adger, Sidney E. Morse, Ebenezer Mason, Robert Carter, M. B. Hope, Gorham D. Abbott, Robert Emory.'

The committee appointed on Monday morning, spent many anxious hours in deliberation on the matter submitted to them, and on Tuesday morning, September 1, were prepared with the following report, which was brought up by Sir Culling Eardley Smith, and presented to the Conference. We extract it without abridgement, as deserving, we will not for the present say on what account, the most serious consideration:—

'That on mature consideration of the entire subject remitted to them, the Committee recommend to the Conference:—

'1. That the amendment of the Hon. Justice Crampton be finally withdrawn.

'2. That *the resolution adopted on Saturday evening be rescinded.*

'3. That the resolution submitted to the Conference by the Rev. Dr. Schmucker, and seconded by the Rev. Dr. Bunting, on the subject of 'General Organization,' be withdrawn, and the following submitted to the Conference in its stead:—

'That whereas brethren from the continents of Europe and America, as well as in this country, are unable, without consultation with their countrymen, to settle the detailed arrangements for their respective countries, it is expedient to defer the final and complete organization of the General Alliance, of which the foundation has now been laid, till another General Conference.

'That the members of the Alliance *be recommended* to adopt *such organization* in their several countries, as in their judgment may *be most in accordance with their* PECULIAR CIRCUMSTANCES, without involving the responsibility of one part of the Alliance for another; on the understanding that brethren from each country now present shall act collectively in originating their respective national plans. That, in furtherance of the above plan, it be recommended, for the present, that an Organization be formed in each of the following districts, viz.:—

'1. The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, exclusive of the North American British Colonies.

'2. The United States of America.

'3. The North American Colonies of Great Britain.

'4. The Kingdoms of France, Belgium, and French Switzerland.

'5. The North of Germany.

'6. The South of Germany; and German Switzerland.

'*That an official correspondence be maintained between the several Organizations*, and that Reports of their proceedings be mutually interchanged, with a view to *co-operation* and *encouragement* in their common object.

'That the next General Conference be held at such time and place as, by correspondence between the members of the Alliance in different

countries, and by the leadings of Divine Providence, shall hereafter be settled.

'Sir Culling Eardley Smith moved, Rev. J. H. Hinton seconded,

'That the Report now presented be received—Carried.'

From the future minutes of the Conference we learn that the suggestions contained in the above report were literally adopted. Thus ended the proceedings of the Conference on the subject of slavery. On a review of these proceedings, we find,

'1. A resolution passed in the aggregate committee at Birmingham, that slaveholders shall not be invited to the Conference; yet calling them, nevertheless, 'Christian brethren,' and assuming on their behalf, that they might 'be in the unhappy position of holding their fellow-men as slaves, without any fault of their own.'

'2. Two resolutions passed by the London provisional committee, directing the special attention of the American brethren to the decision of the Birmingham committee.

'3. An uncontradicted statement of thirty-two American members, that 'these resolutions were on a separate paper—that they were not required, either to subscribe or *approve* them—that they *did not* approve them—and that most of them entered their verbal *protest against them*, as *highly objectionable*.

'4. That on the 27th August, the Conference refused to include the subject of slavery among the topics on which the Alliance should seek to obtain correct information; though it had previously resolved to collect facts on the subject of popery, infidelity, the observance of the Lord's day, and the state and prospects of Protestant missions.

'5. That on the 28th of August, the Conference refused to adopt an amendment, declaring the inadmissibility of slaveholders to membership in the Alliance.

'6. That on the same day, thirty-two of the American members of the Conference declared, that they were 'impelled by Christian duty and Christian affection, to maintain intimate relations with slaveholders, and would consent to no action' on the part of the Conference, 'which would imply a want of Christian confidence' in those slaveholders, or which 'might endanger their own amicable and fraternal relations' with them.

'7. That on the 29th of August, the Conference adopted *nem. con.* a resolution, classing slavery with the profanation of the Lord's day, intemperance and duelling; and restricting the action of the Alliance to the expression of its confidence, that the branches to be hereafter formed, would not admit to membership 'slaveholders, who by their own fault, or otherwise continued in that position from regard to their own interest;' —thereby establishing the doctrine, that a man may be an

innocent slaveholder, and from disinterested motives: and that this resolution was passed, without any notice being taken of the protest of the thirty-two American members, which declared that they would consent to no action which would imply a want of confidence in American professing slaveholders generally.

'8. That the American members, repenting of their vote in favour of this resolution, and determining to re-open the question, succeeded in inducing the Conference, on the 31st of August, to re-commit the whole subject to the consideration of a committee; which committee recommended that the said resolution should be rescinded.

'9. That on the 1st of September, the Conference taking into consideration the recommendation of the committee, resolved to adopt it, and did accordingly rescind the resolution of the 29th of August; and, further, that in order that the American members might go home perfectly free and uninfluenced, did resolve to postpone the organization of an Œcumenical Alliance, and to recommend to their adoption such an organization in their own country, 'as might, in their judgment, be *most in accordance with their peculiar circumstances*'—those American members having previously informed the Conference of their determination to maintain intimate relations with slaveholders, and to consent to no action implying a want of Christian confidence in them.

Our readers will bear witness that we have throughout this examination of the proceedings of the Alliance, gone to no source of information against which the slightest objection can lie. We have resorted only to the published and authorised records of that body for our facts, with two exceptions, in both of which instances we have taken the evidence of members of the Alliance; which evidence has been for months in print, and has not been impugned. We refer to the reports furnished to the 'Patriot' newspaper, and to the temperate letter of Pacificator, intended to be a vindication of the Alliance from the accusations brought against it in Exeter Hall. Let those who will judge of the Alliance only by its own printed proceedings, take the above narrative of those proceedings, and draw their honest conclusions from it. For ourselves, having fairly stated the case, out of the papers issued from the office of the Alliance, we do not consider ourselves precluded from going to other sources for information and light upon the subject; and we might therefore, had we space, avail ourselves of various reports now before us. We cannot do this to the extent we desire, but we must crave attention to the following exposé from a speech delivered by a member of the Alliance, the Rev.

J. V. Himes, of America, at a great meeting in Liverpool, on the 19th of October, and reported in the 'Patriot:'

'A word in reference to the slave question in the Evangelical Alliance. The American delegates are influential men in their respective denominations. Those men are many of them members of slave-holding Synods or General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church. Well, what could we expect of men who will have to go to Philadelphia next spring, sit down with slaveholders, sing, pray, talk, and commune—what, I say, could we expect of such men here? Dr. Cox must be there, or else he will have to leave his connexion. Now, the doctor knew, that, if he took his position here, he would have to become citizenised in England; and it would not do for him, then, to have gone back to America. So with Dr. Smyth, Dr. Olin, and Dr. Baird; they all belong to slaveholding associations. Well, then, there were, besides, presidents of religious institutions. I had an opportunity of seeing the whole thing. In all the Committee meetings, where there was much anxiety, where we sat something like forty hours discussing a question which might have been easily settled—in all these Committee meetings, there were some of these presidents of academical institutions. Who do these men educate? Slaveholders' sons. What could you expect from such men as those in favour of the slave? They must either lose the slaveholders' sons from their institutions, or they must take the course which they did. Now, there is no mystery with these gentlemen themselves about the matter. Some of these delegates also were ministers of slave-holding states; and, had they voted against slavery here, when they went back they would have been Lynched. But, what made me feel most deeply of all, in this transaction, was the deception which was manifested in the explanations of the difficulties into which they were thrown. 'Here we are in difficulty,' said they. 'Difficulty! what is the matter?' 'Why, our brethren have stolen a great many men. They have established an institution to retain these men whom they have stolen; and they have thereby rendered it very difficult to get rid of them: therefore, in these peculiar circumstances, you must let us alone.' That is the plain English of the matter. Bishop Meade's letter was read—the letter which has been referred to to-night. It was listened to by the Rev. Mr. Bickersteth, who, as almost every body knows, is a gentleman of high integrity and piety; and it pained me to perceive how Mr. Bickersteth, with his kind and benevolent heart, was affected by that letter of Bishop Meade. I knew, all the time, that the sentiments it expressed were the sheerest deception and hypocrisy. I knew well the object. Bishop Meade stated that they were willing to emancipate their slaves, but could not, from the peculiar circumstances of the case. They brought out a number of cases, where the friends of the slave were puzzled, perplexed, and troubled about the question, and wanted to get rid of it, but could not. Well, now I knew better all the time, and every American who knows anything about slavery in the United states, knows the utter falsity of these statements. Why, let them take a journey to Canada, and take their slaves with them; and, when they go home, let them leave the slaves behind them, and they would be all safe. Queen Victoria is ready to take the whole of them. If they will give them up to-morrow, I will insure, on the

part of the English government, that they will take care of every man, woman, and child of them; or, in other words, the English government will put them in the way of taking care of themselves. There is another feature of the case respecting the American delegates which I wish to notice. The Alliance had a great and grand object in view, and many, both of our American and English friends were actuated, in the formation of that Alliance, by the desire of attaining this object. They expended a great deal of money, time, and labour, in the formation and establishment of that institution. Doubtless they were influenced by good motives in so doing, and desired to accomplish good. I certainly hold our English friends in the highest estimation for the labour and toil which they bestowed on that Alliance. I believe when the question of slavery was first introduced into the Alliance, almost every member of that body was disposed to object to the reception of slaveholders, or to give the influence of the institution in any way to the support of slavery. I affirm and maintain that you could not have obtained a class of representatives from America who would have been more opposed to the support of anti-slavery views, or more efficient in shielding slavery than the men who were chosen. Those who know the men in their various churches in America, know that I speak the truth in this matter. Well, when we came into our meetings, one quailed, and another yielded, and then another; and among them some men who, I thought, never would have yielded. I took them out, and conversed with them upon the matter, and said to them, 'How is this? Are we to be left alone—two or three of us—in the midst of a faithless majority? We supposed these Englishmen were all anti-slavery men.' 'Oh!' said they, 'but we must do something. It will not do to break up the Alliance; it will tear us all to pieces.' They first began to cower and quail; they then began to listen to the stories of these men. Then they began to say, 'Now we are under such and such circumstances, and we are placed so and so. If this resolution passes, it will break up the whole thing, and the Alliance is gone.' They had one great object in view; they had laboured hard, spent their money, time, and influence, all to bring about this one object, and they were not willing to give it up. There seemed to be the point. They had to choose between the rejection of their American brethren, as they came forward with their pro-slavery views and feelings, or else their own principles. There was no other alternative. 'Either we must reject the delegates, or we must reject the slave, and the anti-slavery interest; one or the other.' Forty hours were spent in considering how they could receive them both; how they could have two masters. They were puzzled how to serve their American masters who were defending slavery, and at the same time to serve the slave. The corrupting, demoralising influence of slavery was never more manifest—never achieved more in forty hours—never made greater havoc with conscience and moral integrity, since the world was made. After we could not obtain or sustain the amendment, that slaveholders should be rejected, they brought forward another question respecting those who were slaveholders not of their own fault, and so forth,—which you have all heard. I voted against that, because it was a compromising of the whole principle, and was worse than no resolution at all. Finding they

would not do any thing thoroughly, I was glad that they did not do any thing at all upon the question. I told them, however, this: 'The people of England and the people of America will take up this question. This is not the end of it.''

We consider this testimony of great value. Mr. Himes has for sixteen years been honourably conspicuous in the anti-slavery ranks in the United States, and we have heard but one opinion respecting him, that he is thoroughly conversant with the abolition movement, and is a man of deep sincerity and unsuspected moral integrity. We know, besides, that in the position which he nobly maintained in the Conference, he perilled, and, to a great extent, forfeited his influence and standing in that body, and, to use his own words, became 'a marked and persecuted man.' This gentleman—an American, and a person professing an intimate knowledge of every man of name and fame connected with the anti-slavery cause in the United States, says: 'I affirm and maintain, that you could not have obtained a class of representatives from America, who would have been more opposed to the support of anti-slavery views, or more efficient in shielding slavery, than the men who were chosen. Those who know the men in their various churches in America, know that I speak the truth in this matter.' Yet, we regret to find that Dr. Wardlaw has ventured to stand voucher for these men, and to say that 'the brethren from America were anti-slavery, like ourselves.' We believe that Dr. Wardlaw forgot, when he wrote these words, the speeches delivered on the 28th of August and the 1st of September; and the protests of the thirty-two 'American brethren,' on the 28th, and the protest of the twelve 'American brethren' on the 31st. Dr. Wardlaw has proved, by his own letters, compared with the speeches and official documents of the American members of the Alliance, that *his* views and *theirs* are utterly irreconcileable. Did not the Americans, throughout the whole of the proceedings on the question of slavery, point to the *laws* of the United States as an extenuation, if not a justification, of the slaveholders, with whom they declared their determination to remain in close Christian communion.' Yet, what says Dr. Wardlaw, in a letter to the 'Patriot,' which has been printed since we commenced writing this article?

'There are, in some of the southern States, laws prohibitory of the teaching of a slave to read, that is, prohibitory of bringing even within his reach, the saving instructions of the Word of God! *Is it conceivable, that any man calling himself a Christian can obey such a law?*—that any man calling himself a Christian can consent, in compliance with the enactment of a human legislature, *thus to damn the soul as well as bind the body of his immortal fellow-creature and fellow-sinner? Away with*

the thought! Christian! let not the sacred designation be thus prostituted. He who acts such a part 'has denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.' Do the churches of the north, then, make exceptions? or do they admit to their brotherly fellowship ministers and members from these states as well as from the rest—ministers and members who residing in these states, and holding slaves in these states, must be understood to be acting in obedience to their laws? else they would not be long there without being feelingly reminded where they were! Alas! how drugging the opiates—how searing the cauteries—that interest and custom administer to conscience. Such men may be found arguing, or attempting to argue, in support of slavery from the Bible; while there can be no doubt, that the real reason for their not wishing their slaves to read the Bible, is a secret fear lest in that blessed book they should discover (and how could they avoid discovering?) the principles of freedom, and asserting their right. And are we, in even the remotest possible degree, to associate ourselves with *laws and practices* so—I cannot find a word strong enough to express my reprobation of them—anti-Christian is too feeble—so *absolutely fiendish?* Is it not rather our incumbent duty, individually and collectively, in every possible way, to impress on our American brethren's minds the extraordinary mistake in principle (to give it its gentlest appellation), which the maintaining of such fellowship implies; and, 'whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear,' to keep our own hands clean, and not to 'implicate ourselves,' how remotely soever, in the 'merchandize of souls,' as well as of bodies? The plain truth, in my mind, is this,—I speak only for myself, whosoever else may adopt the sentiment—that *the cases which we might be disposed to describe and select, as constituting cases of exception are so very, very rare, that legislation for them would be ludicrous,* and the proposal of them in America would be received with either a smile at our simplicity, or a frown at our presumption. It could only be regarded as an indirect and unmanly way of doing what had much better be done openly and honestly at once—declining their fellowship. I fear it must come to this. I have feared it all along.'

Such is the language of Dr. Wardlaw. Yet, the very men who are in full and affectionate communion with persons thus spoken of, are the men described by him as being 'anti-slavery like ourselves.'

But we must hasten to a close, and reserve to a future occasion many facts which we had intended to refer to. We must not omit, however, to notice the manner in which the conduct of the Alliance has been viewed beyond the immediate pale and influence of its own body. The religious press, with a few solitary exceptions, has spoken of its proceedings in terms of severe censure. Amongst the journals entitled to the warm gratitude of the anti-slavery public of Great Britain, the *Patriot* stands pre-eminent. The able leading articles, the faithful and uncontradicted summaries, and copious reports of public meetings which have appeared in that paper, have rendered immense

service to the cause of truth and freedom.* This journal has been most efficiently seconded by the vigorous pen of the uncompromising editor of the *Nonconformist*. An appeal has also been made to the anti-slavery feeling and principles of the country, by means of public meetings; and the verdict has been all but unanimous, in condemnation of the compromise of which the Alliance was guilty. In London, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, Norwich, Newcastle, Edinburgh, Aylesbury, Bristol, and other places,—before audiences unprecedented in numbers, —the question has been submitted. Did the Alliance prove faithless to its principles and professions on the subject of slavery, or did it not? and out of thirty thousand persons so appealed to,—in meetings perfectly free and open, and to which the friends of the Alliance were in every instance specially invited, only seven individuals have been found to vote in the negative. These meetings were commenced immediately after the termination of the sittings of the Alliance, and as the principal speakers at them have been somewhat unsparingly denounced in certain quarters, we will say a word respecting the men, and the motives by which we believe they were actuated. Of one of these gentlemen, at all events, we can speak with confidence.

Mr. George Thompson has been long known to us, and few men have rendered more important service to the abolition cause. We worked with him, in our own anti-slavery struggle, and were often astonished at his prodigious labours, as well as gratified by his deep earnestness and commanding eloquence. We have since watched his career with interest, and have never known him to swerve from the course to which he was pledged, or to fail in its advocacy. Whatever others may have done, he has been faithful in all exigences of the great question; and on no occasion has he rendered more valuable service to the slave, or done himself more honour, than in his recent exposure of the temporising and unworthy policy of the Evangelical Alliance. That his exposures have been unsparing, his denunciations severe, we readily admit, nor do we blame him on this account. The course pursued was not to be characterised by soft and measured terms. In our solemn judgment it was faithless to the highest and noblest cause, the abandonment of ground deliberately taken, treacherous to principle, and full of cruelty to the slave. His labours, which few other men could have dis-

* Can it be true, as we have heard it whispered, that certain persons who are concerned in the management and control of the 'Patriot,' have laid an interdict upon the further discussion of the question in the editorial columns? If so, it is time for the proprietors of that paper to look about them.

charged, have served to commend him still further to our respect and admiration.

Of his associate, Mr. Lloyd Garrison, we will only say, that the disposition evinced by some of our countrymen, to receive and retail the slanders of American slave holders and their abettors, does not redound to our national credit. We do not concur with Mr. Garrison in the propriety of all his measures; we have heard language from his lips which we could not adopt,—phrases and modes of speech to which we should take strong exception. But, notwithstanding this, we protest against the construction put on his language by some of our contemporaries, as wanting in justice to him, and in an equitable regard to the whole facts of the case. What has Mr. Garrison said of 'American religion' severer or more denunciatory than the following words of Dr. Adam Clarke, when referring to the maintenance of slavery by a people professing the Christian faith. 'Oh! ye most flagitious of knaves and worst of hypocrites, cast off at once the mask of religion, and deepen not your endless perdition by professing the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, while ye continue in this traffic.'*

In the verdict returned at the meetings to which we have referred, we perfectly agree. We cannot but regard the conduct of the Alliance, from first to last, as a deliberate compromise, step by step, of the demands of truth, the rights of the slave, and the requirements of the law of Christ. The concessions of the British brethren in the Conference were, in our judgment, far more censurable than any thing said, done, or attempted by the American delegates. The British members were an overwhelming majority. They were men who,—scores and hundreds of them,—had made a loud profession of attachment to uncompromising anti-slavery principles. They were men who, many of them, had, in anti-slavery conventions, in the years 1840 and 1843, declared that there ought to be no religious communion with slaveholders; and yet, by subtle evasions, and imaginary cases, they sought to justify their refusal to exclude from their Alliance those for whom in the present day no excuse, which is in the least degree valid, can be set up. They did this to preserve a good understanding with men who left them no room to doubt of their pro-slavery sentiments, for they placed them on record, in documents which the Alliance have themselves given to the world. We will not trust ourselves to characterise such conduct as we think it deserves; but will rather let it be described by Dr. Andrew Reed, who was a member of that body, but has set a bright example—not with-

* The Christian Penny Magazine. Nov. p. 361.

out its effect—by retiring from it, and assigns the following, amongst other reasons, for so doing:

'The final reason weighing on my mind connects itself with the question of slavery. Undoubtedly, the Alliance were at liberty to say whether they would deal with that question. They resolved, however, to take action on it; and in my judgment the course pursued is the most objectionable that it was possible to adopt. The Conference resolved unanimously, and under a strange ecstacy of mind, that slavery may be not only legal, but right; not only right, but in certain circumstances beneficial even to the slave. They afterwards met to rescind that resolution; not, be it observed, to meet the wishes of a small British party, who might have thought on reflection, that it yielded too much as against the slave; but to satisfy a controlling party, who thought it yielded too little! And, finally, it stultified itself by agreeing to expunge its own minutes, and to persuade itself and the public, that it had taken no action on a subject on which, in fact, it had been more deeply engaged than any other.

'This, I think, is doing gratuitous and incalculable evil. The subject is introduced to be trifled with and postponed. The vital interests of the slave are damaged, and, as far as possible, made questionable, and this great country—made penitent by the grace of Heaven for the monstrous wrong it had done, and giving evidence to the world of its sincerity, by inflicting on itself a penalty which stands alone in history—is made to take a lower and a most humiliating position before the eyes of all nations, and especially before those of France and America. If good is to be set against evil, the Alliance must realise a larger amount of good than the most sanguine of its friends will readily ascribe to it, to outweigh this enormous evil.

'Every member of the Alliance, as such, is now committed to hold the interests and rights of the bleeding slave in abeyance for years to come; and I cannot be a party to such a contract—*no, not for an hour.* I write this with intense grief. A fine opportunity, purchased, too, at much expense of time, toil, and property, has been lost; and fresh difficulties have been thrown in the way of that Christian Union which shall open its arms to every professing believer in Christ, and for which every kind and gracious spirit is sighing and supplicating.'

The end, thus far, of the matter remains to be related. At the late meeting in Manchester, to organize a British District Alliance, it was stated in a report, signed by Sir Culling Eardley Smith and Dr. Steane, that since the meeting in London about fifty members had *withdrawn*, while others had answered doubtfully, leaving future circumstances, and especially the proceedings of the present Conference, to determine the course they would ultimately adopt. On the morning of the second day of that Conference, a resolution was brought in by Rev. E. Bickersteth, and seconded by Rev. J. H. Hinton, declaring slaveholders *ineligible to membership in the British*

branch of the Alliance. On this subject, Dr. Wardlaw, in his letter just published, says:—

'*It is quite clear, that the resolution just adopted at Manchester, as an article of the British organization, contains a principle which cannot be confined to British slaveholders.* It is vain to blind ourselves to the consequence, or to attempt to conceal it; *it breaks up the alliance with America.* The state of church fellowship there, as already described, evidently, on the showing of our American brethren themselves, who were with us in the Conferences here, precludes its possibility on the principle of this resolution.'

We believe so, too, and it now remains to be seen in what light the 'American brethren' will regard this proceeding on the part of the Manchester conference. We had intended to prove, from an abundance of letters and American papers in our possession, that these American brethren claimed a pro-slavery triumph in the London Conference; and we are fully of opinion that they had a right to do so. What will they now say to this somewhat sudden change on the part of those who assured them at their valedictory meetings, that they left behind them those who would defend both their characters and the position that had been taken in London? We are curious to know. But to what shall we attribute the altered course of proceeding? Mr. Bickersteth said, that unless the resolution was passed, the public would not believe that the British Alliance abominated slavery. But who had taught him this? From what facts did he draw such a conclusion? And how was it that the rest of his brethren came to adopt, so suddenly, the same opinion? We think no rational man can be at a loss to arrive at the truth on this matter, and however it may suit the humbled pride of a few mortified spirits to deny it, the fact will remain undoubted, (and every month will add some fresh illustrations), that the course pursued in London excited all but universal disgust and indignation, and that the erring parties discovered, between the fifth of September and the fifth of November, that they must retrace their steps, or the Alliance would be a nonentity, and the attempt to form it upon the principles adopted in the Conference on the subject of slavery, would be but to add another to the many proofs furnished to the world, that a paramount regard for the everlasting principles of truth and rectitude, and a holy and undaunted resolution to take those principles as the sole guide in the treatment of every question requiring decision, must precede union.

Should the Alliance fulfil the expectation which it has excited, that it will give to the world a faithful report of the various speeches delivered during its sittings, we shall probably return

to the subject, and avail ourselves of the opportunity of offering some suggestions which the length of our present article prevents us from now doing.

Brief Notices.

New-Year's Day; a Winter's Tale. By Mrs. Gore. With Illustrations, by George Cruikshank. London: Fisher and Co.

THE example of Mr. Dickins appears to be infectious, and numerous competitors are now contesting with him the favour of juvenile readers during their season of annual festivity. Mrs. Gore is amongst the number, and the title of her present volume sufficiently indicates her design. It is exempt from the vicious qualities which have excluded fiction from many of our juvenile circles, and is adapted to cherish rather than repress the kindlier charities of our nature. A tendency to exaggerate in the portraiture of character is its main fault, and the issue of the tale is singularly out of keeping with the joyous, yet innocent recreations associated by our young people with New-year's-day. The tale is light, and its earlier and closing chapters are full of interest. John Talbot, the old and faithful servant of Sir Jasper, and George Foreman, the suffering and patient youth, pining away in an obscure court in the neighbourhood of St. James's, are the most fascinating pictures of the volume; yet, strange to say, a broken heart in the one case, and a premature death in the other, are the end to which they are conducted. The close of the tale is therefore sombre and painful. A dark cloud settles over the personages in whose fate we have been most interested, which the marriage of Miss Hallet with Lord Wroxton does not serve even partially to enlighten. This is a great fault in the artist, and ought especially to have been avoided in such a work. The impression left on the reader should have been pleasing, and we see no good reason why it was not so.

The Evangelical Alliance: Can Churchmen and Dissenters unite in it? or, can Evangelical Non-Conformists hold Christian fellowship with State Episcopalians? By the Rev. William Thorn. London: Jackson and Walford.

WE perfectly concur with Mr. Thorn in his main position, and commend his tract to the candid perusal of our readers. It is a searching, honest, and fearless exposure of an effort from which, whatever incidental good may arise, we anticipate much ultimate evil.

Glimpses of the Wonderful. Third Series. London, Harvey and Darton.

A BEAUTIFUL little volume, in which the spirit and elegance of the illustrations are in happy keeping with the instructive and interesting character of the letter-press. We strongly commend it to favour, as admirably suited for a Christmas or New-Year's-Day present.

The Recreation. A Gift-Book for Young Readers. With Engravings. Edinburgh, John Menzies; London, Orr and Co.

'THE Recreation' puts in its claim as a candidate for favour with the other gift-books of the season, and is as entertaining and informing as its previous volumes have been. The editor tells us that 'his object has been to blend amusement with instruction, to combine variety with permanent value, and carefully to exclude whatever has a tendency to injure the youthful mind.' In this object he has happily succeeded, and his volume—as our family circle testifies—possesses, in consequence, an absorbing interest to young people.

The Standard Edition of the Pictorial Bible. Edited by John Kitto, D.D., F.S.A. With many hundred wood-cuts, and thirteen engravings on steel. Parts I. and II. London: Charles Knight.

WE need not say one word in commendation of the *Pictorial Bible.* Its value is universally admitted, and scholars of all classes are accustomed to avail themselves of its treasures. As an illustration of the geography, antiquities, political and natural history, and all which the Germans would call *Thing knowledge* pertaining to the Bible, it is unequalled in our language, and should be found in the library of every minister and intelligent reader. Ten years have now elapsed since its first publication, during which Dr. Kitto has been employed in the collection of materials, still further tending to the elucidation of the inspired volume. The design of the present edition is to incorporate such additions, so as materially to add to the value of the work, while its price—no mean consideration with theological students—is considerably diminished.

'There is no department,' says the Editor, 'of Biblical literature in which more advance has of late years been made, or on which more publications have appeared, than in that most interesting one devoted to the examination of the literary history and distinguishing circumstances of the several books which compose the Sacred Volume. In the present edition of the 'Pictorial Bible,' increased attention has been therefore given to this department; and every book will be furnished with a new and more copious introduction, affording, so far as the plan of the work allows, the results of the best information with reference to it, which the most careful research has been able to supply.'

'The general result may thus be stated:—That the matter of the original work has undergone a most careful and elaborate revision: that nothing of interest or value in the original work is wanting in the new edition: and that large additions will be made, equal altogether, probably, to above one-third of the whole work, of the same kinds of accurate and interesting information which have secured for the Pictorial Bible the high consideration with which it has been favoured, both in this country and abroad.'

The historical illustrations which were so freely introduced into the former edition have been judiciously omitted, and their place is supplied 'by a large addition of real landscapes and objects of natural history and antiquities.' The work will be published in thirteen monthly parts, at four shillings each; and in fifty-two weekly numbers, at one shilling each; and has our most cordial good wishes for its success.

Lessons of Life and Death. A Memorial of Sarah Ball. By Elizabeth Ritchie. John Snow, London.

THE subject of this brief sketch was born at Burwell, in Cambridgeshire, in the year 1827. 'The chief characteristics of her childhood were delight in reading, and abhorrence of falsehood.' Throughout her short life she was remarkable for the simplicity and truthfulness of her character. With an intense thirst for knowledge, she eagerly prosecuted her search for it so long as her strength permitted. From her earliest years she was much interested in the subject of religion; 'but until the age of sixteen the prevailing sentiment of her heart was *fear*.' In her ninth year she entered the Moravian school at Bedford, where, through the preaching of Mr. Rogers, and the religious arrangements of that fraternity, her serious impressions were deepened. At fifteen she was removed to Wrentham, in Suffolk, where she was placed under the care of the author of the Memorial before us. Nature appears to have been lavish in her gifts towards her, and while at school she was the idol of her companions. The most prominent features of her character at this time were 'strong impulses, warm and gushing affections, quenchless ardour in study, and a natural nobleness which scorned to do any thing mean.' She made a public profession of religion in the early part of 1844. This step was taken with much diffidence and self-mistrust, but from it she derived both satisfaction and peace. In the summer of the same year she left school, and returned to Burwell, where we find her eagerly prosecuting her studies, as well as taking charge of her younger brother. Her love of teaching was great, and her interests were for a time concentrated on the establishment of a British school at Burwell. She lived to see the committee formed, and the grant of land obtained; but while the foundations of the school-house were being dug, 'there passed by with solemn step and heavy tread, a train of bearers robed in mourning attire, on their way to deposit the

remains of the young and ardent projector in the grave, where there is no work, nor wisdom, nor device.' Thus was this pure and beautiful spirit transplanted, in her nineteenth year, to a more congenial clime, where the qualities of her mind possess an appropriate opportunity for their full developement. May the narrative of her brief career be the means of affording strength to the work, encouragement to the desponding, stability to the wavering, and the peace that passeth understanding to the sorrowing and agitated mind. The memorial is written in a pleasing style, with an evident desire for usefulness; and our only exception is to the dedication, the taste of which is not in keeping with our notion of good writing.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

A Literal Translation of the Book of Psalms, intended to illustrate their poetical and moral structure, to which are added dissertations on the word "Selah," and on the authorship, order, titles, and poetical features of the Psalms. By the Rev. John Jebb, M. A. 2 Vols.

Florentine History, from the earliest Authentic Records to the Accession of Ferdinand the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany. By Henry Edward Napier, Capt. R.N. In 6 Vols. Vol. I.

Lives of Alexander Henderson and James Guthrie, with Specimens of their Writings. Issued by the Committee of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland for the Publication of the Works of Scottish Reformers and Divines.

Bohn's Standard Library. The Works of Frederick Schiller, Historical and Dramatic. History of the Revolt of the Netherlands continued. Trials of Counts Egmont and Horn, Wallenstein and Wilhelm Tell. Historical Dramas. Translated from the German.

The Question 'Was St. Peter ever at Rome,' Historically considered. By Augustus Scheler, Doctor in Philosophy. Translated from the French by a Clergyman. With a Short Preface by the Translator.

Paul Gerhardt, an Historical Tale of the Lutherans and Reformed in Brandenburgh, under the Great Elector. By C. A. Wildenhahn. Translated from the German, by Mrs. Stanley Carr.

Patristic Evenings. By John Birt, Author of a Summary of the Principles and History of Popery.

Illustrations of Eating, Displaying the Omnivorous Character of Man, and Exhibiting the Natives of Various Countries at Feeding Time. By a Beef Eater.

Youthful Developement, or Discourses to Youth, classified according to Character. By Samuel Martin, Minister of Westminster Chapel, Westminster.

Two Sermons Preached in Mare Street Chapel, Hackney, in consequence the Decease of Mrs. Cox, who departed this Life 18th Sept. 1846. 1. The

Funeral Sermon; 2. The Tribulation of Paul. Published by Request. By Daniel Katterns.

A Catechism of Church History in General, from the Apostolic Age to the Present Time, to which is added, a Catechism of English Church History, with a Summary of Principal Events in Chronological Order. By the Rev. W. F. Wilkinson, M. A., Theological Tutor of Cheltenham College.

Four Letters to the Rev. E. B. Elliott, on some Passages in his Horæ Apocalypticæ. By the Rev. Dr. Candlish, Edinburgh.

Sectarianism, the Bane of Religion and the Church, and the Necessity of an Immediate Movement towards Unity.

The Principle of Free Inquiry and Private Judgment, and its Special Importance in the Present Times. By Robert S. Candlish, D. D.

Does the Established Church acknowledge Christ as its Head? This question answered, by the official statements of the Judges and Statesmen of the land, and the recent acts of the Established Church. By the Rev. James M'Cosh, A.M. Second edition, revised.

Evangelical Alliance; Minutes of the proceedings of the Conference, held in Freemason's Hall, London, August 19, 1846, and following days.

Evangelical Alliance; abstract of the proceedings and final resolutions of the Conference, held in Freemason's Hall, London, on August 19, and following days.

The Christian Treasury; containing contributions from Ministers and Members of various evangelical denominations. Part IX. Nov. 1846.

European Library.—History of the Counter Revolution in England for the re-establishment of Popery under Charles II. and James II. By Armand Carrel. History of the Reign of James II. By the Right Hon. C. J. Fox.

The Bonaparte Letters and Despatches, secret, confidential, and official, from the originals in his private cabinet. 2 vols.

The Psalms in Hebrew, with a critical, exegetical, and philosophic Commentary. By the Rev. George Phillips, B.D. 2 vols. Vol. I.

Lectures on the Acts of the Apostles, with an Appendix, in continuation of the inspired history, &c. By James Bennett, D.D.

Correspondence of John, fourth Duke of Bedford, selected from the originals at Woburn Abbey, with an Introduction. By Lord John Russell. Vol. III.

The Evangelical Alliance. Can Churchmen and Dissenters unite in it? or can evangelical nonconformists hold Christian fellowship with state episcopalians? By Rev. William Thorn, Winchester.

Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand; being an artist's impressions of countries and people at the Antipodes, with numerous illustrations. By George French Angus. 2 vols.

Murray's Library.—Rough Notes, taken during some rapid journeys across the Pampass, and among the Indians. By Sir Francis B. Head, Bart. Fourth edition.

Glimpses of the Wonderful. Third Series.

INDEX.

VOL. XX.—NEW SERIES.

Abbot, Archbishop, *Exposition of Jonah*, 217

A'Beckett, G. A., *Comic History of England*, 533, 536: invasion of Cæsar, 540; Heptarchy, 543; Alfred, 546; Stephen, 548; caricatures of Leech, 534; defects of his illustration of history, 536

Aldis, J., on *Christian Union*, 382

Alexander, W. L., *Switzerland and the Swiss Churches*, 713; *Mrs. Marcet's fete*, 716; religion at Geneva, 718, 720; defects of Calvin's church polity, 719; results of Church and State alliance in Vaud, 722; varieties of Swiss Protestantism, 723; Independency, 725; persecution of Charles Rochat, 725

Australian Discoveries, 622; treatment of aborigines, 623—636; Sturt's expedition of discovery, 625; natives, 627, 634; scenery of interior, 629, 632; Leichard's expedition, 629

Bamford, S., *Passages in the Life of a Radical*, 1; disturbed state of manufacturing districts in, 1815, 1816, 2; popular clubs, 3; agitations for reform, 4; Peterloo, 5; author's trial and imprisonment, 6; *scene in House of Commons*, 7; *visit to Earl Grosvenor*, 9; *adventure at an inn*, 12; *his home*, 14; indefinite religious views, 16; government spies, 17; fitness of the people for the suffrage, 18; special need of personal religion in the manufacturing districts, 20; spiritual claims of Lancashire, 23

Barrett, E. B., *Poems*, 573; composed in physical weakness, 572; *Sonnet on Work*, 575; their characteristics, 576; excellences, 578; Drama of Exile, 580; alleged faults, 584

Beckman, J., *History of Inventions*, 251

Bethune, Alex., *Memoirs of*, 125

Bickersteth, Rev. E., *Exposition of Epistles of John and Jude*, 383

Binney, Rev. T., *Funeral Sermon for T. S. Guyer*, 124

Bonnechose, Emile, *Reformers before the Reformation*, 382

Brook, Rev. B., *Life of Thomas Cartwright*, 221

Brown, Dr. Thomas, *Lectures on Ethics*, 674; his philosophical character, 675, 686; his theory of causation his fundamental error, 677; notion of the mind's passiveness, 678; opposition to Reid, 680; an inconsistent idealist, 681; deficiency of his ethics, 682; omits the influence of the Will, *ib.*; Preface by Dr. Chalmers, 687

Burton, J. H., *Life of Hume*, 317; sketch of 319—323; contrasted with that of D. Nasmyth, 324; Hume's philosophy, 326; his scepticism, 327; its logical inconsistency, 328; theory of causation, 329; being of a God, 333; sneers at Christianity, 335; fallacy of his argument against miracles, 338

Cape of Good Hope Colony, 385; Dutch colonial system, 390; Caffres not migratory, 391; non-inter-

course abolished, 394; land encroachments of Colonists, 395; invasion of 1834-35, 397; commissions of inquiry, 400; colonial government determined on war, 405; forbearance of the Caffres, 411; integrity and sound judgment of the missionaries, 415

Carrel, A., *History of the Counter Revolution in England*, 726; its inaccuracies, 728; duplicity of Charles I. the cause of his ruin, 729; *condition of England under the Protectorate*, 729; treachery of Monk, 730; Convention-Parliament, 731; Clarendon's ministry, 733; the Cabal, 735; Test Act, 736; Danby's Administration, 737; Popish plot, 738; Parliament of Oxford, 740

Chalmers, Dr., on the *Evangelical Alliance*, 747, 760

China, and her Spiritual Claims, 125

Christmas, Miss, *Glendearg Cottage*, 507

Clarkson, D., *Select Works of*, 611, 615

Continental Echo, 492

Czerski, J., 492; prejudices against him in England, 493; early life, 496; scruples, 498; marriage justified, 500; his liberality, 501; evangelicalism, 502; Ronge a neologist, 503

D'Aubigné, J. H. M., *History of the Reformation*, 252, 508

Dobbs, Rev. J., *Century of Scottish Church History*, 510

Eckett, Rev. R., *Exposition of Laws of Conference Methodism*, 129; constitution of Conference, 132; its leaders, 134; Jabez Bunting, *ib.*; his influence, 139, whence derived, 141; district meeting, 142; marriage of ministers, 144; examination of probationers, 145; special district meetings, 147; mixed and minor, 147; quarterly meeting, 148; special circuit meeting, 150; leaders' meeting, 151; discipline, 153; local preachers' meetings, 154; trustees' meeting, 156; financial arrangements, 157; missionary society, 158; theological institute, 159; schools, *ib.*; children's fund, 160; bookroom, *ib.*; use of liturgy, 161; love-feasts, 163; revivals, 164; public and private bands, 162; defects of Wesleyanism, 167

Evangelical Alliance, *Proceedings of*, 747; abolition of slavery in the British empire, 751; religious deputations to America, 752; retrograde movement of the Free Church, 753; Presbyterian General Assembly of United States, 754; their apology for slavery, 757; Birmingham resolution of the Evangelical Alliance, 760; disposition manifested by the General Conference, 761; tone of the American delegates, 762; their arguments, 764, protest, 768; first resolution of the Alliance, 765, final decision, 769, general results, 770; interior history of the proceedings, 772; universal condemnation of the disgraceful compromise, 776; G. Thompson, *ib.*; W. L. Garrison, 777; Dr. Reed's withdrawment, 778; Manchester resolution of the British Branch of the Alliance, *ib.*; its effect on the American, 779; *laws* no excuse for slaveholding, 774

Fauriel, C., *History of Provençal Poetry*, 641; its plan, 642; influence of Greek civilization, 644; of Roman, 646; *derivation of the Provençal language*, 648; its priority in metrical romance, 651; Round Table legends not of British origin, 652; chivalry of religion, 653, the *Graal*, *ib.*; Walther of Acquitaine, 657; defects of author's system of civilization, 658

Fisher's *Juvenile Scrap Book*, 743, 745

Fletcher, Rev. J., *Select Works and Memoirs of*, 660; his character, 661; parentage, 662; conversion, 663; course at Hoxton and Glasgow, 665; pastorate and tutorship at Blackburn, 666; removal to Stepney, 667; his nonconformity, 669; his writings, 670;

Lectures on Roman Catholicism, 672

Galt, J., *Life of Wolsey*, 380
German Novelists:—Schnabel, Gellert, Hermes, 468; Wieland, 469; Musæus and Trim, 470; Meissner, Tiedge, 471; Countess Hahn Hahn, Fanny Tarnow, 472; Kotzebue, 472; Schiller, 473; Tieck, Nicolai, 474; Klinger, 476; Von Knigge, 477
Gleig, Rev. G. R., *Sale's Brigade in Affghanistan*, 253
Glimpses of the Wonderful, 781
Godly Sayings of the Ancient Fathers, 510
Goethe, W. Von, *his Prose Novels*, 465; Werter, 469; Wilhelm Meister, 470
Gordon, A., *on the Irish Church*, 239; a great grievance, 240, 246; inefficiency, 243; Whig temporising policy, 245; Lord John Russell on Roman Catholic endowment, 248; his scheme, 249
Gore, Mrs., *New Year's Day*, 780
Grammont's Memoirs of Court of Charles II., 94; their immorality, 95, and slight historical value, 96; escape of Charles, 97
Gray, J. T., *Exercises in Logic*, 92
Grote, G., *History of Greece*, 257; objections to its form, 261; growth of mythology, 259; iconoclasm of the early Christians right, 260; influence of the poets religiously pernicious, 265; enlargements of the Homeric legends of the gods, 266; untrustworthiness of the poetical legends, 267, 270; theory of intrinsic credibility, 269; belief of the Greeks themselves of no authority, 271; Argonautic fables, 272; Amazons, 274; theory of Odyssey and Iliad, 276; abnormal character of the Spartans, 279
Guizot, F., *History of Civilization*, 509, translated by Hazlitt, 252

Hanserd Knollys Society, 611; purpose, 618
Harvey, Dr. H., *Phycolgia Britannica*, 60, 64
Hassall, A. H., *British Algæ*, 61; cause of colour in the Red Sea, 62
Heugh, Rev. H., *Funeral Sermons for*, 697, 712; his character, 698, 707; spiritual experience, 697; settlement at Stirling and Glasgow, 701; *last days*, 701; prosperity in his ministry, 702; diligence in his pastoral and denominational duty, 703; advocacy of the voluntary principle, &c., 705, 709; character as a public speaker, 706; atonement controversy, 708; his publications, 709
Hexapla, The English, 638
Hook, Dr. W. F., *on National Education*, 280, 301; objections to the principle of state education, 285; religious neutrality cannot be preserved, 287; objections to its *modus operandi*, 288; not the duty of the state, *ib.*; hostile to freedom, 291; increases the power and patronage of the executive, *ib.*; impossible to be *enforced*, 295; State interference needless, 296; duty of dissenters, 297; profound importance of the subject, 306; author's disclaimer of church and state alliance, 303
Horne, T. H., *Introduction to Holy Scripture*, 183; defects of the 9th edition, 184; plagiarisms and errors, 187; omissions, 189

Irish Presbyterian Assembly, 585; discussion of *Regium Donum*, 587

James, G. P. R., *Heidelberg*, 637
Jenyns, Rev. L., *Observations in Natural History*, 688; irregular appearance of species, 691; solitary specimens, 694; *time at which birds begin to sing in the morning*, 695; pugnacity of redbreast, 696; dahliahs destructive to bees, 696

King, Rev. D., *Lord's Supper*, 508
King, J. A., *Argentine Republic*, 192; atrocities of civil warfare, 194; Chirinones Indians, 196; popular superstition, 197; gambling, 199; political condition, 202; tyranny of Rosas, 204
Kitto, Dr. J., *Cyclopædia of Biblical*

Literature, 417; its *plan*, 419; Hengstenberg's change of view on prophecy, 422; his errors, 424; articles on natural history, 426; *Behemoth*, 428; geographical and archæological articles, 430; *angels of the churches*, 432; biblical history and biography, 435
Kitto, John, *Gallery of Scripture Engravings*, 743, 746
Kitto, John, *Standard Edition of Pictorial Bible*, 781
Knox, A., *Life of Wesley*, 504

Leechman, John, *Logic*, 92
Life in California, 438; mission of St. Luis Rey, 440; tone of morals, 443; bear-baiting, 445; bull-fights, *ib.*: religious usages, 447
Literary Intelligence, 127, 255, 383, 511, 639, 783

Macintosh, Sir James, *Miscellaneous Works*, 101, his start in life, 103; great reputation while alive, *ib.*: Vindiciæ Gallicæ, 105; opinions on church property, 107; dissertation on the progress of ethical philosophy, 110; *character of Hobbes*, *ib.*: *of Cudworth*, 113; *Butler's analogy*, 113; *Revolution of* 1688, 116
Mackenzie, Rev. J. M., *Remains of*, 79; his early training, 80; conversion, 81; college course, 82; settlement at Poole, 86; marriage and tutorship, 87; death, 88
McNeile, Rev. H., *Sermon on Prince Albert's Visit to Liverpool*, 460
Marryatt, Capt., *Privateersman, One Hundred Years ago*, 381
Marsh, E. G., *Chrysostom on the Priesthood*, 509
Martin, W. C. L., *History of the Dog*, 168; its original stock, 171; Jewish prejudice against, 174; classic customs, *ib.*: Polar dogs, 176; shepherd's dog, 178; dog of St. Bernard, 179; sagacity, 180; hydrophobia, 182
Martineau, H., *Forest and Game-law Tales*, 230; Norman forest law, 231; *Archbishop Langton*, 234; Waltham Blacks, 235; present times, 236; real hunting, 237
Mignet, F. A., *History of French Revolution*, 638
Milner, Rev. T., *Elevation of the People*, 507
Ministry, A revived, the hope for a revived church, 23; deep piety needed, 27; and an aggressive character, 29; power of personal influence of religious teachers, 33; principles of selection for the office, 37
Monthly Prize Essays, 505

Norton, Hon. Mrs., *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book*, 743

Old England's Alarum, 125

Palliser, Mrs., *Modern Poetical Speaker*, 254
Payne, G., *Lectures on Divine Sovereignty*, 253
Pericles, a Tale, 40; its era, persons, and plot, 42—46; *Socrates and the fuller*, 47; episode of Lyde and Arete, 49; *a practical man*, 51; immorality of Greek mythology, 55; true character of Pericles, 57; foreign mothers not under legal disabilities at Athens, 59; war against Samos, 59
Peschel, C. F., *Elements of Physics*, 455; discovery of the dip of the magnetic needle, 457; electro-dynamics, 459
Pictorial History of England—Last Years of George III., 205, 216; comparative war taxation of England and France, 209; revival of literature, 210; public improvements—bridge architecture, 213
Princeton Theological Essays, 448—454; Tholuck *on the Influence of the New Philosophy*, 448; Kant, Fichte, and Schelling, 449; Jacobi, 450—453

Recreation, The, 781
Richardson, D. L. *Anglo-Indian Passage*, 383
Ritchie, E., *Lessons of Life and Death*, 782
Robertson, Dr., *Church Stationers*, 123
Robertson, J., *Edinburgh Election*, 367; Roman Catholicism en-

branch of the Alliance. On this subject, Dr. Wardlaw, in his letter just published, says:—

'*It is quite clear, that the resolution just adopted at Manchester, as an article of the British organization, contains a principle which cannot be confined to British slaveholders.* It is vain to blind ourselves to the consequence, or to attempt to conceal it; *it breaks up the alliance with America.* The state of church fellowship there, as already described, evidently, on the showing of our American brethren themselves, who were with us in the Conferences here, precludes its possibility on the principle of this resolution.'

We believe so, too, and it now remains to be seen in what light the 'American brethren' will regard this proceeding on the part of the Manchester conference. We had intended to prove, from an abundance of letters and American papers in our possession, that these American brethren claimed a pro-slavery triumph in the London Conference; and we are fully of opinion that they had a right to do so. What will they now say to this somewhat sudden change on the part of those who assured them at their valedictory meetings, that they left behind them those who would defend both their characters and the position that had been taken in London? We are curious to know. But to what shall we attribute the altered course of proceeding? Mr. Bickersteth said, that unless the resolution was passed, the public would not believe that the British Alliance abominated slavery. But who had taught him this? From what facts did he draw such a conclusion? And how was it that the rest of his brethren came to adopt, so suddenly, the same opinion? We think no rational man can be at a loss to arrive at the truth on this matter, and however it may suit the humbled pride of a few mortified spirits to deny it, the fact will remain undoubted, (and every month will add some fresh illustrations), that the course pursued in London excited all but universal disgust and indignation, and that the erring parties discovered, between the fifth of September and the fifth of November, that they must retrace their steps, or the Alliance would be a nonentity, and the attempt to form it upon the principles adopted in the Conference on the subject of slavery, would be but to add another to the many proofs furnished to the world, that a paramount regard for the everlasting principles of truth and rectitude, and a holy and undaunted resolution to take those principles as the sole guide in the treatment of every question requiring decision, must precede union.

Should the Alliance fulfil the expectation which it has excited, that it will give to the world a faithful report of the various speeches delivered during its sittings, we shall probably return

ness to the students, 558; views of preaching, 559; their defects, 561; his liberality, 564; chapel building, 565; trust deeds, 567; last days, 571
Woes of War, 126
Wycliffe Society, 611; formation, 613, its failure, 617; reasons for, 618
Youatt, W., *The Dog*, 168

MAY 6 1918

Printed by WARD & GRIFFITH, 16, Bear Alley, Farringdon Street.

Glimpses of the Wonderful. Third Series. London, Harvey and Darton.

A BEAUTIFUL little volume, in which the spirit and elegance of the illustrations are in happy keeping with the instructive and interesting character of the letter-press. We strongly commend it to favour, as admirably suited for a Christmas or New-Year's-Day present.

The Recreation. A Gift-Book for Young Readers. With Engravings. Edinburgh, John Menzies; London, Orr and Co.

'THE Recreation' puts in its claim as a candidate for favour with the other gift-books of the season, and is as entertaining and informing as its previous volumes have been. The editor tells us that 'his object has been to blend amusement with instruction, to combine variety with permanent value, and carefully to exclude whatever has a tendency to injure the youthful mind.' In this object he has happily succeeded, and his volume—as our family circle testifies—possesses, in consequence, an absorbing interest to young people.

The Standard Edition of the Pictorial Bible. Edited by John Kitto, D.D., F.S.A. With many hundred wood-cuts, and thirteen engravings on steel. Parts I. and II. London: Charles Knight.

WE need not say one word in commendation of the *Pictorial Bible.* Its value is universally admitted, and scholars of all classes are accustomed to avail themselves of its treasures. As an illustration of the geography, antiquities, political and natural history, and all which the Germans would call *Thing knowledge* pertaining to the Bible, it is unequalled in our language, and should be found in the library of every minister and intelligent reader. Ten years have now elapsed since its first publication, during which Dr. Kitto has been employed in the collection of materials, still further tending to the elucidation of the inspired volume. The design of the present edition is to incorporate such additions, so as materially to add to the value of the work, while its price—no mean consideration with theological students—is considerably diminished.

'There is no department,' says the Editor, 'of Biblical literature in which more advance has of late years been made, or on which more publications have appeared, than in that most interesting one devoted to the examination of the literary history and distinguishing circumstances of the several books which compose the Sacred Volume. In the present edition of the 'Pictorial Bible,' increased attention has been therefore given to this department; and every book will be furnished with a new and more copious introduction, affording, so far as the plan of the work allows, the results of the best information with reference to it, which the most careful research has been able to supply.'